

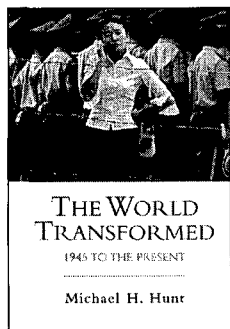
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In This Issue

This issue contains three articles and dual review essays. The articles examine Islamic legal communities, nineteenth-century French historical thought, and the cultural context of state formation in South Africa. The review essays assess recent historiographical trends in the history of the European Enlightenment. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Nimrod Hurvitz takes as his point of departure the fact that Islamic jurists led huge movements named *madhahib*, which played central roles in Islamic societies, politics, and intellectual discourse for over a millennium. These movements pose an obvious yet unexplored question: How were small groups of jurists transformed into mass movements? Hurvitz's answer focuses on the early Islamic era and on the Hanbali *madhhab* in what is now Iraq. He argues that if we want to grapple with the formation of such a unique and pivotal institution as the *madhhab*, we need to look at the intellectual and attitudinal complex that was shared by the Hanbali intellectual elite and their numerous lay followers. In the Hanbali case, this shared worldview was the esteem given to personal piety and a propensity to impose such ideals on all Muslims. As a consequence, Hanbalism adopted a posture of militant social activism that has accompanied it since its inception and up to its twenty-first-century offshoot—Wahhabism. The analytical approach advanced by Hurvitz highlights the interplay between social history and the history of ideas, and thus it encourages us to open new angles from which to study Islamic or other socio-religious movements.

Jonathan Dewald sets the development of French thinking about social history within a seldom-examined intellectual context: the historical writings of a group of prominent mid-nineteenth-century men of letters, including Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Hippolyte Taine, and Ernest Renan. Little read today, these writers exercised an immense influence on their

contemporaries across Europe and North America. Dewald contends that these men envisioned history as the study of society and social psychologies, and not merely—or even primarily—the study of political leaders. Consequently, they explored the differing sensibilities that characterized different historical eras, the forms of popular violence, the history of women, and a variety of related topics. Although they stressed the scientific character of their analyses, these writers also sharply distinguished their efforts from the scholarship of the emerging research universities. Instead, these historians emphasized linkages between historical research and other forms of intellectual life, and all of them wrote fiction and literary criticism as well as history. Dewald contends that his analysis of their scholarship suggests the need for a revised genealogy for our own historical practice, one that attends to intellectual currents outside the universities as well as to those within them. He insists that a new appreciation of their writing should also spur us to rethink the political sources of social history's emergence. In this case, the writers that Dewald examines were all conservatives, who responded in ambivalent ways to the historical changes around them. Their pessimism, he maintains, helps explain their interest in the irrational in history and their emphasis on profound differences between historical eras. Dewald's article thus suggests how attention to our own discipline's past can help us understand its present in new and compelling ways.

Clifton Crais explores the cultural history of state formation and African resistance in the Transkei, South Africa. As a case study, he uses the ritualized murder of a European official to analyze the relationship between chiefs and magistrates and the ways in which Africans understood the emerging colonial order. Crais argues for a political history that uses the insights of recent cultural anthropology to understand state formation, political practice, and African culture, agency, and consciousness. He emphasizes the importance of exploring conquest as a cross-cultural encounter, instead of seeing conquest as the story of European imposition and African reaction. He emphasizes the daily activities of early colonial officials, the technologies they deployed, and the way they made claims to rule over others. Africans understood European technology and the work of bureaucrats using a political grammar that connected political authority with magic. In Africanizing the state, he concludes, they substantially blurred both the theory and practice of early colonialism in South Africa. Crais thus has crafted a compelling case for putting the state back into colonial history.

Review Essays

The two review essays examine the recent literature on the Enlightenment from very different perspectives.

Jonathan Sheehan asserts that until recently scholars have assumed that the Enlightenment was a fundamentally secularizing force, one that sought nothing less than the speedy extinction of religion. But in the past ten years, he argues, religion has returned to the Enlightenment. While modern scholars have long listened carefully to the complaints of the devout, they have just rediscovered that religion in the eighteenth century was not only alive and well but indeed at the very heart of its intellectual life. This resurrection of religion has happened along a broad resurgence of historical interest in religious topics since 1989. But, Sheehan insists, the debut of religion on the stage of the Enlightenment has been one of the most dramatic moments in this shift. After all, he reminds us, the Enlightenment has traditionally been read as the very cradle of the secular world. Making religion into a cornerstone of the Enlightenment thus raises troubling questions about the precise nature of this secularizing vision. Sheehan maps this new enthusiasm for matters of the spirit onto what he sees as a communal discomfort with the history of the Enlightenment and modernity. The injection of religion into the Enlightenment, he maintains, is part of a revision of the history of secular society that has sent the very category of “the Enlightenment”—long defined as an anti-religious philosophical program—into great turmoil. In the end, though, Sheehan concludes, these difficulties are productive because they help historians develop more expansive and rigorous approaches to the Enlightenment, religion, and secular modernity. And his essay suggests how this literature can also be used to address similar issues in other times and places.

Dale K. Van Kley focuses his essay on two recent, distinguished, and lifework-like summations on the subject of Christianity in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: John McManners’ two volumes on eighteenth-century France for the Oxford series and Bernard Plongeron’s global survey for the Deslée series. He situates the two works in the wider historiographical trend that emphasizes Christianity’s complicity in the making of secular “modernity” and that correspondingly deemphasizes the degree to which the varieties of eighteenth-century Christianity were incompatible with a similarly diverse Enlightenment. Although he argues that the two works of synthesis exemplify this trend, Van Kley explains that they also make it more difficult than ever to explain why the century should have had to end with the dechristianizing phase

of the French Revolution as well as the Terror from which this phase is inseparable. Comparing the authors' implicit or explicit attempts to explain the discontinuity of dechristianization, he argues for the radical exceptionality of France as evidenced in part by the anticlerical cast of the French Enlightenment. He also contends that this exceptionality cannot be explained without reference to the Reformation-vintage religious controversies that lasted longer and raged more intensely in France than anywhere else in eighteenth-century Christendom. In this way, his essay addresses at once the state of the literature on eighteenth-century Christianity, the European Enlightenment, and the problem of explaining the Terror in the French Revolution. By doing so, it addresses larger concerns in the history of religion generally and Christianity more particularly.



FRONTISPIECE: Fleeing from the palace, "Noureddin," the vizier's son, and "the Fair Persian," his stolen mistress, stop in a notable's house in Baghdad and ask for lodging and a glass of wine. "Heaven defend me from keeping wine in my house, and from ever going to a place where any is to be sold!" replies Scheich Ibrahim. But it is not long before the clever visitors persuade their host to buy some, and even to join in the singing and drinking. *Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories . . .*, from the French translation by Antoine Galland, 4 vols. (London, 1785), 3: plate opposite 357, E. F. Burney, *et al.*, illustrators, quote from 356.

From Scholarly Circles to Mass Movements: The Formation of Legal Communities in Islamic Societies

NIMROD HURVITZ

AT THE OUTSET OF AL-MUQTADIR'S (r. 908–32) DISASTROUS REIGN over the Caliphate, a short-lived and somewhat puzzling coup rocked the 'Abbasid court.¹ Al-Muqtadir, an inexperienced youth who had reached the throne through the machinations of shrewd administrators, was challenged by the seasoned and widely respected prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 908). In the first hours of the coup, it seemed that Ibn al-Mu'tazz, who had forged a powerful alliance of bureaucrats and army officers, would easily oust the young and incompetent caliph, but by the end of the day, due to folly or intrigue, Ibn al-Mu'tazz lost control of his troops and was forced to flee Baghdad.

The ignominious defeat of Ibn al-Mu'tazz would have been just another brief episode in the annals of the 'Abbasid empire had it not been for one historian, who mentioned an unfamiliar political actor in his account of the affair: the Hanbali *madhhab* (legal community; plural, *madhahib*).² According to this report, when Ibn al-Mu'tazz faced defeat, he sent his servant into the streets to call out, "Oh, ye people of the community, call unto your Sunni caliph al-Barbahari." The chronicler, Ibn al-Athir (d. 1233), explains that the name al-Barbahari (d. 941) was mentioned because "the common people considered him to be the leader of the Hanabila and the Sunnis, and they held him in great esteem, and [Ibn al-Mu'tazz] wanted to

I would like to thank Dror Wahrman for his encouragement and criticism throughout the stages of this article's preparation. A partial draft of this essay was presented at the Seventh International Workshop at Ben-Gurion University: "Considering Consumption, Production, and the Market in the Constitution of Meaning in the Middle East and Beyond." I would like to express my gratitude to Relli Shechter for enabling me to participate in this conference and to its participants for their comments. I am indebted to Michael Cook, Michael Gluzman, Dina Hurvitz, and Nurit Tsafrir, who have read early drafts of this essay and offered valuable remarks. Special thanks go to Haggai Hurvitz, who read several drafts and offered excellent advice and guidance.

¹ Ibn al-Athir, 'Ali Ibn Abi al-Karam, *Al-Kamil fi al-ta'rikh*, 13 vols. (Beirut, 1966), 8: 14–16; a short exposition of al-Muqtadir's reign and its catastrophic consequences appears in Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (London, 1986), 187–99. For summaries of this event, see Harold Bowen, *The Life and Times of 'Ali Ibn 'Isa* (Cambridge, 1975), 84–98; David B. J. Marmer, "The Political Culture of the 'Abbasid Court 279–324 (A.H.)" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1994), 54–59.

² I find "legal community" more appropriate than the usual translation, "school of law," because "school of law" emphasizes doctrine and a handful of jurists that articulate doctrine and ignores the huge following and social dynamics of the *madhhab*, while "legal community" captures the social dimension of the *madhhab* and integrates it with its legal features. Terse descriptions of the different *madhahib* appear in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2d edition) and any introductory study of Islam. Although there are many in-depth studies of the legal doctrine of the *madhahib*, none focuses on their spread among the wider population. For a survey of the scholarly elites of the *madhahib*, see Christopher Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.* (Leiden, 1997).

attract them to his cause.”³ After being let down by his generals and political allies, Ibn al-Mu‘tazz attempted to mobilize the masses by mentioning al-Barbahari, the charismatic leader of the Hanbalis. Although al-Barbahari was not more cooperative than the generals and did not lead the masses to the streets or save Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, this description of an attempt to draw the Hanbalis into caliphal politics illustrates their growing influence in Baghdadi politics.⁴

The caliphal claimant’s desperate appeal to the Hanbalis points to a unique Islamic phenomenon: the development of small groups of jurists into huge and even powerful legal communities that added a novel dimension to the burgeoning Islamic social order. The *madhahib* stand out as a singular merger between legal concepts, religious attitudes, and social structure. Between the eighth and tenth centuries, over a dozen such circles of legal scholars attracted masses of rank-and-file Muslims, evolving into large, popular *madhahib*. Four of them stood the test of time and have survived to this day. Of these four, the Hanbali *madhhab* was the last and smallest. The other three, the Hanafis, Malikis, and Shafi‘is, began to attract adherents from the middle of the eighth century (that is, several decades before the Hanbalis), and they gradually built up large followings throughout the world of Islam.⁵

The *madhahib* shaped and colored Islamic society in a variety of ways. The jurists of each *madhhab* articulated and recorded the distinctive legal doctrines that both regulated their adherents’ lives down to the most minute details and at the same time set them apart from the other *madhahib*.⁶ Their patrons and leaders established mosques, institutions of higher learning, and separate courts of law, which passed judgment in accordance with their legal traditions.⁷ Hand in hand with these institutions appeared congregations of adherents that prayed in the mosques, studied in the institutions of learning, and turned to the *madhhab*’s courts to resolve their legal disputes, all of which engendered a sense of belonging to the community and of loyalty to its leaders.⁸ Due to their sheer size, the *madhahib* became valuable potential allies for political aspirants who needed popular support, and as a consequence were drawn into, or walked into, a variety of social and political

³ Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, 8: 16.

⁴ On Hanbalis, see Henri Laoust, “Le Hanbalisme sous le Califat de Baghdad, (241/855–656/1258),” *Revue des études islamiques* 27 (1959): 67–128; for a brief survey of literature about the Hanbalis, see Nimrod Hurvitz, *The Formation of Hanbalism: Piety into Power* (London, 2002), 11–16; on al-Barbahari, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (2d edn.), “al-Barbahari”; Ibn Abi Ya‘la, *Tabaqat al-Hanabila*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1952), 2: 18–45.

⁵ There are several studies on the spread of the Hanafi *madhhab*, such as Wilfred Madelung, “The Spread of Maturidism and the Turks,” *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islamicos* 1968 (Leiden, 1971), 109–68; Madelung, “The Early Murji‘a in Khurasan and Transoxania and the Spread of Hanafism,” *Der Islam* 59 (1982): 32–39a; Nurit Tsafrir, “The Beginnings of the Hanafi School of Isfahan,” *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 1–21.

⁶ On the legal doctrines of the *madhahib*, see Joseph Schacht, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950); Jonathan Brockopp, *Early Maliki Law* (Leiden, 2000); on legal reasoning and methodology, see Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964); Wael B. Hallaq, *The History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunni usul al-fiqh* (Cambridge, 1997).

⁷ On institutions of education, see George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (Edinburgh, 1981); Dafna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition* (Albany, N.Y., 2000).

⁸ On communal activities and loyalty, see Daniella Talmon-Heller, “The Shaykh and the Community: Popular Hanbalite Islam in 12th–13th Century Jabal Nablus and Jabal Qaysun,” *Studia islamica* 79 (1994): 103–20; Stefan Leder, “Charismatic Scripturalism: The Hanbali Maqdisis of Damascus,” *Der Islam* 74 (1997): 279–304.

confrontations.⁹ From the countless details of everyday life, through social activities and institutions, to destructive street battles—the *madhahib* left their mark on the lives and identities of their members, and on the structure of society as a whole.

The *madhahib* were a novel social configuration and therefore a new component in the social matrix of Islamic societies. In effect, from the tenth century on, every Muslim belonged to a *madhhab*, and as a consequence the *madhahib* became as important as ancient social alignments such as family, tribe, and ethnic group. In a succinct assessment of the *madhahib*'s impact on Islamic societies, Ira Lapidus wrote: "In an urban context the schools of law [referred to in this study as *madhahib*] and Sufi brotherhoods served as confessional collectivities which could recruit individuals across the lines of existing community structures and unify smaller-scale family, clan or residential collectivities into larger units . . . But Muslim religious associations could operate wholly within the frameworks of existing collective units. Schools of law . . . gave previously existing collectivities an Islamic identity."¹⁰ The newly formed "confessional collectivities" demonstrated a remarkable ability to mobilize followers and create new social entities that were based on legal and moral bonds. This development gives rise to several questions: How did jurists attract such large followings and become popular leaders? What sort of beliefs and values brought individuals to join one *madhhab* and not another? How were these religious values disseminated among the lay public?

These three questions are parts of a larger issue, the interaction between learned elites and their less educated followers. Although the questions hint at a divide between high and low culture, this study aims to do the opposite, to uncover the commonly held worldview of jurists and their congregations. Hence the focus of this study will not be the professional aspects that set apart the intellectual leaders from their adherents but rather the shared moral premises that brought them together. A useful tool for studying the commonly held values of all of the *madhhab*'s members is Robert Cover's concept of *nomos*, which he describes as "an integrated world of obligation and reality from which the rest of the world is perceived."¹¹ The gist of Cover's arguments is that legal doctrine does not stand apart from other ideals that guide individuals' conduct but is in fact integrated into them. Thus laws are understood, acted on, manipulated, and resisted in accordance with a wider moral vision. He implemented this approach in studies of the ancient Jews and twentieth-century Amish and uncovered the manner in which these communities wove together moral premises with legal prescriptions and instilled meaning in their systems of law. By bringing together legal doctrine with moral positions, it is possible to examine the connections between legal documents and other texts and, as a consequence, investigate the ways in which experts and their adherents communicated with each other and forged a shared worldview.

The methodological contribution of *nomos* is in bridging the dichotomy between elite and followers. In order to apply this approach to the Hanbali case, we need to

⁹ Richard Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 28–46; Wilfred Madelung, *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, N.Y., 1988), 26–38.

¹⁰ Ira Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 232–33.

¹¹ Robert Cover, "Nomos and Narrative," in Martha Minow, Michael Ryan, and Austin Sarat, eds., *Narrative, Violence and the Law* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1993), 128. I would like to thank Edward Fram for introducing me to the work of Robert Cover.

reconstruct the Hanbali moral vision, as it is elaborated in legal and non-legal texts. This essay will start with non-legal texts, such as Hanbali biographies of Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855) and his followers, which reveal a mildly ascetic outlook that was shared by both Hanbali jurists and their lay adherents.¹² In order to grasp the full implications of this outlook, we need to place it in the context of the moral and cultural struggles that were taking place in the ninth and tenth centuries. Thus the second part of this essay will depict the tensions between a large and growing pietistic trend, which included among others the Hanbalis, as well as the lifestyle of the courtly hedonists and their middle-class imitators. Traces of these tensions can be identified in Hanbali legal texts known as *masa'il* literature (a subgenre of legal writing in which lay men and women pose questions about legal, moral, and religious matters to their spiritual guides, who are most often jurists). The third part of this study will examine how Hanbali jurists and activists discussed among themselves the possibility of imposing their moral vision on the rest of society. The last part of the essay examines the flaring up of violence that occurred in tenth-century Baghdad, when Hanbali activists attempted to force their way of life on others and, as a consequence, instigated riots in the name of a more moral society. Together, the four parts illustrate how Hanbali jurists utilized their ethical vision to mobilize a popular following.

BEFORE WE TURN OUR ATTENTION to the Hanbalis' transformation into a mass movement, it would be useful to sketch the rough contours of 'Abbasid politics in the ninth and tenth centuries, as well as mention some of the Hanbalis' ideological and social characteristics. The Hanbalis' increase in numbers and vigor occurred just as the Caliphate's power was in decline.¹³ Ibn al-Mu'tazz's appeal to the Hanbalis for their help is an apt illustration of the caliphal circle's enfeeblement and the growing strength of a popular socio-religious movement. The central government's debilitation was the outcome of a century of military turmoil and diminishing revenues.¹⁴ Ever since the middle of the ninth century, the Caliphate suffered from military chaos and social disorder that wreaked havoc on the fragile Iraqi agricultural system. The caliphs were caught up in a vicious cycle in which military violence led to falls in revenues, which in turn angered the military, who could not get the pay they wanted and as a consequence resorted to more violence. As a result of the army's confrontations with the caliphs and its own factional strife,

¹² On mild asceticism, see Nimrod Hurvitz, "Biographies and Mild Asceticism: A Study of Islamic Moral Imagination," *Studia islamica* 85 (1997): 41–65; Hurvitz, *Formation*, 91–101. For a discussion of the term *zuhd* (asceticism), see Leah Kihnberg, "What Is Meant by *Zuhd*?" *Studia islamica* 61 (1985): 27–44. On the precursors of Hanbalism and their understanding of asceticism, see Jacqueline Chabbi, "Fudayl b. 'Iyad: Un précurseur du Hanbalisme (d. 187/803)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 30 (1978): 331–45; Gerard Lecomte, "Sufyan al-Tawri: Quelques remarques sur le personnage et son oeuvre," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 30 (1978): 51–60. For a study of Muslim critics of ostentatious asceticism, see Sara Sviri, "Hakim Tirmidhi and the Malamati Movement in Early Islam," in Leonard Lewisohn, ed., *Classical Persian Sufism: Sufism from Its Origins to Rumi* (London, 1993), 583–613, esp. 600.

¹³ On the collapse of the 'Abbasid empire, see the summary by Lapidus, *Islamic Societies*, 126–36.

¹⁴ On the connection between economic decline and political instability, see Marshal G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, 3 vols. (Chicago, 1974), 1: 483–95; Muhammad Shaban, *Islamic History: A New Interpretation*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1988), 2: 115–36.

performance in the battlefield deteriorated. Gradually, rebels and intruders gained control of more and more parts of the empire. This phenomenon of breakaway provinces began at the peripheries of the empire and worked its way to the center. By the tenth century, the caliphs barely controlled the streets of their own capital. Riots and popular demonstrations became commonplace, shook the tottering regime, and added to its instability.

Throughout these decades, several of the caliphs made heroic, and occasionally successful, efforts to check the decline of caliphal influence, but by the mid-tenth century they succumbed to their generals and bureaucrats. The harshest blow came during the reign of the above-mentioned al-Muqtadir, who was incapable of holding onto any caliphal power base. Fifteen years after al-Muqtadir was murdered by one of his generals (932), a warlord by the name of Ahmad Ibn Buya entered Baghdad and founded the Buwayhid dynasty. The Buwayhids became the effective rulers of what remained of the 'Abbasid empire, while the 'Abbasid caliphs functioned as the symbolic figureheads of the Sunni world. In a nutshell, by the middle of the tenth century, the 'Abbasid empire fell apart into numerous principalities and dynasties as a new political order came in its place—the Muslim commonwealth.

Despite the breakdown of the 'Abbasid political system, the Islamic world remained unified in many ways, and its communal associations proved highly resilient. It was held together by the Arabic language, a shared faith, one economic system, and open borders that enabled merchants to transfer merchandise from one region to another and scholars to travel in search of teachers wherever they were. Furthermore, the political fragmentation did not impede the centuries-long social and religious developments that began in the eighth and ninth centuries, such as the formation of half a dozen *madhahib* as well as various trends of Shi'i Islam. For example, the Hanbalis, who made their first appearance in the public arena before this military-economic crisis began, continued to grow and develop in the next few decades. They first became involved in public affairs when their eponymous founder, Ibn Hanbal, was catapulted from his standing as a widely respected jurist to that of a charismatic leader who led popular opposition to caliphal religious policy. This confrontation, between one branch of jurists (led by Ibn Hanbal) and an alliance of theologians, caliphs, and another branch of jurists, was triggered by a theological debate and came to be known as the Inquisition (*mihna*).¹⁵ Ibn Hanbal's positions regarding theology, together with his jurisprudential conservatism and his austere way of life, gained him the admiration of many Muslims. Starting in his lifetime and continuing in subsequent generations, the Hanbali circle attracted numerous individuals who identified and agreed with Hanbali views on jurisprudence, theology, and morality.¹⁶ By the end of the ninth century, the Hanbalis were one of the largest movements in Baghdad, and most of its adherents lived in the Harbiyya quarter, which would become the Hanbali stronghold and center of their activism.

¹⁵ For a review of historiography on *mihna*, see John A. Nawas, "A Reexamination of Three Current Explanations for Al-Ma'mun's Introduction of the *Mihna*," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (1994): 615–29; for a different interpretation of its causes, see Nimrod Hurvitz, "*Mihna* as Self-Defense," *Studia islamica* 92 (2001): 93–111.

¹⁶ On the growth of Hanbalism during Ibn Hanbal's life, see Hurvitz, *Formation*, 75–90; on his jurisprudence, see 103–10.

This essay assumes that a wide range of ideological issues such as jurisprudence, theology, and morality drew numerous believers to the Hanbalis. However, although each of these ideological components is important, I will concentrate on the Hanbalis' moral views and some of their social ramifications so as to better understand how the Hanbali jurists and their ordinary followers forged the Hanbali *nomos*.

THE HANBALI MORAL VISION was made up of an intricate "lexicon of normative action."¹⁷ The modes of conduct that constitute this lexicon were not defined or specified solely in the Hanbali law books. They appear in biographies, which construct a series of role models, and tracts that deal with specific moral issues. In this, the Hanbalis were not different from other "legal communities," Islamic and non-Islamic, whose amalgam of law and ethical vision was articulated through a variety of literary genres. In the words of Cover, "The [legal] tradition includes not only a corpus juris, but also a language and a mythos—narratives in which the corpus juris is located by those whose wills act upon it. These myths establish the paradigms for behavior. They build relations between the normative and the material universe, between the constraints of reality and the demands of ethic."¹⁸ The ethos that shapes "paradigms for behavior" is often found in sermons, proverbs, and life stories that convey subtle moral and religious messages. As John S. Hawley reminds us in his discussion of the means by which great religions gain sway over their adherents: "Within each religion a powerful body of tradition emphasizes not codes but stories, not precepts but personalities; not lectures but lives."¹⁹ Stories, or as Cover would phrase it, "narratives," were a highly effective means of gaining the attention of believers and instilling in them the moral ethos of a community. Hagiographies and biographies of widely admired individuals would highlight commendable patterns of conduct and move their listeners to identify with these ideals.

However, there are some important differences between the two genres. Whereas hagiographies attribute power to the divine, biographies of Islamic scholars ascribe it to the individual. In the hagiographies, the miracles and superhuman ascetic achievements transform the protagonist into a conduit through which divine power appears to the listeners and readers in strong, startling flashes. The very stories that are predicated on supra-normal feats are testament to the flow of power from the divine into the chosen saint or Sufi. In the biographical tradition, the scale of the achievements are of human proportions, with the narrative depicting minor victories over one's own appetites and desires. Such stories stress attainable levels of self-control and are not concerned with awe-inspiring miracles that require divine intervention but with daily routines that all the believers perform.

Just as the locuses of power in hagiography and biography differ, so do the

¹⁷ Cover, "Nomos," 101.

¹⁸ Cover, "Nomos," 101.

¹⁹ John S. Hawley, "Introduction: Saints and Virtues," in Hawley, ed., *Saints and Virtues* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), xi.

visions of asceticism. Whereas hagiographies depict an extreme form of asceticism, which aims at the "ultimate extinction" of the body so "that the soul may be free," biographies of scholars elaborate a more moderate ascetic regimen whose purpose is to control bodily needs.²⁰ The first, and more militant of the two, was preached and practiced by mystics who aspired to unite with the divine and, as a consequence, employed the harshest forms of self-mortification. Such ascetics made attempts to crush bodily appetites, because they perceived them as a hindrance to their spiritual ascent that was to culminate in union with the divine. Among the Christians, such spiritual goals and acts of extreme self-denial were prevalent amidst hermits, monastic movements, and religious orders.²¹ Among the Muslims, the quest to unite with Allah and the concomitant ascetic measures that eradicated the body's appetites and passions and prepared the soul for its highest spiritual state were widespread amidst the Sufis.²² The second, more moderate, form of asceticism exhorted its adherents to lead a virtuous life within the world and, as a consequence, advocated much milder techniques of self-deprivation. Such were eleventh and twelfth-century Christian thinkers who were growing aware and critical of the spiritual traps that lay before overly zealous ascetics. One of them was Bernard of Clairvaux, who "repeatedly praised balance and moderation and condemned excessive abstinence and asceticism."²³ Likewise, many Muslims, including numerous Hanbalis, imposed on themselves restrictions aimed not at annihilating all physical appetites and severing all social relations but simply at leading a pious life.

Since the Islamic biographical tradition promulgated ideals that were within the reach of ordinary believers, it is not surprising that the aura of authority such biographies constructed is founded on acts of everyday life. A close look at the descriptions of Ibn Hanbal's diet will reveal how mundane forms of conduct can serve as the basis for elaborating the mildly ascetic moral ethos and conveying socioeconomic standing. The reference to food is a prevalent *topos* in texts that are concerned with morality, since food and its consumption are deemed to be fundamental religious and moral issues in numerous societies, including Islamic ones. As Caroline Walker Bynum argues, food was probably of greater importance to the average believer than sex and money.²⁴ As a consequence of the practical and symbolic importance of food, accounts of its preparation and consumption store a

²⁰ This distinction was proposed by Thomas C. Hall, "Asceticism," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, James Hastings, ed. (New York, 1964), 2: 64.

²¹ Hall, "Asceticism," 67–69. For a recent study of Christian attitudes toward the body, see Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York, 1988).

²² For an authoritative overview of Islamic mysticism, which discusses the contribution of asceticism to an individual's spiritual path, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975). See also Tor Andrae, *In the Garden of the Myrtles: Studies in Early Islamic Mysticism* (Albany, N.Y., 1987). For an updated introduction to mysticism, see Alexander Knysch, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, 2000).

²³ Giles Constable, "Moderation and Restraint in Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages," in Haijo J. Westra, ed., *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought; Studies in Honour of Edouard Jeuneau* (Leiden, 1992), 319; Constable, "Attitudes towards Self-Inflicted Suffering in the Middle Ages," in the Ninth Stephen J. Brademas, Sr., Lecture (Brookline, Mass., 1982), 7–27, esp. 21–23. On Augustine's ideas of moderate asceticism, see Henry Chadwick, "The Ascetic Ideal in the History of the Church," *Studies in Church History* 22, W. J. Sheils, ed. (Oxford, 1985), 1–23, esp. 16, 21.

²⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 1.

wealth of information and can be investigated in a variety of ways.²⁵ One such perspective pertains to social status, since in 'Abbasid society, as in several other societies, culinary differentiation corresponds to social stratification.²⁶ Based on this premise, when we examine what Salih Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 880), the son of Ibn Hanbal, wrote about his father's diet, it will be possible to decipher where the Hanbalis situated themselves in the 'Abbasid social template. Food can also be approached as a means of expressing moral and cultural criticism. In Islam, as in Chinese, Roman, and early Christian societies, there were ascetics who imposed on themselves dietary restrictions that they, and society as a whole, understood as a form of criticism of the elites and their way of life.²⁷ This sort of criticism, I contend, is what Salih had in mind when he wrote about Ibn Hanbal's eating habits.

The following anecdote illustrates where the Hanbalis placed themselves in the 'Abbasid social and cultural map, and how they expressed their moral criticism of the pursuit of luxuries that was typical of many upper-class 'Abbasids:

He [Ibn Hanbal] often seasoned [*ya'tadimu*] [bread] with vinegar; at times I saw him eat a slice of bread, shaking the dust off it, placing a plate and sprinkling water on it until it softened, after which he would eat it with salt. I never saw him buy pomegranates or quince or any other fruit except [that he bought] watermelons that he ate with bread or grapes or dates.²⁸

Bread in ninth-century Baghdad, as in ancient Greece and modern France, was a basic staple that was found on most tables, and its presence in Ibn Hanbal's diet does not reveal much about his social standing.²⁹ What do afford insights about his social standing and moral outlook are the bread's ingredients, forms of production, and manner of consumption.³⁰ Thus it is the contrast between the stale bread that Ibn Hanbal ate and the fresh, soft bread that "people of elegant taste" consumed that hints at Ibn Hanbal's association with the poorer segment of Baghdadi society.³¹ Furthermore, when Salih mentions that his father used vinegar, a cheap condiment that was used by the poor, he is again insinuating that Ibn Hanbal ate the same food as the lower classes in Baghdad. The fruits that Salih mentions convey a similar message: dates and watermelons, for example, were very cheap and were consumed by the "common folk,"³² who served the dates as dessert because they

²⁵ For a survey of anthropological approaches to the study of food, see Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge, 1982), 10–39.

²⁶ Goody, *Cooking*, 97–99.

²⁷ Goody, *Cooking*; on China, see 113; on Rome, see 103; on early Christianity, see 139; on Islam, see 129.

²⁸ Salih Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, *Sirat al-imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal* (Alexandria, 1981), 40.

²⁹ On bread in 'Abbasid society, see Muhammad M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the 'Abbasids, 170–289 AH, 786–902 AD* (London, 1979), 87–90; in Greek society, see Peter Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1999), 121; in modern France, see Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption," in Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterick, eds., *Food and Culture: A Reader* (New York, 1997), 22.

³⁰ On the importance of ingredients in determining the quality of the bread and the social status of its consumer, see David Waines, "Cereals, Bread and Society: An Essay on the Staff of Life in Medieval Iraq," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30 (1987): 255–85, esp. 281–82.

³¹ Ahsan, *Social Life*, 88. On bread as a social marker and issue of contention in eighteenth-century England, see E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 80–83.

³² Ahsan, *Social Life*, 110–11.

could not afford the sweet dishes of the well-to-do.³³ In putting together this list of foodstuffs, Salih informed the listeners and readers in a subtle, indirect manner that Ibn Hanbal led the life of an unassuming, almost impoverished, Baghdadi.

The moral message encoded in these descriptions of stale bread and other cheap and basic foodstuffs is that of moderate self-discipline. It situates Ibn Hanbal between unconstrained indulgence and relentless self-mortification. On the one hand, the bread is stale, the condiments simple, and the fruits inexpensive—placing Ibn Hanbal apart from the connoisseurs of the ‘Abbasid courtly cuisine. On the other, the stories are about eating and not about fasting—distancing Ibn Hanbal from extreme ascetics about whom hagiographies tell of exceedingly long fasts. Ibn Hanbal is placed in a middle ground: he satisfies his basic nutritional needs yet avoids lavish dishes. The underlying moral message of this anecdote goes hand in hand with descriptions of Ibn Hanbal’s wardrobe, home, and furniture: a tempered approach toward material possessions and bodily needs. In line with this approach, Ibn Hanbal’s austerity did not include abstinence from sexual relations, withdrawal from society, or giving up inherited properties, all of which were practiced, to some extent, by extreme ascetics and were familiar themes in hagiographic literature. Such extreme modes of behavior were aimed at crushing physical appetites and emotional needs and transcending them. By contrast, the ascetic ideal that guided Ibn Hanbal emphasized control of physical appetites and not their annihilation, measured relations with society and not a total break. Thus, although Ibn Hanbal shared with the more extreme ascetics a suspicion of materialism, the means he employed to curb his appetites and passions were different because they were much more moderate.

The moral vision and behavioral patterns imparted in the stories about Ibn Hanbal’s lifestyle were shared and admired by many members of the Hanbali circle. In the *Tabaqat al-Hanabila* (Generations of Hanbalis), there are dozens of references to austerity and abstinence.³⁴ The prevalence of the ascetic idiom in Hanbali biographical literature implies that it was a central element of their ideology. Furthermore, a survey of these entries reveals that individuals who had a reputation for living under a strict regimen of austerity were often on close and intimate terms with Ibn Hanbal. Disciples such as al-Maymuni (d. 888), Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Marwadhī (d. 888), and Ibrahim Ibn al-Hanī’ (d. 878) came to be Ibn Hanbal’s most trusted friends and influential followers due to their reputation for piety and not their scholarship.³⁵ Indeed, it seems that they were mediocre scholars, since they were not mentioned in scholarly biographical dictionaries. Clearly, then, an ascetic lifestyle added to the social standing of its practitioners in the Hanbali milieu.

Ibn Hanbal’s propensity to draw ascetics close to him came to play an important role in the recruitment of Hanbali followers. According to Hanbali sources, there were instances in which Ibn Hanbal took the initiative and approached individuals who had a reputation for leading ascetic and pious lifestyles. Al-Marwadhī reported

³³ Ahsan, *Social Life*, 108, 134–35.

³⁴ Ibn Abi Ya’la, *Tabaqat*.

³⁵ On the three, see Ibn Abi Ya’la, *Tabaqat*. On al-Maymuni, 1: 212–16; on Ibn Hanī’, 1: 97–98; on al-Marwadhī, 1: 56–63.

that whenever Ibn Hanbal heard that a devout person had asked about him, he requested that a meeting be arranged. If he discovered that the individual lived up to his standards, the master would befriend him; if the new acquaintance proved disappointing, he would lose his temper.³⁶ Since personal contact with the master became one of the most important paths for entering the Hanbali milieu, and Ibn Hanbal had a penchant for ascetics, asceticism became a means for attracting new affiliates and improving their standing among the Hanbalis.

The Hanbalis were by no means the first Muslims to embrace austerity, nor were they its sole practitioners.³⁷ As early as the seventh century and throughout the world of Islam, numerous individuals and groups "shared a strong repugnance to worldly delights" and "luxury."³⁸ By the ninth century, several regional ascetic trends had evolved in Basra, Jerusalem, Khurasan, Kufa, and Baghdad.³⁹ A unique form of asceticism also evolved on the Arab-Byzantine frontier, where "scholar-ascetics" came to fight the enemies of Islam.⁴⁰ What is more, the impact of the ascetics on society went beyond their immediate numbers. Their influence was felt among numerous individuals who admired the ascetic ethos but did not live in accordance with its norms. This was noted by Roy Mottahedeh: "Many men who actually believed in this principle [piety], or at least gave lip service to it, showed respect to men who lived exemplary and ascetic lives."⁴¹ Much like the holy men of Late Antiquity, and probably as a continuation of that moral mood, Muslim ascetics were placed on a pedestal and were revered by men and women who could not live up to their standards.⁴² Some of these pious ascetics kept a distance from society, while others involved themselves in the events that were taking place around them. Their influence was of such a magnitude that "[k]ings sometimes accepted the intercession of such men, and they did so not only because they admired men of outstanding piety, but also because such men had a certain following."⁴³ Asceticism was a powerful sentiment in Islamic societies, one that could be transformed into influential social movements. This was the environment in which the Hanbalis conducted their affairs, and it was from this social and moral niche that they recruited new adherents.

THROUGHOUT THE NINTH AND TENTH CENTURIES, the Hanbalis, and like-minded pietists, were on a collision course with the 'Abbasid leisured milieu.⁴⁴ At the center of this milieu was the immensely rich and powerful 'Abbasid court, located in a

³⁶ Ibn al-Jawzi, *Manaqib al-Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal* (Beirut, 1973), 218. Ibn al-Jawzi mentions other instances where Ibn Hanbal actively sought out very poor students.

³⁷ On earlier figures and trends, see Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*; Chabbi, "Fudayl"; Lecomte, "Sufyan."

³⁸ Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 13.

³⁹ On regional expressions of asceticism, see Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 36–115.

⁴⁰ Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 130–34.

⁴¹ Roy Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 147.

⁴² Hurvitz, *Formation*, 159–63.

⁴³ Mottahedeh, *Loyalty and Leadership*, 147.

⁴⁴ On tensions between the two moral outlooks, see Hodgson, *Venture of Islam*, 451–52. On criticism of the courtly way of life in the European Middle Ages, see Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, Thomas Dunlap, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 415–23.

series of Baghdadian palaces where the caliphs, their wives, sons, brothers, and high officials of the empire were pampered and served by staffs that numbered several thousand eunuchs, servants, and concubines.⁴⁵ Living in what Oleg Grabar dubbed a "brilliant imperial life," the affluent inhabitants of these palaces spent most of their time running the empire and cultivating an atmosphere of cultural refinement.⁴⁶ In and around their palaces, they built gardens, game preserves, polo fields, and pavilions, in which they played and hunted.⁴⁷ They indulged in banquets, listened to music, and held nocturnal revels with convivial companions.⁴⁸ They spent huge sums of money on clothes, perfumes, food, and other items to make their lives pleasant, and invited the upper crust of 'Abbasid society, that is, its high-ranking army officers, refined boon companions, poets, physicians, and astrologers, to amuse them.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, in the sources that describe this era, palace life epitomized and symbolized luxury, and was therefore the antithesis of the ascetic worldview.⁵⁰

One sort of conspicuous consumption in which the 'Abbasid upper classes indulged and which the ascetics criticized was food and its preparation.⁵¹ The interest that courtiers and affluent members of 'Abbasid society took in gastronomic matters is reflected in the numerous recipes that were written down and compiled into recipe books.⁵² By contrast to most medieval societies in which practical knowledge about cooking was transmitted orally and is therefore lost, the connoisseurs of medieval Islamic cuisine wrote about their gastronomic skills and pleasures and left behind a written "urban culinary tradition."⁵³ These recipe collections and descriptions in chronicles of dishes such as bone marrow,⁵⁴ breast of

⁴⁵ On women in the 'Abbasid courts, see Nabia Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad: Mother and Wife of Harun al-Rashid* (1946; London, 1986). On eunuchs, see David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relations* (Jerusalem, 1999). On Baghdad's palaces, see Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Westport, Conn., 1983).

⁴⁶ Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven, N.J., 1987), 157.

⁴⁷ Grabar, *Islamic Art*, 158; on game preserves, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 205; on social classes that hunted, 206–07; on outdoor sports such as horse racing and polo, 243–64.

⁴⁸ Grabar, *Islamic Art*, 148. On *majlis al-lahwah* (place of entertainment and pleasure), see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 111–12; Anwar Chejne, "The Boon-Companion in Early 'Abbasid Times," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 85 (1965): 327–35.

⁴⁹ Detailed descriptions of manners and fashions in 'Abbasid high society appear in Abu al-Tayyib Muhammad Ibn Ishaq al-Washsha', *Kitab al-Muwashsha'* (Leiden, 1886). On physicians that served and entertained members of the court, see Boydena R. Wilson, "The Bakhtishu': Their Political and Social Role under the 'Abbasid Caliphs (A.D. 750–1100)" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1974); on astrologers, see David Pingree, "Astrology," in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period* (Cambridge, 1990), 290–300; on astrology and court propaganda, see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London, 1998), 45–52.

⁵⁰ On Muslim attitudes toward the "world of the prince," see Grabar, *Islamic Art*, 164.

⁵¹ For a study of food consumption in the caliphal court, see David Waines, *In a Caliph's Kitchen* (London, 1989), 1–29; for a cursory survey of food consumption and social strata, see Waines, "Cereal, Bread and Society," 272–85; for a review of food consumption in the 'Abbasid era, see Ahsan, *Social Life*, 76–164.

⁵² On recipe literature in the 'Abbasid era, see Maxime Rodinson, "Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine," *Revue des études islamique* 17 (1949): 94–165, mainly 95–116; for a survey of literary works that address food and its consumption, see Geert J. Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Representations of Food* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000).

⁵³ Waines, *In a Caliph's Kitchen*, 7–9.

⁵⁴ Al-Mas'udi, 'Ali Ibn al-Husayn Ibn 'Ali, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, 4 vols. (Beirut, 1989), 3: 293. Translation in *Meadows of Gold*, Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone, eds. and trans. (London, 1989), 35.

partridge, and cold lamb,⁵⁵ or sweets such as rose-flavored sugar candy or honey⁵⁶ indicate how much attention and money were lavished on food and its preparation. To run a kitchen that was up to the standards of 'Abbasid cuisine, one needed special ingredients, some of which came from a great distance, as well as numerous utensils and highly skilled labor.⁵⁷

Despite the expenses that courtly modes of consumption incurred, these practices spread and entered different segments of society, hence threatening to marginalize ascetic lifestyles. To the chagrin of pious Muslims, wealth and its tangible manifestations such as sumptuous dishes, ornate clothes, and depraved entertainment captured the fancy of many of the lower and middle classes. A delightful collection of tales that reveals how the court was perceived by the wider circle of 'Abbasid society is *The Thousand and One Nights*.⁵⁸ In the story of Sindbad the Porter, for example, Sindbad stops to rest next to a merchant's house, and upon hearing enchanting music he rises, enters a courtyard, and finds himself in a garden, in which "the aroma of the choicest meats and wines" wafts.⁵⁹ Sindbad joins the party, eats to his heart's content, returns several times, and becomes friends with the merchant, ending his days of hunger and hard labor. In this tale of rags to riches, food and music represent the comforts and pleasures of the leisured class.⁶⁰ In other stories in the *Nights*, we come across more offensive forms of debauchery, such as drinking wine (which is prohibited by Islamic law) and keeping company with women. Together, they make up the morally dubious image of "Wine, Woman and Song"⁶¹ that the popular imagination often associated with princely courts and merchants' mansions. This image is corroborated by the *Kitab al-Aghani* (Book of Songs), "a monumental 10,000-page ethnographic document" that was compiled in the tenth century.⁶² According to George D. Sawa, the *Aghani* recounts numerous instances of the playing of music at nocturnal assemblies, drinking bouts, and promiscuous engagements between caliphs and their male and female lovers.⁶³

The critics of 'Abbasid decadence were up against a formidable foe. The court

⁵⁵ Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, 4: 144; Lunde and Stone, *Meadows*, 283.

⁵⁶ Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, 3: 293; Lunde and Stone, *Meadows*, 35.

⁵⁷ On the increase and diffusion of agricultural produce, see Andrew Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World: The Diffusion of Crops and Farming Techniques 700–1100* (Cambridge, 1983). For the impact of the agricultural revolution on the food markets and cooking in the 'Abbasid world and particularly Baghdad, see Waines, *In a Caliph's Kitchen*, 9–10.

⁵⁸ *The Thousand and One Nights* have attracted the attention of Western scholars for over a century. For studies on the formation of the text and some of its themes, see Mia I. Gerhardt, *The Art of Story-Telling* (Leiden, 1963); David Pinault, *Story-Telling Techniques in the Arabian Nights* (Leiden, 1992). On the use of the stories as a repository of information on cultural matters and attitudes, see Edward W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages: Studies from The Thousand and One Nights*, Stanley Lane-Poole, ed. (1883; London, 1987); Henry G. Farmer, *The Minstrelsy of "The Arabian Nights"* (Bearsden, 1946); for discussion on the attitude toward food and sex in *The Thousand and One Nights*, see Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 109–18.

⁵⁹ *Tales from the Thousand and One Nights*, N. J. Dawood, trans. (Harmondsworth, 1954), 110.

⁶⁰ On the connection between music and the luxurious lifestyle, particularly that of the court, see Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 197–99; 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Khaldun, *Kitab al-'Ibar*, 7 vols. (Beirut, 1961), 1: 758–67; translation in Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, Franz Rosenthal, trans., 3 vols. (1958; Princeton, N.J., 1967), 2: 395–405. On other literary sources that combine food and music with illicit sexual encounters, see Van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse*, 110.

⁶¹ Farmer, *Minstrelsy*, 5.

⁶² George D. Sawa, *Music Performance Practice in the Early 'Abbasid Era 132–320 AH/750–932 AD* (Toronto, 1989), xiii.

⁶³ Sawa, *Music Performance*, 123.

constantly created new fashions, and its guests and workers, who came in and out, introduced those fashions to all who wanted to imitate them.⁶⁴ In a captivating account that appears in the chronicles of al-Mas'udi, we can read how the court created new modes of behavior and disseminated them among the general public. According to al-Mas'udi, when the caliph al-Qahir (r. 932–34) asked the court historian, Muhammad Ibn 'Ali al-Misri, about the accomplishments of previous caliphs, the historian chose to concentrate on the cultural leadership of the caliphal courts and not their military achievements. Al-Misri's account mentions Mansur, who was the first caliph to commission translations of works from foreign languages, which "the public read and studied" avidly; the renowned Harun al-Rashid, who is credited with popularizing "the games of polo, . . . ball games and racket games . . . and these games spread among the people"; Harun's wife Zubaida, who introduced "the fashion for slippers embroidered with precious stones and for candles made of ambergris—fashions which spread to the public"; and Mu'tasim, who wore "a turban over a soft cap. The people adopted this headgear in imitation of their sovereign."⁶⁵ Perhaps the most captivating story is that of Zubaida and her son, the caliph Amin. After noticing that Amin was attracted to eunuchs, Zubaida "chose young girls remarkable for the elegance of their figures and the charm of their faces." She dressed them up and arranged their hair "after the fashion of young men." Amin was smitten by their looks "and appeared with them in public. It was then that the fashion for having young slave girls with short hair, wearing *qaba* and belts, became established at all levels of society. These were called 'page girls.'"⁶⁶

Had such promiscuity remained confined to the court, its critics would have had little chance to confront it. However, since the music, cross-dressing, and frivolous games of the court appeared in the streets and homes of Baghdad, they drew the wrath of the pious milieu. Thus, alongside the elaboration and propagation of the ascetic code of conduct through exemplars like Ibn Hanbal, other pietists confronted this immoral conduct head on. In a tract called *Censure of Instruments of Diversion (Dhamm al-Malahi)*, Ibn Abi Dunya (d. 894) admonishes the full gamut of courtly amusements: music, illicit sexual liaisons, and games.⁶⁷ Yet some pious

⁶⁴ Three contemporary studies of 'Abbasid culture demonstrate that courtly fashions and tastes spread to the rest of society: Boaz Shoshan, "On Costume and Social History in Medieval Islam," *Asian and African Studies* 22 (1985): 38–39; Waines, "Cereals, Bread and Society," 274; Gutas, *Greek Thought*, 135.

⁶⁵ Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, 4: 288–92; Lunde and Stone, *Meadows*, 388–91.

⁶⁶ Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, 4: 291; Lunde and Stone, *Meadows*, 390–91. On page girls (*ghullamiyat*), see Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, Salahuddin K. Bukhsh and David S. Margoliouth, trans. (London, 1937), 357. See also Franz Rosenthal, "Male and Female: Described and Compared," in J. W. Wright and Everett K. Rowson, *Homoeotericism in Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 1997), 24–54, esp. 25, 28.

⁶⁷ Ibn Abi Dunya, *Dhamm al-Malahi*, in James Robson, ed. and trans., *Tracts on Listening to Music* (London, 1938). For the connection that Ibn Abi Dunya makes between illicit sexual practices and music, see 27. The majority of jurists did not accept his position, which rejects nearly every form of music. However, his position does reflect an ongoing controversy. The majority of jurists distinguished between religious chants, communal celebrations, and occupational music (shepherd or caravan songs), which were considered legitimate, and arousing music that was accompanied by illegitimate activities such as consumption of wine, spending time with women, or courting homosexual lovers. For a ninth-century tract on musical instruments that aims to ascribe legitimacy to music and musical instruments, see al-Mufaddal Ibn Salama, *Kitab al-Malahi*, in James Robson, ed. and trans., *Ancient Arabian Musical Instruments* (Glasgow, 1938). For the legal debate over music, see Lois I. al-Faruqi, "Music, Musicians and Muslim Law," *Asian Music* 17 (1985): 3–36. On the connection between music

believers were not satisfied with mere oral and written criticism and chose to do battle with the sinners. Such drastic actions devolved, in some instances, into full-scale riots. Leading the militant opposition to the courtly fashions that trickled into other segments of society were the Hanbalis. Their discussions about the use and limits of violence as a means to curb immoral behavior, known as commanding right and forbidding wrong, will be examined below.

COMMANDING RIGHT AND FORBIDDING WRONG is associated with some of the more volatile moments and individuals in Islamic history. Even though it appears in the canonic literature (Qur'an and Prophetic traditions) as a vague recommendation without specific instructions, it became the ideological foundation for lone and sometimes suicidal individuals who reprimanded rulers, rebellious movements that sought to topple corrupt regimes, state officials (mainly the *muhtasib*, inspector of the markets) who were in charge of maintaining social order, and ordinary believers who sought to remove vice from their streets.⁶⁸ Although it is not dealt with in most legal manuals, it is part of the Islamic ethical and legal discourse.⁶⁹

Within the Sunni milieu, the Hanbalis stood out as the earliest writers on, and most ardent practitioners of, forbidding wrong.⁷⁰ Their first written references on the topic appear in legal compendiums of disciples who studied with Ibn Hanbal himself.⁷¹ In the subsequent generation, Abu Bakr al-Khallal (d. 923), a Hanbali scholar who dedicated his life to collecting and writing down Ibn Hanbal's opinions on all branches of Islamic religiosity, composed a treatise that dealt solely with this topic.⁷² The tract deals with music, wine, games, and mixed company of the sexes, all of which were commonplace in court culture but were considered by the Hanbalis as corrupt. The following four short examples are illustrative of what the Hanbalis thought and how they discussed forbidding wrong. The first two are about musical instruments:

and sexual promiscuity, see Catholic criticism of Protestants in Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 158.

⁶⁸ For a survey of the canonic literature and how it deals with "forbidding wrong," see Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 13–45. For a review of concrete case studies, see 46–83.

⁶⁹ Even though the term "forbidding wrong" first comes up in the foundational texts of Islamic law—Qur'an and Prophetic traditions—it only makes short appearances in later Sunni legal texts; it has a stronger presence in Shi'i legal texts. Despite the gradual omission of "forbidding wrong" from Sunni law manuals, the Sunni jurists do refer to it in separate tracts or chapters in legal-political compositions such as the *al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya* of al-Mawardi. Al-Mawardi, *Al-Ahkam al-Sultaniyya*. (Kuwait, 1989).

⁷⁰ On the uniqueness of Hanbali literature, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 87–90.

⁷¹ Before this compendium was put together, Hanbalis had dedicated to the topic chapters in three ethical and legal collections. Ishaq Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Hani', *Masa'il al-imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal* (Beirut, 1400), 2: 173–75; Abu Dawud al-Sijistani, *Masa'il al-imam Ahmad* (Beirut, n.d.), 278–80; Abu Bakr al-Marwadhī, *Wara'* (Beirut, 1983), 154–56.

⁷² Abu Bakr al-Khallal, *Al-amr bi-l-ma'ruf wa-l-nahy 'an munkar* (Cairo, 1975). On Abu Bakr al-Khallal, see Ziauddin Ahmad, "Abu Bakr al-Khallal—The Compiler of the Teachings of Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal," *Islamic Studies* 9 (1970); Melchert, *Formation*, 137–55; on the treatise, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 88–93.

Abu Bakr al-Marwadhi told Abu Bakr al-Khallal: "I asked Ibn Hanbal⁷³ about breaking a *tunbur* [stringed instrument]. Ibn Hanbal said: 'It should be broken.' I asked: 'a small *tunbur* in the hands of a child?' Ibn Hanbal replied: 'It too should be broken, if it is out in the open—then break it.'"⁷⁴

This terse conversation, which was transmitted through three generations of teachers and disciples (Ibn Hanbal, Abu Bakr al-Marwadhi, and Abu Bakr al-Khallal), is followed by a short description of Ibn Hanbal's conduct:

'Umar Ibn Salih told Abu Bakr al-Khallal [when they met] in Tarsus [a town in northern Syria]: "I saw Ahmad Ibn Hanbal pass by an *'ud* [lute] that was out in the open and he broke it."⁷⁵

Another offense discussed in the compendium is the consumption of alcohol.⁷⁶ The following question was posed to Ibn Hanbal regarding actions that ought to be taken when coming across intoxicants:

Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Matar and Zakariya' Ibn Yahya told me [Abu Bakr al-Khallal] that Abu Talib asked Ibn Hanbal: "If we pass near alcohol, kept in a small or large vessel, should we break it?" Ibn Hanbal replied: "Yes, break it. One should not pass by exposed wine [and not break the vessel]." Abu Talib asked: "And if it is covered?" Ibn Hanbal replied: "Do not interfere if it is covered."⁷⁷

In the fourth dialogue, an anonymous inquirer asks Ibn Hanbal about someone who disrupted a game of chess:

Sulayman Ibn al-Ash'ath told us: "I heard Ibn Hanbal being questioned about a man who walked by a group who was playing chess, and he rebuked them [that is, he spoke to them], and they paid no heed, and he grabbed the chess[board] and threw it." Ibn Hanbal said: "That's fine, there is no [problem] with that." I [Sulayman Ibn al-Ash'ath] said to Ibn Hanbal: "and the same when breaking an *'ud* or *tunbur*?" He said yes.⁷⁸

These inquiries deal with specific modes of conduct and not with abstract principles. The interlocutors who turn to Ibn Hanbal for advice want to know how to apply the principle of forbidding wrong in specific situations. For instance, how does a devoted believer put an end to a wrongdoing? Is physical coercion acceptable? The four conversations touch on the legitimacy of ordinary believers using force when implementing the principle of forbidding wrong. In all of these cases, Ibn Hanbal replied that it is permissible to stop corrupt behavior with physical force, and that no allowances should be made even for children. However, both Ibn Hanbal and his interlocutors referred to acts of violence against things and not against perpetrators.⁷⁹ It seems that among the early Hanbali milieu, the possibility of attacking

⁷³ For the sake of convenience, I wrote Ibn Hanbal when in the original text he is named Abu 'Abdallah.

⁷⁴ Abu Bakr al-Khallal, *Al-amr*, 142.

⁷⁵ Abu Bakr al-Khallal, *Al-amr*, 142.

⁷⁶ For a brief overview on the prohibition of intoxicants, see Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle, 1985), 46–60.

⁷⁷ Abu Bakr al-Khallal, *Al-amr*, 134–35.

⁷⁸ Abu Bakr al-Khallal, *Al-amr*, 145–46.

⁷⁹ The Hanbali interpretation of forbidding wrong comes very close to the Protestant penchant to destroy "religious property" because it is perceived as "wrongful use of material objects." See Davis, *Society and Culture*, 174.

fellow Muslims rarely came up and was therefore not sanctioned.⁸⁰ Thus, although Ibn Hanbal encouraged his disciples to destroy material objects in the name of morality, he makes no mention of the wrongdoers themselves. Another limitation set by Ibn Hanbal was the intrusion of privacy.⁸¹ Although Ibn Hanbal does not address the issue of breaking into homes, he does mention that he is talking about musical instruments and jugs of wine that are "out in the open." Here, as well as in other works, the readers are expected to mind their own business and respect each other's privacy. According to most Muslim thinkers, forbidding wrong was to be performed solely in cases of glaring, public offenses.

A fascinating and crucial aspect of these anecdotes is that they are dialogues between scholars and the wide circles of relatively uneducated masses. The questions are simple, seeking practical advice about concrete situations, and the answers are clear instructions about what to do and what to avoid. This is not surprising if we consider that the compendium is a collection of *masa'il*, whose very purpose is to create a channel of communication between the scholarly elite and the intellectually lower stratum. This subgenre of legal literature, which was widely used in Islamic and Jewish societies in the Middle Ages, offers a unique means of accessing the beliefs and attitudes of lay believers. It is one of the few medieval genres that reveals, mainly through its questions, the concerns and apprehensions of the average Muslim.⁸²

Evidence of the interaction between first-rate Hanbali scholars and their lay admirers is found in the seemingly dull lists of names that appear at the beginning of each anecdote. In a study of this treatise, Michael Cook has pointed out that "Khallal transmits directly from some forty different authorities."⁸³ In several cases, these authorities did not have direct contact with Ibn Hanbal and learned about his opinions through another group of transmitters, hence creating two layers of transmitters between Ibn Hanbal and Abu Bakr al-Khallal and, as a consequence, enlarging the number of documented Hanbalis that participate in the discussions. Judging by Abu Bakr al-Khallal's compendium, forbidding wrong was an issue that interested dozens of Hanbalis. As Cook observes, it was an "everyday concern of

⁸⁰ Cook finds that the only case in which Ibn Hanbal justifies the use of force against people is that of rebellious youths; *Forbidding Wrong*, 97.

⁸¹ For a discussion on forbidding wrong and privacy, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 80–82, 99–100, 479–82. A dissertation in preparation by Eli Alshekh, "Privacy in Early Islamic Thought," will treat privacy in Qur'anic exegesis and law.

⁸² For an overview of Islamic *masa'il* and *fatwa* literature, and analysis of the *fatwas*, see Muhammad K. Masud, Brinkley Messick, and David S. Powers, eds., *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and Their Fatwas* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). The challenge of "catching the voices of common people and drawing near to their world-view," as Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture* (Cambridge, 1992), xix, described it, has been a central concern of modern scholars who study pre-modern societies. One well-known source that has been used by historians for such a purpose is Inquisitorial records, as in the works of Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, Md., 1984); and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error*, Barbara Bray, trans. (New York, 1979). Another source is literary works, which have been utilized in studies such as Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky, trans. (Bloomington, Ind., 1984). It seems to me that the gamut of Jewish and Islamic *responsa* offer another rich source for this trajectory of investigation.

⁸³ Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 88–89, n. 8. In two instances where Cook discusses the transmitters of forbidding wrong and its practitioners, he points out that he is unable to identify them. On p. 494, n. 204, he hints at their low status when discussing their "plebeian" *nisbas*, a name that conveys a relation to a father, tribe, town, trade, etc.

the early Hanbalite community.”⁸⁴ It is crucial to emphasize that many of the transmitters of these anecdotes were marginal figures in the Hanbali circle, who are barely mentioned in Hanbali biographical literature or any other record of scholars from that period. Clearly, the doctrine of forbidding wrong circulated orally among the lesser educated adherents of the Hanbali milieu before Abu Bakr al-Khallal wrote what his informants told him.

Mild asceticism and forbidding wrong stem from the same moral impulse: control of appetites and passions. From the Hanbali point of view, which espoused mild asceticism and encouraged the implementation of forbidding wrong, players of games are so engrossed in their frivolous pastimes that they forget themselves and their religious duties; alcohol distorts the senses; music breeds fornication; excessive consumption of clothes, food, and furniture requires huge resources of time and money and enslaves the believer to his or her physical needs and whims. The task that mild ascetics and individuals who forbade wrong took upon themselves was to minimize (as in the case of food, clothing, and furniture, music and sexual activities) or to do away with completely (as with games and wine) activities that excite passions. Thus the two have a common goal, which they try to attain in different arenas: forbidding wrong operates in the public sphere (or in other people’s homes), while mild asceticism deals with one’s own body and personal habits in the privacy of one’s own home.⁸⁵

The link between rigorous self-discipline (asceticism) and strident social activism (forbidding wrong) is not a unique Islamic phenomenon. It is, in fact, part of a pattern that has been discussed by Max Weber in his *Sociology of Religion*, where he comments: “Religious virtuosity, in addition to subjecting the natural drives to a systematic patterning of life, always leads to the control of relationships within communal life . . . and leads further to an altogether radical religious and ethical criticism.”⁸⁶ In the Islamic context, asceticism (“religious virtuosity”) and forbidding wrong (“radical religious and ethical criticism”) were often performed by the same individuals. Although the two do not always converge, a disproportionate number of ascetics performed forbidding wrong. We learn that the renowned Ibn Karram, the founder of the Karramiyya, was both an ascetic and practitioner of forbidding wrong.⁸⁷ Other well-known ascetics, such as Hasan al-Basri, Sufyan al-Thawri, Bishr al-Hafi, and Malik Ibn Dinar, and also many lesser known ascetics, repudiated their neighbors and rulers.⁸⁸ The Hanbalis have their own share of mildly ascetic practitioners of forbidding wrong, starting with Ibn

⁸⁴ Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 90.

⁸⁵ On forbidding wrong as an activity that is performed outside of one’s own private sphere, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 469.

⁸⁶ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion* (1963; Boston, 1991), 164. Weber also added to this general observation a typology according to which “inner worldly ascetics” felt responsible toward their communities and as a consequence got involved in worldly activities, while a second group of “world-rejecting” ascetics, who inflicted on themselves harsh deprivation, chose to break from society. This dichotomy is problematic and has numerous exceptions. However, as a rough generalization, it is a useful characterization of tendencies in Islamic societies.

⁸⁷ On Ibn Karram, see Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism*, 88–94; on his performance of forbidding wrong, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 489.

⁸⁸ On Hasan al-Basri, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 64; on Sufyan al-Thawri, 65; on Bishr al-Hafi, 68; on Malik Ibn Dinar, 69.

Hanbal himself and moving to al-Barbahari, who was reputed to be an ascetic and the leader of groups that forbade wrong.⁸⁹

The similarities between forbidding wrong and mild asceticism are evident in several areas. Both were elaborated in simple literary forms that were easily understood by the wide public (forbidding wrong was dealt with in *masa'il*, mild asceticism appears in biographic dictionaries). Both went beyond writings and were manifested in actions that were meant to check the spread of hedonism in Islamic society. In short, both were excellent instruments for disseminating their shared critique of excess materialism among a large audience. Yet, whereas mild asceticism operated through self-restraint and therefore in the private domain, forbidding wrong was an attempt to enforce moral strictures on others and was therefore applied in the public sphere.

According to the Hanbali worldview, forbidding wrong was a means of criticizing the members of the community and not the authorities, to whom Hanbalis remained loyal. However, despite their fidelity, the Hanbalis' activities did cause instability and place the rulers in jeopardy. In the early tenth century, as their numbers grew and their leaders became more militant, the Hanbalis reinterpreted forbidding wrong and took it upon themselves to be the moral patrol of Baghdad. Eschewing the very self-restraint that Ibn Hanbal prescribed, they harassed anyone that chose a way of life different from their own, and made it all the more difficult for the 'Abbasid regime to maintain its hold on the disintegrating empire.

THE HANBALI TRANSITION from uncompromising, yet selective, criticism to unbridled persecution of ideological rivals is a fascinating enigma, which to a large extent is insoluble due to lack of sources. The chronicles and Hanbali biographical dictionaries do not address this change directly, and therefore do not divulge any information about this process. What they do refer to are eruptions of Hanbali rampages, sketches of their leaders, and the rulers' reactions to Hanbali rioting. These occasional descriptions of Hanbali disorderliness enable us to distinguish between two forms of conduct (that under the leadership of Ibn Hanbal and that under the leadership of al-Barbahari), to examine and analyze the dynamics of Hanbali upheaval, and to identify the ideology that generated the riots. But these inquiries will not explain why the disciples moved away from their founder's self-imposed restrictions to rampant disorder and how they justified it. Therefore, this part of the essay will focus on the descriptions of the Hanbali disturbances in the early tenth century. Based on the depiction and examination of the events, it will suggest some tentative observations regarding the context in which al-Barbahari and his followers acted so aggressively.

Outside the Hanbali milieu, it was mostly quixotic loners who forbade wrong.⁹⁰ In contrast to the Hanbalis, who were intensely preoccupied with the doctrine of forbidding wrong in the ninth century and by the tenth century were implementing it in large groups led by al-Barbahari, the adherents of the other three Sunni

⁸⁹ On al-Barbahari's asceticism, see Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidaya wa-'l-Nihaya*, 15 vols. (Beirut, 1993), 11: 227.

⁹⁰ See Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 493.

madhahib were slow to articulate a doctrine and rarely forbade wrong in groups.⁹¹ Thus, whereas most practitioners of forbidding wrong viewed their conduct as an expression of individual devotion and scrupulousness, among the Hanbalis it was both an act that was meant to strengthen the moral fiber of Islamic society and, at the same time, a way of belonging to their *madhhab*.⁹² This predilection to group action had an important political consequence: the Hanbalis became a formidable force in the streets of Baghdad, and the authorities had to appease or oppress them because in some instances their group activities devolved into religious riots that jeopardized the ruling elite.⁹³

Hanbali pugnacity became a nuisance for the rulers and evoked harsh words from such chroniclers as the contemporary historian al-Suli (d. 947) and the eleventh-century bureaucrat Miskawayh (d. 1030).⁹⁴ The two were part of an educated milieu that served the rulers as bureaucrats and courtiers, identified with their political agendas, and embraced the courtly cultural paradigm that the Hanbalis adamantly opposed.⁹⁵ Much like conservative French and British historians from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, who viewed the violent masses as “rabble” without a cause and wrote about the crowds from the “spasmodic view of popular history,” al-Suli and Miskawayh described the Hanbalis in a derogatory fashion.⁹⁶ The upshot of this elitist perspective was that the masses lacked an honorable purpose because their only concern was immediate material gratification. Furthermore, these historians depicted the Hanbalis as lacking any ideological and organizational attributes, and therefore as being easy prey for charismatic individuals who were set on inciting riots. However, despite al-Suli’s and Miskawayh’s enmity, their critical remarks and hostile descriptions unwittingly reveal the Hanbalis as a relatively organized movement whose members operate in the name of a well-defined worldview.

Some three centuries after al-Suli made his comments about the Hanbalis, Ibn al-Athir echoed his point of view. In a short sub-chapter about Hanbali sedition, the author describes their assaults on Baghdad’s populace:

In that year [935] the Hanbali affair became more distressing as their fury intensified. They began to raid the houses of the commanders and of the common people, and if they found wine they poured it away, and if they found a singing girl they beat her and broke her instruments. They hindered buying and selling and delayed men who were walking along with women and youths, to question them about their companions. If the answers failed to

⁹¹ For surveys on the doctrine and practice of forbidding wrong among the Hanafis, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 307–38; on Shafi’is, see 339–56; on Malikis, see 357–92.

⁹² Exceptions to this observation are several groups of Malikis in North Africa that did forbid wrong in groups. See Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 384.

⁹³ On these riots, see Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, 8: 307–09; Abu Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya al-Suli, *Akhbar al-Radi bi’llah wa’l-Muttaqi lillah* (Misr, 1935), 65; Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 116–18, 500; the term “religious riots” follows Davis, *Society and Culture*, 153, where such riots are defined: “any violent action, with words or weapons, undertaken against religious targets by people who were not acting officially and formally as agents of political and ecclesiastical authority.”

⁹⁴ On these two figures, see *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2d edn.).

⁹⁵ This is not a unique ‘Abbasid feature. For a discussion of negative depictions of popular violence in other societies, see George Rude, *The Crowd in History, 1730–1848* (New York, 1964), 12.

⁹⁶ Rude, *Crowd*, 7–8; Thompson, “Moral Economy,” 76.

satisfy them they beat the men and dragged them to the chief of police and testified about their immoral acts. The Hanbali wrought discord upon Baghdad.⁹⁷

Hanbali belligerence drew severe reactions from the caliph and his chief of police. However, these measures did not subdue al-Barbahari and his adherents.⁹⁸ Ibn al-Athir continues: "The Hanbali evil and sedition grew. They sought the assistance of the blind who took shelter in the mosques and when adherents of the Shafi'i *madhhab* walked by, these blind men would set upon them and beat them with their sticks, nearly killing them."⁹⁹ These accounts of unjustified intrusions into houses, harassment of passersby, and disturbances at the markets are meant to create the impression that the Hanbali were an unruly mob. However, despite Ibn al-Athir's detailed description of Hanbali violence and the erasure of any ideological motivations that may have moved them to such conduct, the connection between the two is quite clear. Although Ibn al-Athir does not use the term "forbidding wrong," his descriptions of pouring out wine, breaking musical instruments, and intervening between potential illicit sexual partners fall well within the Hanbali understanding of forbidding wrong. Thus, despite the historians' attempts to present the Hanbali as a violent mob, whose actions cannot be justified, they reveal enough information to point to a connection between their conduct and forbidding wrong.¹⁰⁰

Yet, although it is possible to associate Hanbali riots and forbidding wrong, their mode of implementing the principle in the tenth century contradicted Ibn Hanbal's prescriptions.¹⁰¹ First of all, al-Barbahari's followers broke into houses in search of wine and musical instruments, acts that were contrary to Ibn Hanbal's instructions to avoid things that were not out in the open. Secondly, the *masa'il* of Ibn Hanbal rarely mentioned (and therefore rarely sanctioned) assaults on people. When he justified the use of physical force, it was only against material objects. By contrast, tenth-century Hanbali assaulted singers and individuals who did not cooperate with them and even Shafi'is who happened to walk by their mosque. Thirdly, Ibn Hanbal directed his interlocutors to avoid the authorities and not to seek their help in implementing forbidding wrong.¹⁰² Eighty years later, the Hanbali dragged people to the police station, and got themselves in more trouble than their victims,

⁹⁷ Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, 8: 307. For a different translation of this passage, see Bernard Lewis, *Islam*, 2 vols. (New York, 1974), 2: 19. Some parts of Lewis's translation appear verbatim in this translation.

⁹⁸ Al-Barbahari's militancy resembles the fifth-century abbot Shenoute, whose followers harassed pagans and rich Christians. On Shenoute, see K. H. Kuhn, "Shenute, Saint," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), 7: 2131–33. On his leadership and violence, see David Frankfurter, "Things Unbefitting Christians': Violence and Christianization in Fifth-Century Panopolis," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 8, no. 2 (2000): 273–95. For Shenoute's critique of the luxuriant and impious, see Heike Behlmer, "Historical Evidence from Shenoute's *De extremo iudicio*," in *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia* (1993), 2: 11–19. I would like to thank Peter Brown for referring me to these works.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil*, 8: 308; Lewis, *Islam*, 2: 19–20.

¹⁰⁰ For a treatment of these events as instances of forbidding wrong, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 116–18.

¹⁰¹ For a comparison between Hanbali practice of forbidding wrong during Ibn Hanbal's lifetime and their conduct under the leadership of al-Barbahari, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 115–17.

¹⁰² On avoiding the authorities when forbidding wrong, see Cook, *Forbidding Wrong*, 102–03.

because the police considered Hanbali conduct to be a hindrance to public order and attempted to put an end to their vigilante actions.

Despite the court historians' efforts to create the impression that the Hanbalis were a crowd gone berserk, their writings do reveal some characteristics of an organized movement, just as they unwittingly exposed the Hanbalis' ideological features. The tenth-century historian al-Suli, whose account of the 935 disturbances is similar to the above-cited depictions of assaults, adds meaningful information to what we know about these events—the names of the riots' leaders: "And the Hanbali affair intensified in this period as they plundered stores in the Syrian Gate [*Bab al-Sham*] . . . and the ruler [*sultan*] resented this and ordered a search for al-Dalla' and Ibn Ramadan, but neither was found."¹⁰³ The use, by contemporary historians, of the term Hanbali suggests that the Hanbalis were a distinct and recognized group in that period, which was set apart from the faceless masses (named '*amma*' in these chronicles). Furthermore, the rulers' attempts to seek out and capture al-Dalla', Ibn Ramadan, and al-Bukhari, who was known as al-Barbahari's lieutenant, suggest that there was an acknowledged leadership among the Hanbalis.¹⁰⁴ We also read that when these leaders went into hiding, they could rely on a loyal network, which hid them for as long as was necessary, and in the case of al-Barbahari until his death.¹⁰⁵ Such a leadership and the long-term cooperation between leaders and followers suggests that the Hanbali disturbances cannot be characterized as spontaneous outbursts and demonstrations. The Hanbalis of the early tenth century had some sort of informal organization that included a handful of widely recognized leaders and numerous followers who were willing to risk themselves and hide or help these leaders. It also seems that they had a clear sense of group solidarity and estrangement from other *madhahib*, as when they assailed individuals who happened to pass by, simply because they belonged to the Shafi'i *madhhab*. Thus what might appear as a motley group of unorganized zealots turns out to be bands of Hanbali militants, confronting members of other *madhahib*.

Another indication that the Hanbalis were perceived by the early tenth century as a cohesive and organized movement was the caliph's explicit effort to stop their activities. During the reigns of al-Radi (d. 940), who was an admirer of non-Islamic sciences and games and a lover of lascivious living, the police were ordered to confront the Hanbalis.¹⁰⁶ Miskawayh, the eleventh-century historian, wrote: "In this year [935] Badr Kharshani [Baghdad's chief of police] rode and proclaimed on both sides of Baghdad that no two Hanbalite followers of Abu Mohammad Barbahari were to assemble in one place; a number of them were imprisoned, and Barbahari himself went into hiding. The reason for this lay in their frequent assaults on people and their constant stirring up of strife."¹⁰⁷

Miskawayh, like al-Suli before him, stripped the Hanbalis of their ideological

¹⁰³ Al-Suli, *Akhbar al-Radi*, 65; on al-Dalla', see 136. Al-Dalla' is also mentioned in Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadhani, *Takmila Ta'rikh al-Tabari* (Beirut, 1961), 1: 92.

¹⁰⁴ On al-Bukhari, see al-Suli, *Akhbar al-Radi*, 136.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidaya wa'l-Nihaya*, 11: 227.

¹⁰⁶ On al-Radi, see *Encyclopedia of Islam* (2d edn.), "al-Radi Bi'llah." On his biography and insights into his attitude toward sciences and luxuries, see Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj*, 4: 295–310.

¹⁰⁷ Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Miskawayh, *Tajarib al-Umam* (Misr, 1914), 1: 322. Translation in Henry F. Amedroz and David S. Margoliouth, eds. and trans., *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1921), 364.

plumage—theological positions and forbidding wrong—and presented them as a dangerous nuisance gnawing at the social order. At the same time, he did not present the Hanbalis as a mindless crowd or as a collection of moralizing eccentrics. The fact that he refers to them by their name, Hanbalis (*Hanabila*), mentions their leader, and remarks on the imprisonment and hiding of leaders suggests that this was a distinct movement whose rank and file were loyal to their leaders and had a strong sense of group solidarity.

If we compare the Hanbalis to other groups that rioted in tenth-century Baghdad, such as the masses that demanded reasonably priced bread, the soldiers that demanded unreasonably high salaries, and the Hashimites that demanded their subsidies, the Hanbalis stand out precisely because they do not present the rulers with economic demands but are in fact motivated by a religious agenda.¹⁰⁸ It is important to reiterate that even in the narratives of al-Suli and Miskawayh, which ignore the Hanbalis' ideological motives and emphasize their seemingly random violence, the Hanbalis are not linked to demands of material gain. Furthermore, they are set apart from the faceless masses whose discontents grew from their fear for their physical well-being or from their narrow economic needs. Despite the hostility that such historians felt toward the Hanbalis, the image that comes into relief in their accounts is of a relatively organized movement that is driven by ideological motivations (albeit, according to these historians, a misguided ideology).

By the early tenth century, the Hanbalis went through two important changes. First, like other *madhahib*, they evolved from a small scholarly circle into a large socio-religious movement. Second, they became more aggressive toward their ideological adversaries. These two developments beg two interrelated questions, which do not have conclusive answers. Why did a group of ascetically inclined jurists enter this path of violence? How did this shift in ideology and social practice affect their growth and influence on society?

The tendency of the Hanbalis to confront sinners and deviants, be they authorities or ordinary members of the community, is an important part of their self-image. Echoes of this ethos appear in the biographies of Ibn Hanbal, which tell of his resistance to caliphal religious policy and his criticism of all those that surrounded him: sons, wives, neighbors, and disciples alike. However, even though evoking Ibn Hanbal can reveal, to a limited extent, the premium that the Hanbalis placed on religious and social criticism, it cannot explain why later generations of Hanbalis altered such circumscribed and well-aimed criticism of individuals into unruly assaults against the inhabitants of Baghdad. Despite our inability to furnish a comprehensive and satisfactory explanation for such a change, we can put it in perspective and note some of the historical circumstances that contributed to it. To begin with, it is important to place Hanbali violence in its proper proportions, since it was not the only path that they chose, even though in the days of al-Barbahari it was probably the dominant one. During the centuries following Ibn Hanbal's death,

¹⁰⁸ For a study on the social unrest of the period, see Elizabeth G. Heilman, "Popular Protest in Medieval Baghdad, 295–334 A.H./908–46" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1978). On the limits of economic determinism as a means of explaining riots, see Rude, *Crowd*, 214–34; Thompson, "Moral Economy," 76–79.

two other forms of relations between the Hanbalis and other non-Hanbali Muslims evolved. One of the two continued Ibn Hanbal's position, admonition of sinners, without resorting to intrusive violence. The second broke off from the Hanbali critical posture altogether, as Hanbali leaders developed close relations with the rulers and agreed to work for them in different capacities. When the three options are taken into account, it becomes clear that we cannot treat the Hanbalis as if they remained an ideologically homogeneous moral movement that was transformed *en bloc* into a bellicose element in Baghdadi society. Rather, they became a multifaceted movement that vacillated between these three ideological strands. The ebb and flow of Hanbali combativeness depended on at least two historic factors. The first was the spread of a candid anxiety among the Hanbalis that true Islam was about to be dealt a fatal blow and as a result might be irreversibly damaged. The second was the appearance of a capable leader, such as al-Barbahari, that would steer these moral desperados against their enemies.

Just as we remain in the dark regarding Hanbali contentiousness in the early tenth century, it is difficult to assess how the new patterns of violence influenced their ability to attract large followings. We simply do not have enough evidence to determine if their clashes with the surrounding environment were an asset or an impediment for their numerical growth. It is, however, safe to assume that Hanbali assaults in the name of morality elicited two kinds of reactions. The first was admiration by parts of the populace. Their austere lifestyles and preoccupation with public morality led them, and perhaps other segments of society, to perceive themselves as the moral elites of the Islamic community.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, their tendency to impose their ideals in such a forceful manner irritated a good many others, such as the caliphs who issued decrees against them and historians who wrote about them in negative terms. Hanbali zeal must have acted as both a magnet and a sieve—attracting some and keeping others away.

THE *madhahib* ARE ONE OF THE MOST ORIGINAL AND IMPORTANT Islamic social creations. Original, because the type of social organization that congealed around Islamic jurists did not have a precedent in Late Antique societies. Important, because the roles they played in the daily affairs of their followers as well as in local and imperial politics were crucial. In order to study such socio-intellectual entities, it is necessary to devise a methodology that analyzes the discrete elements of their worldviews, such as legal doctrine, moral ideals, and theological tenets, and synthesize them. In this essay, the conceptual framework that wove together the different elements of the Hanbali worldview is the *nomos*, which enabled us to trace the manner in which the underlying assumptions of the Hanbali moral ethos (mild asceticism) and its legal ideas (forbidding wrong) were linked to each other. A further aspect of the *nomos*, as Cover suggests, is its influence on the way in which that law is interpreted and implemented. Hence, it is an ideological framework that shapes the actual conduct of the community's members, because it determines the extent to which the community will cooperate with the rulers and the nature of its

¹⁰⁹ On violence and group identity, see Davis, *Society and Culture*, 185–87.

relations with the rest of society. The linkage between moral outlook, legal position, and social practice is of particular relevance to the Hanbalis, whose ethico-legal amalgam (mild asceticism and forbidding wrong) motivated them, on some occasions, to clash with individuals they perceived as sinners. Thus, on the basis of their *nomos* and the clashes that grew out of their attempts to implement its values, the Hanbalis viewed themselves as the guardians of true Islam, whose task was to do battle with moral transgressors.¹¹⁰ As was stated above, such militant activism gained the respect of some believers, but it also annoyed many others. In the long run, Hanbali rigidity and aggression had a price: from the earliest stages of their formation to the twenty-first century, the Hanbalis were and have remained the smallest of the four *madhahib*.¹¹¹

The concept of *nomos* creates a framework that brings together legal views with different strands of religious thought and investigates how such a worldview forges patterns of behavior. Such an approach is useful for scholars who study societies that are permeated with religious thought, and it is particularly promising for the study of Islamic societies, because the *madhahib*, in which law converges with a wide range of religious notions and social dynamics, constitute a pivotal element in their social configuration.

¹¹⁰ And to wreck the reputations of jurists and theologians with whom they disagreed on theological matters.

¹¹¹ Hanbalism was the source of inspiration of Wahhabism and is therefore practiced today mainly in Saudi Arabia.

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“A la Table de Magny”: Nineteenth-Century French Men of Letters and the Sources of Modern Historical Thought

JONATHAN DEWALD

IN 1938, THE PHILOSOPHER RAYMOND ARON sought to define the essential qualities of historical thought. “The biographer interests himself in the private man,” he wrote, “the historian primarily in the public man. An individual enters history only by his impact on collective development, by his contribution to the moral future.”¹ Aron’s definition of history as the study of public realms derived from ancient traditions, which gave primacy to the history of political life. Although his own views allowed for some forms of social history, and indeed highlighted the importance of economic development and social class as forces in humanity’s collective evolution, they excluded both private experience and the many social groups that failed to have an impact on humanity’s development. Despite Aron’s magisterial assurance, however, these topics already interested some historians in 1938, and they have become central to historical thought since World War II. Contemporary historians insist that as much attention be given to private persons and intimate doings as to those of public significance, and that apparently marginal groups matter within the larger historical record. Emerging from these commitments, their studies of sexuality, childhood, deviance, women, and a long list of other topics have changed interpretations of most periods. Despite occasional protests, this vision of the historian’s task has today become a norm guiding both professionals and the broader public in their understanding of the past.²

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¹ Raymond Aron, *Introduction à la philosophie de l’histoire*, new edn. (Paris, 1986; first published 1938), 97.

² Among numerous examples, see the articles and reflections collected in Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (New York, 1995); François Dosse, *New History in France: The Triumph of the “Annales,”* Peter V. Conroy, Jr., trans. (Urbana, Ill., 1994); Philippe Carrard, *Poetics of the New History: French Historical Discourse from Braudel to Chartier* (Baltimore, 1992). For a critical view that nonetheless stresses the prevalence of these ideas, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The New History and the Old* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), esp. 4–5, 18, 25–26; for related ideas from a more sympathetic perspective, see Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994).

This essay explores some of the origins of this redefinition of knowledge about the past.³ The question is an important one in the intellectual history of modern Europe, and of course there exist already coherent and plausible answers to it. Concern with events, politics, and great men (it is commonly agreed) dominated historical practice into the early twentieth century. Nineteenth-century scholars were obsessed with the nation-state, and they wanted to understand how this (to them, essential) fact of modern life had come into being.⁴ Following the example of Leopold von Ranke and other founders of professional history, they turned to the public archives, in which the state's progress could be traced; and their efforts produced the first solidly documented, scientific historical writing. Around the time of World War I, however, confidence in this project waned. New social conditions and groups seemed to demand attention; new developments in physics and other sciences challenged nineteenth-century ideas about what a scientific history should be; and the war itself undermined faith in the state as a force for human progress. Between the wars, there were calls for "a new kind of history," in the words of the French historian Lucien Febvre, and they resulted in a burst of scientific progress. New problems became legitimate subjects of inquiry, and new kinds of documents demanded attention. Narrative became less central as a mode of historical representation, because historians now attended to questions that had little to do with the established stories of national development. A history focused on problems in turn required new methods: quantification, comparison across national boundaries, insights derived from geography, sociology, psychology, and anthropology.

Even though it had sources in several historical traditions,⁵ it is generally agreed that this revolution in historical studies found its most influential advocates in France, under the leadership of Febvre and the medievalist Marc Bloch. War veterans and colleagues at the University of Strasbourg, they had begun planning their journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* almost immediately after their return to civilian life; it finally appeared in 1929. Over the following decades, the *Annales* group offered both programmatic statements in favor of new methods and examples of what such research might produce. In a 1944 book, for instance, Febvre drew historians' attention to the importance of studying human personality in the past; the changing nature of personality, he wrote, represents for historians "an enormous problem . . . I don't see that anyone, ever, has clearly laid it out: not among the philosophers, who study personality as it is today; nor among the historians, who don't ask themselves this kind of question."⁶ Such insistence that historians give more attention to the real life of past societies (it is argued) aroused suspicion among the political historians who dominated European universities, and Febvre and Bloch faced a difficult struggle in establishing the legitimacy of their

³ I discuss related aspects of this question in "'Lost Worlds': French Historians and the Construction of Modernity," *French History* 14 (December 2000): 424–42.

⁴ See, for instance, Charles-Olivier Carbonell, *Histoire et historiens: Une mutation idéologique des historiens français, 1865–1885* (Toulouse, 1976), 586–87: French historical writing of the period "se moque de 'l'histoire sociale,' qu'elle confond, les rares fois qu'elle s'y intéresse, avec une histoire polissonne des mœurs de jadis ou avec l'étude de quelques familles distinguées d'autrefois."

⁵ See most recently Roger Chickering, *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856–1915)* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1993).

⁶ Lucien Febvre, *Amour sacré, amour profane* (Paris, 1944), 297. I discuss these texts and the issues they raise in "'Lost Worlds.'"

enterprise. Peter Burke has recently described them as leading a "small, radical and subversive" band, "fighting a guerrilla action against traditional history, political history, and the history of events."⁷ Georg Iggers describes Febvre and Bloch as occupying "a somewhat marginal position in the 1930s," as "they pursued their conflict with [historian Charles] Seignobos and the traditional political historians at the Sorbonne."⁸

But after World War II, the situation changed dramatically. Historians associated with the *Annales* acquired increasingly absolute preeminence within the French historical profession, and their example resonated abroad, among North American, British, and German historians. Both supporters and critics have stressed the force of this international influence. In 1972, J. H. Hexter humorously noted his "eerie feeling that . . . the *Annalistes* are on a march that by friendly persuasion is about to conquer the historical world."⁹ Fifteen years later, in an essay mainly concerned with Anglo-Saxon historical writing, Gertrude Himmelfarb suggested that "even some of the *Annalistes* are beginning to suspect that they have unleashed a force that they cannot control. The very disciplines they have used to subvert the conventions of the old history threaten to subvert history itself."¹⁰ Whether as subversion or inspiration, observers have repeatedly stressed the centrality of the *Annales* group to historical consciousness throughout the twentieth-century West.

In this essay, I seek to complicate the narrative of intellectual transformation that Burke, Iggers, Himmelfarb, and others have recounted. Like them, I focus on France, as a center from which crucial elements in the contemporary Western understanding of history emerged, but I argue that these changes need to be set more firmly within their cultural background. Nineteenth-century French scholars in fact gave considerable attention to the history of societies. They assumed that history *should* be the story of societies, and they understood that history to include women as well as men. Their work, too, had considerable international resonance; these scholars, like their *Annaliste* successors, should be understood as contributing to a Europe-wide historical consciousness, rather than to purely French developments. Students of historiography have tended to neglect this line of historical thought because much of it arose outside university history departments. It was the work of literary critics, philosophers, and antiquarians, at least as much as of university historians. Taking note of their writings does not diminish the importance of Febvre, Bloch, and the other *Annalistes* as scientific innovators, but it does

⁷ Peter Burke, *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929–89* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), 2. Burke offers some nuances to this position (7–10) but also argues that the *Annales* represented first "the substitution of a problem-oriented analytical history for a traditional narrative of events. In the second place, the history of the whole range of human activities in the place of a mainly political history. In the third place . . . a collaboration with other disciplines" (2).

⁸ Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, N.H., 1997), 54. Compare Jacques Revel, "Histoire et sciences sociales: Les paradigmes des *Annales*," *Annales: ESC* 34 (November–December 1979): 1347–59; and André Burguière, "Histoire d'une histoire: La naissance des *Annales*," *ibid.*, 1360–75, each noting Febvre and Bloch's closeness to the center of contemporary academic influence. See also Gérard Noiriel, *Sur la "crise" des histoires* (Paris, 1996), 220–29, for nuances to conventional descriptions of Seignobos's "positivism."

⁹ J. H. Hexter, *On Historians* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 83.

¹⁰ Himmelfarb, *New History and the Old*, 8.

redefine the nature of their innovations. Rather than inventing altogether new subjects of study, I argue, they took up themes that had already been widely debated in the nineteenth century and that held a prominent place in the background of their own era. When they added their own contributions to these debates, they spoke to and helped shape the larger culture.¹¹

AN 1887 LETTER FROM FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE conveniently lists the writers on whom I will focus—and suggests how intently their work was followed outside France. “The second volume of the *Journal des Goncourts* has appeared—a most interesting new publication. It concerns the years 1862–65; in it, the famous *dîners chez Magny* [a Parisian restaurant] are described in an extremely vivid way, the dinners at which the most intelligent and skeptical troupe of Parisian minds at that time met together (Sainte-Beuve, Flaubert, Théophile Gautier, Taine, Renan, the Goncourt brothers, Schérer [*sic*], Gavarni, sometimes Turgenev, and so on). Exasperated pessimism, cynicism, nihilism, alternating with a lot of joviality and good humor; I would have been quite at home there myself—I know these gentlemen by heart so well that I have actually had enough of them. One should be more radical; at root they all lack the principal thing—‘*la force*.’”¹² Nietzsche’s reservations about these men of letters matter less for now than his conviction that they in some sense anticipated his own vision of the world, and that they had an important and unsettling effect on contemporary intellectuals.

Nietzsche’s cast of characters began meeting in 1862, at a restaurant favored by the literary critic Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, one of the group’s organizers. The biweekly meetings quickly acquired some fame for their mixture of personal confession, scabrous atheistic talk, and literary seriousness. The Goncourts’ *Journal* described the group discussing classical literature, recent works, and recent historical writing. But it also quoted Sainte-Beuve confessing “a secret despair, buried but still alive; he wished he were handsome, having, as he put it, a physique” that would instantly attract women. In the next year, they described an intoxicated Hippolyte Taine vomiting out the window, then turning back in to continue an argument about religious belief. Two weeks later, there were debates about the psychological effects of visiting whorehouses, with Taine arguing (against Flaubert, who insisted on the necessity of personal engagement) that real benefits came from venal sex. New members regularly joined, usually after having already attained literary prominence; others eventually left as a consequence of evolving personal enmities. Sainte-Beuve’s death in 1869 and the fall of the empire the following year accelerated this turnover among the diners, and in 1874 Edmond de Goncourt (another of the original organizers) noted sadly that the dinners had lost much of their interest, having become mainly the preserve of political figures.¹³ While the

¹¹ The argument suggested here owes much to the influence of Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). However, the argument also diverges from Smith’s in suggesting that among nineteenth-century male scholars there existed important and influential alternatives to the Rankean model of historical research.

¹² Christopher Middleton, ed., *Selected Letters of Friedrich Nietzsche* (Chicago, 1969), 275.

¹³ Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Journal: Mémoires de la vie littéraire*, Robert Ricatte, ed., 3 vols. (1956; rpt. edn., Paris, 1989), 1: 886 (on first meeting), 1: 897 (on Sainte-Beuve),

empire lasted, however, ties among the diners were reinforced by their encounters in other settings, and these balanced the dinners' bohemian tone. Most important, Sainte-Beuve, the Goncourts, Taine, Renan, Flaubert, and others met one another frequently in the salon of the princess Mathilde, Napoleon III's cousin, who provided a haven for liberal artists and writers, and used her influence on their behalf when they ran into political difficulties.

The group included five writers whose careers included significant works of history and who will be the focus in what follows. The oldest of these (he was born in 1804), Sainte-Beuve exemplified much about Parisian intellectual life during the first two-thirds of the century: modest origins; an unrelenting struggle for success in the world of literary journalism, and thus an abundant stream of books and reviews; disappointed hopes of success as a poet and novelist; and a disorderly personal life, which included one duel and an affair with the wife of Victor Hugo, at the time his closest friend. He never married, and only after 1840 did his life settle down somewhat, as a series of honors and government pensions brought him financial security and social standing. He was named director of the Mazarin library in 1840, to the Académie Française in 1844, and in 1854 to the Collège de France, where radical students hooted him off the podium; in 1865, with Mathilde's support, he received appointment to the imperial Senate, a mainly honorific position that brought the considerable salary of 30,000 francs.¹⁴

The others on Nietzsche's list were a full generation younger. They had come of age in the years around 1848, and they embodied new career paths and sensibilities. Sainte-Beuve himself described them as more serious and less sociable than his own coevals, and less susceptible to romantic follies: "a generation shaped by solitude, books, sciences." Having to absorb modern science and scholarly methods, "they had at the outset a heavy weight to lift; they devoted themselves entirely to the task, and succeeded at it."¹⁵ In keeping with this more scholarly orientation, Hippolyte Taine and Ernest Renan both sought conventional academic careers; after intensive preparations, Taine at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, Renan at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice, both took the aggregation in philosophy, and both wrote dissertations. In fact, neither's career progressed so tranquilly as he had hoped, since each encountered accusations of atheism and suspicions within the imperial administration; the more combative, Taine failed his examinations, condemning himself to a year teaching provincial high school students. But they quickly established themselves as leading writers and triumphed after 1871, winning election to the Académie Française and a series of lofty institutional positions; Renan became head of the Collège de France, while Taine was among the founders of the Institut des Sciences Politiques. In contrast to Sainte-Beuve's bohemian tendencies, they married prudently and in middle age enjoyed domestic calm, complete with

1: 1039 (on Taine), 1: 1047 (on sex), 1: 1082 (on notoriety), 2: 614 (on decline), 2: 668 (November 30, 1875), on the dinners as *tout politique*.

¹⁴ Nicole Casanova, *Sainte-Beuve* (Paris, 1995), esp. 418. For an important recent effort to assess Sainte-Beuve's importance within modern culture, see Wolf Lepenies, *Sainte-Beuve, auf der Schwelle zur Moderne* (Munich-Vienna, 1997).

¹⁵ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux lundis*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1868–84), 8: 79, 8: 81.

children and country houses.¹⁶ The Goncourts' story was closer to Sainte-Beuve's, in that they had no interest in advanced academic degrees and university positions, and neither married. But they, too, sought to apply scientific method to social and cultural issues, and to establish the intellectual as a respectable public figure. Late in life, established in an elegant suburban villa, Edmond (Jules had died young, of syphilis) enjoyed considerable public eminence.¹⁷

Magny was thus characterized by its blurring of the lines that divided intellectual life elsewhere in nineteenth-century Europe. It brought together men who were in some ways cultural outsiders, including several prominent victims of the imperial regime: the government had prosecuted Flaubert for obscenity, dismissed Renan from his academic position, and blocked Taine's career. Yet these same figures occasionally encountered the emperor himself at Mathilde's salon and regularly socialized there with some of the regime's leading administrators. The diners represented widely differing literary genres—including history, literary criticism, philosophy, and fiction—and several of them mixed these literary genres in their own careers. Sainte-Beuve wrote poetry and novels, and only reluctantly decided that his primary vocation was as a literary historian; the Goncourts first became known for their historical writing, then shifted to fiction; Taine and Renan both wrote works of fiction, although this was never their primary focus, and Taine wrote studies of psychology and philosophy, as well as history. One boundary remained largely intact. George Sand appears to have been the only woman to attend. But in other settings, members of the group had intense intellectual contacts with women. From the 1840s, Sainte-Beuve corresponded regularly with his former lover Hortense Allart, who spent most of her time in the countryside near Paris. She commented on his recent work, urged that he take up particular topics, and described her other reading, abruptly mixing these literary discussions with stories from her own love life and inquiries about his, much in the spirit of the Magny discussions.¹⁸ Renan's researches in Palestine were carried out in close partnership with his sister, and they corresponded about both personal and intellectual matters until her death, in 1861. In these encounters as among themselves, the Magny writers repeatedly considered the relatedness of their professional scholarship to their personal lives. "Cold, lifeless, unphilosophical, all that *littérature universitaire*," Renan confided to his journal, in 1846; "have these men no other purpose in their literary exercises than to produce good professors?"¹⁹ This was a rhetoric of intellectual activity that differed sharply from that of the historical seminars that had already developed in contemporary Germany, and that would emerge in France and the United States during the 1880s and 1890s. But at the same time, the Magny writers stressed the seriousness and fruitfulness of their discussions. The Goncourts

¹⁶ For appreciative overviews of their careers, see Gabriel Monod, *Les maîtres de l'histoire: Renan, Taine, Michelet*, 3d edn. (Paris, 1895). For an important recent effort to situate Taine, especially within contemporary intellectual life, see Christophe Charle, *Paris fin de siècle: Culture et politique* (Paris, 1998), 97–123.

¹⁷ Their careers are summarized in André Billy, *The Goncourt Brothers*, Margaret Shaw, trans. (New York, 1960).

¹⁸ See Hortense Allart de Méritens, *Lettres inédites à Sainte-Beuve (1841–1848)*, Léon Séché, ed., 2d edn. (Paris, 1908). At the end of her life, Allart apparently destroyed Sainte-Beuve's side of this correspondence.

¹⁹ Ernest Renan, *Histoire et parole: Oeuvres diverses*, Laudyce Rétat, ed. (Paris, 1984), 210.

quoted Sainte-Beuve's claim that his weekly articles emerged from discussions at the dinners and added their own comment: "it's true, Magny will be seen to have been . . . one of the last centers of real liberty of thought and speech."²⁰

Given their prominence, these men of letters offer an obvious test case for an argument about the nineteenth century's contribution to the twentieth century's historical outlook, but they also illustrate the difficulties with such an argument. None of the group trained as a professional historian or taught history in the university, and even their nonfiction was often written with a mass audience in mind; all of them needed to make money through literary journalism, writing for such middle-brow periodicals as the *Revue des deux mondes*. These literary orientations were at the core of the historian Alphonse Aulard's critique of Taine, first presented in 1905–1906 as a course at the Sorbonne, where Aulard held France's first chair in French Revolution studies. Taine failed to meet the standards of professional historical study, argued Aulard; his citations were sloppy and partial, and he failed to confront questions that mattered to professionals. "At the Sorbonne," Aulard proclaimed, asserting the importance of professional boundaries, "a candidate for a diploma in historical studies or a doctorate would disqualify himself if he cited Taine as an authority on a historical question."²¹ Insofar as contemporary historical thought rests on clearly defined standards of professional expertise, its origins would seem to lie elsewhere.

A more serious problem with connecting the Magny group to contemporary historical practice lies in its ideas about human nature: most of the group believed in racist explanations of social phenomena. The Goncourts publicly voiced their antisemitism and made it the subject of one of their novels (*Manette Salomon*); they dedicated it "à la table de Magny," implying that the group as a whole had some sympathy for their views.²² Privately, their language was even stronger, and Edmond responded enthusiastically to Edouard Drumont's *La France juive* when it appeared in 1885; its claims about Jewish power over Parisian newspapers, he thought, might explain unsympathetic reviews of his own work since *Manette Salomon*.²³ Taine and Renan adopted the rhetoric of scientific racism, and both applied Darwinian ideas to social phenomena very soon after *The Origin of Species* first appeared. "A race like the Aryan people," wrote Taine, "scattered from the Ganges to the Hebrides, established under all climates, ranged along every degree of civilization, transformed by thirty centuries of revolutions, shows nevertheless in its languages, in its religions, in its literatures, and in its philosophies, the community of blood and of intellect which still today binds together all its offshoots. However much they may

²⁰ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 2: 107. On Mathilde's salon, see, for instance, *Journal*, 1: 1179.

²¹ Alphonse Aulard, *Taine historien de la Révolution Française*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1908), viii; see also 50, for stress on Taine's literary, rather than historical, interests.

²² As an example of the specifically racial nature of their antisemitism: "Des entrailles de la [future] mère, la juive avait jailli. Et la persévérance froide, l'entêtement résolu, la rapacité originelle de sa race, s'étaient levés des semences de son sang . . . Comme toutes ses pareilles, elle avait ce restant de croyances, la foi insolente dans sa chance, la certitude religieuse de son bonheur, de l'arrivée de tout ce qu'elle désirait." *Manette Salomon* (1867; rpt. edn., Paris, n.d.), 351–52. On Renan's complicated attitude toward Jews, see Georges Sorel, *Le système historique de Renan* (1905–06; rpt. edn., Geneva, 1971), 69–70.

²³ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 2: 1242: "le livre de Drumont m'a causé une certaine épouvante par la statistique et le dénombrement de leurs forces occultes."

differ, their parentage is not lost." Such racism led Taine to hierarchical judgments about different cultures' possibilities, contrasting the limited aptitudes of "the semitic races" and the Chinese with those of "the Aryan races."²⁴ Renan drew out the practical consequences of these views. In response to the crisis of 1870–1871, among other recommendations, he urged colonialism as "a political necessity of the absolutely first order . . . [T]he regeneration of inferior or corrupted races by superior races is a part of the providential order of humanity." China and Africa offered the logical targets for this activity, he believed, since their inhabitants were naturally suited to manual labor. In contrast, even working-class Europeans descended from "a race of masters and soldiers." With its factories and offices, modern society restricted these masterly men "to labors contrary to [their] race," and socialist agitation inevitably ensued. Far better, Renan thought, to send them off on colonizing missions, where their innate heroism could serve the larger good.²⁵

Racism of this kind allied closely with the mistrust of democracy, which they saw advancing all around them and whose impact seemed especially frightening after the crisis of 1870–1871. Sainte-Beuve followed a complicated political evolution, and late in life became a left-wing hero for urging liberal reforms on the empire. But his works included enough criticism of democracy that the nationalist anti-semitic Charles Maurras could claim them as sources of his own views. In 1898, he argued that in Sainte-Beuve "one would find the first indications of that resistance to the ideas of 1789 that, later, would bring honor to such figures as Taine and Renan." The literary group around Sainte-Beuve, he added, "brings together everything . . . solid and healthy in our nature. It includes nearly all those writers of our century who do not go on all fours"; and thus the Action Française sought to establish a national holiday in his honor.²⁶

Having witnessed the Paris Commune, Taine and Renan were more explicit in their anxieties. Taine's *Les origines de la France contemporaine* famously argues that the Revolution of 1789 was made by men who had found themselves unable to succeed in the Old Regime; the revolution resulted from bitterness and envy, rather than reason and philosophy. Individual revolutionary leaders such as Jean-Paul Marat showed as well the destabilizing effects of their mixed racial backgrounds, but such leadership was not surprising in democratic situations; "universal suffrage," he wrote of his own times, "has had the effect of pushing aside the true notables, . . . the men who by their education, their preponderant role in taxation, their still-greater influence on production, work, and business, are the social authorities and ought to be the legal authorities."²⁷ Renan spoke still more bluntly. "Democracy," he wrote in response to the calamities of 1870–1871, "causes our military and political weakness, our ignorance, our silly vanity; together with our backward Catholicism, it causes the inadequacy of our educational system."²⁸ The

²⁴ Hippolyte Taine, *History of English Literature*, H. van Laun, trans., 2 vols. (New York, 1900), 1: 12, 1: 10.

²⁵ Renan, *Histoire et parole*, 628, 629.

²⁶ Charles Maurras, *Trois idées politiques* [1898], rpt. in Maurras, *Romantisme et révolution* (Paris, 1922), 259.

²⁷ Hippolyte Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886), 2: 97–100, 2: 598–99.

²⁸ Renan, *Histoire et parole*, 618.

Goncourts, whose family claimed eighteenth-century ennoblement and who prided themselves on never having voted, shared both this fear of democratic government and a related fear that Europe was being Americanized. "It is the barbarians of civilization who will swallow up the Latin world, just as the horde of uncivilized barbarians devoured it in a former age."²⁹ Renan envisioned the same prospect, with greater resignation. "The world is headed toward a form of Americanism that wounds our delicate ideas but that, once the current crises have passed, may well be no worse than the Old Regime for the only thing that matters, that is, the freedom and the progress of the human soul."³⁰

THEIR CONFIDENT EXPRESSION OF SUCH IDEAS suggests the distance separating the Magny writers from twentieth-century assumptions about historical explanation. But there are also reasons for looking more closely at the group's influence. In the first place, history held a central place in its thinking and writing. "History is the real philosophy of the nineteenth century," wrote Renan at the start of his career, in 1849. "Our century is not metaphysical . . . Its great concern is history, and above all the history of the human mind . . . In our times, one is defined by the way one understands history."³¹ Taine agreed. In 1858, he summarized the mood of his contemporaries as so deeply historical as to crowd out the philosophical approaches of earlier eras. The eighteenth century's classics of social theory, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Social Contract* "are now just decorations for the library," and any modern who attempted the genre would join these classics in oblivion. Hence the writer with sociological theories to advance "discovers an excellent method, the use of history."³² "Everyone knows," he added a few years later, "that this science is the greatest concern and the greatest achievement of the century. It's our contemporary; in Voltaire's day, it was barely imagined; in [Bishop] Bossuet's, it didn't exist."³³

In establishing this outlook, Taine argued, Sainte-Beuve had played a central role.³⁴ Although he practiced as a literary critic, Sainte-Beuve gave more attention to historical and social questions than to literature. A survey of the 640 essays that he produced for his weekly newspaper column between 1849 and 1869 finds only 150 literary topics, and even fewer instances of pure literary criticism;³⁵ and his greatest work remains his history of Port-Royal. To the American critic and Harvard professor Irving Babbitt, writing in 1912, Sainte-Beuve illustrated the larger confusion of nineteenth-century thought, its refusal of disciplinary conventions: "Criticism in Sainte-Beuve is plainly moving away from its own centre towards something else; it is ceasing to be literary and becoming historical and biographical and scientific. It illustrates strikingly in its own fashion the drift of the

²⁹ Quoted Billy, *Goncourt Brothers*, 189.

³⁰ Ernest Renan, *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse*, Henriette Psichari and Laudice [sic] Rétat, eds. (Paris, 1973), 42; see also 45.

³¹ Renan, *L'avenir de la science*, in *Histoire et parole*, 261.

³² Hippolyte Taine, *Essais de critique et d'histoire*, 14th edn. (Paris, 1923), 258.

³³ Hippolyte Taine, *Les philosophes classiques du XIX^e siècle en France*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1876), 303.

³⁴ Taine, *History of English Literature*, 1: 7.

³⁵ René Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950; The Age of Transition* (New Haven, Conn., 1965), 56.

nineteenth century away from the pure type . . . towards a general mingling and confusion of the *genres*. We are scarcely conscious of any change when Sainte-Beuve passes . . . from writers to generals or statesmen.”³⁶ If we are to understand the historical culture of the late nineteenth century, it clearly matters to understand these writers.

This is all the more important in that they had an immense influence on their contemporaries. Taine wrote of Sainte-Beuve that “we are all his pupils,” and Anatole France called him the Thomas Aquinas of the nineteenth century.³⁷ Despite Aulard’s criticisms, leading academic figures also read Taine’s work carefully. Gabriel Monod, among the architects of French academic history, founder of the *Revue historique*, and supervisor of Lucien Febvre’s dissertation, had an altogether different political outlook from Renan and Taine’s; but he nonetheless counted them as two of the three most important French historians (the other was Jules Michelet). “To Taine goes the glory of having understood, better than any other, the state of his generation’s soul and mind; philosopher, aesthete, literary critic, historian, he displayed all of his generation’s tendencies, with rigor, brilliance, and force; he had a profound influence on it.”³⁸ From another wing of the Sorbonne, the philosophy professor Lucien Lévy-Bruhl added his assessment of Renan and Taine’s intellectual impact—and Lévy-Bruhl was also an important influence on Febvre, who cited him often and with respect. (Some years later, Lévy-Bruhl invented the term *mentalité*, which was to have such an impact on Febvre’s thinking.) Taine’s “influence upon minds has perhaps been equal to that of Renan, and still makes itself strongly felt even in his very adversaries.”³⁹

Their effect on the larger reading public was comparable, appropriately, given their efforts to reach that public. Renan’s *Life of Jesus* was one of the great bestsellers of the nineteenth century, allowing its author to respond with perfect indifference when the imperial government stripped him of his academic position. Taine was almost as popular. By 1923, his *Les origines de la France contemporaine* had reached a twenty-eighth edition, and his literary criticism was almost as widely read. This popularity only added to Alphonse Aulard’s vexation as he looked critically at Taine’s work: although university historians had begun questioning it, “neither in France nor abroad has the larger public yet been alerted.”⁴⁰ Even the Goncourts, whose historical works sold badly, had considerable impact on their literary contemporaries. Their study of eighteenth-century society, wrote the often critical Edmond Scherer, was “one of the works that best allows us to understand the century, . . . which at least best helps us enter into its intimate life.”⁴¹ Their

³⁶ Irving Babbitt, *Masters of Modern French Criticism* (1912; rpt. edn., New York, 1963), 161. Compare the similar assessment offered by René Wellek: Sainte-Beuve “should be described as the greatest representative of the historical spirit in France in the sense in which this spirit is understood by modern German theoreticians such as Meinecke” (Wellek, *History of Modern Criticism*, 36–37).

³⁷ Taine, *History of English Literature*, 1: 7; Anatole France quoted in Maurras, *Trois idées politiques*, 257.

³⁸ Monod, *Les maîtres de l’histoire*, 140.

³⁹ Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *History of Modern Philosophy in France* (1899; rpt. edn., Chicago, 1925), 435.

⁴⁰ Aulard, *Taine historien*, ix. Their closeness to the mood of their middle-brow contemporaries may help explain Nietzsche’s sense that the group lacked his own critical seriousness.

⁴¹ Edmond Scherer, *Nouvelles études sur la littérature contemporaine*, 2d edn. (Paris, 1876), 96; on the Goncourts’ disappointment with their book sales, see Billy, *Goncourt Brothers*, 176–77.

influence was especially strong on Emile Zola, who acknowledged that he had adapted their concept of the novel as an exploration of societal patterns. In 1896, only two years before he intervened in the Dreyfus Affair, Zola presented the principal eulogy at Edmond de Goncourt's funeral; despite Goncourt's antisemitism and his own concerns about antisemitic injustice, Zola described him as having a "noble gallantry of mind"; his "errors, if he were guilty of any, were errors arising only from his burning passion for literature."⁴² For better and worse, ideas from the Magny group loomed large in the intellectual landscape of pre-World War I France, the era in which Febvre and Bloch began their studies.

Nor was the group's impact limited to France. Already in 1866, the Goncourts noted the presence at a Magny dinner of "an American passing through, some kind of Yankee journalist"; he had been attracted by the group's widening reknown and was especially voluble in his admiration for Taine, commenting even on Taine's forthcoming studies of psychology.⁴³ Nietzsche had reservations about the group as a whole and especially disliked Renan, but he had enormous admiration for Taine, whom he described as "the educator of all the more serious learned characters in France" and as one of the few contemporary intellectuals who formed the true audience for his own ideas.⁴⁴ In Vienna, the novelist and cultural critic Stefan Zweig wrote his 1904 doctoral dissertation on Taine's philosophy; the dissertation was hastily thrown together and remained unpublished, but (scholars have suggested) Taine had an important influence on Zweig's later thinking.⁴⁵ The American critic Babbitt devoted one of the ten chapters in his 1912 book *The Masters of Modern French Criticism* to Taine and another to Renan; as the leading critic of his age, Sainte-Beuve received two.⁴⁶ In England, Matthew Arnold expressed his admiration, and the literary critic Edmund Gosse noted Sainte-Beuve's influence on his own work and that of other British critics, adding that "all the world has read him."⁴⁷ In Italy, Benedetto Croce criticized Taine's methods and argued that his influence had been destructive, partly because of the pessimism that Nietzsche so admired; but criticism was necessary, he explained, forty-four years after Taine's death, because of "the widespread celebrity of his work . . . Taine's is an example that everyone remembers."⁴⁸ For Alfonse Aulard as well, the "servile admiration" of Italian and German scholars for Taine heightened the need for critical review.⁴⁹

⁴² Quoted in Billy, *Goncourt Brothers*, 334–35.

⁴³ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 2: 60 (December 31, 1866).

⁴⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, Maudemarie Clark and Alan J. Swensen, trans. (Indianapolis, 1998), 114 (Third Treatise, section 27) (on Renan); *Selected Letters*, 276, 279 (on Taine).

⁴⁵ Robert Dumont, *Stefan Zweig et la France* (Paris, 1967), 28–29; D. A. Prater, *European of Yesterday: A Biography of Stefan Zweig* (Oxford, 1972), 24–25.

⁴⁶ Babbitt, *Masters*.

⁴⁷ Matthew Arnold, quoted in Casanova, *Sainte-Beuve*, 355; Edmund Gosse, "The Prince of Critics," in Gosse, *More Books on the Table* (New York, 1923), 13–18.

⁴⁸ Cecil Sprigge, ed., *Philosophy, Poetry, History: An Anthology of Essays by Benedetto Croce* (London, 1966), 597 (from the essay "History Prepares Action without Determining It," 1938).

⁴⁹ Aulard, *Taine historien*, ix, n. 1.

TO UNDERSTAND THIS INFLUENCE, it is helpful to start with the Magny group's conception of historical inquiry itself. Despite differences among them, these writers were alike in stressing the novelty of their approaches to the past, in terms that foreshadow Febvre's own idea of a new history. "The political history of the Revolution has been done and is being redone every day. The social history of the Revolution has been attempted for the first time in these studies," wrote the Goncourts in the preface to a new edition of their 1854 book. "For this new history, we have had to discover new sources of Truth."⁵⁰ "Through psychological analysis," they wrote in another work, "through observing individual and collective life, and assessing habits, passions, ideas, moral as well as material fashions, we intend to reconstitute a whole vanished world, from the base to the summit, from the body to the soul."⁵¹ They thus claimed innovation in regard to subject matter, methods, and sources alike, and in each domain they contrasted themselves to the political historians around them. They did not dismiss political history as irrelevant, but they argued that it could give only a partial representation of the past and that its methods were unsuited to explicating other domains of life.

Taine used similar language: a new kind of history needed to be written that would deal with the real life of the past, rather than its politics or ideas. "We too often forget it these days: questions of finances, tactics, politics, administration, the details of beliefs, philosophy, arts, science—all these ought to enter the portrayal of human life, but only to serve the depiction of the human passions; the true subject of history is the soul."⁵² Both admirers and critics understood that this represented a new and important approach to the past. In *The Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche contrasted Leopold von Ranke's arid "prudence" with Taine's willingness to confront the frightening psychological realities of the past. Only "with a Taine-like dauntlessness, out of *strength of soul*" would history of real significance be written.⁵³ Less enthusiastic, Edmond Scherer saw Taine's study of English literature (first published in 1864) as "not just a history, but also and above all a manner of seeing history," which was now to focus on "everything that constitutes social life." Scherer believed that the method "changes the idea of history . . . History . . . as it has always been understood, is above all a narrative. It proposes to make known men's actions. It does indeed seek the causes of those actions, . . . but it inquires only into causes that are witnessed and documented . . . Moreover, what will become of narrative in the midst of these researches?"⁵⁴

As with the Goncourts, Taine's choice of subject matter had implications for his approach to documents: this kind of history required a wider and more heterogeneous range of sources. In 1899, the novelist Paul Bourget admiringly summarized this situation: "For M. Taine, everything in human history interests the psychologist

⁵⁰ Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *Histoire de la société française pendant la Révolution*, "édition définitive" (Paris, n.d.), v.

⁵¹ Edmond de Goncourt and Jules de Goncourt, *La femme au dix-huitième siècle*, "édition définitive," 2 vols. (1862; Paris, n.d.), 1: 8.

⁵² Hippolyte Taine, *Essai sur Tite Live*, 7th edn. (Paris, 1904), 359. Taine's argument is the more striking in that he had prepared his essay for a contest sponsored by the conservative Académie Française, and in that the Académie awarded him its prize. It could be assumed by a very young and ambitious author that such sentiments would find positive responses.

⁵³ Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, 100 (Third Treatise, section 19).

⁵⁴ Edmond Scherer, *Etudes sur la littérature contemporaine*, 2d edn., 6 vols. (Paris, 1882), 6: 112–14.

and provides him with documentation. From people's ways of furnishing a room and serving a meal, to their manners of praying to God and honoring their dead, there is nothing that does not merit examination, commentary, and interpretation, for there is nothing in which men do not engage some aspect of their intimate being . . . no evidence, no matter how small, is absolutely insignifiant or negligible."⁵⁵ Aulard also noted Taine's readiness to use unconventional sources, but believed that they deformed his historical understanding. Taine's vision of the early revolution, resting as it did on extreme events recounted in popular pamphlets, had no more value than would a description of France in 1907 based on "a selection of horrifying *faits-divers* published by the *Petit Journal* or the *Petit Parisien*."⁵⁶ At the same time, Taine had given more thought than the Goncourts to the new methods that such different kinds of documentation required. Whether literary or archival, he wrote in 1864, a document resembles "a fossil shell . . . one of those forms embedded in a stone by an animal which once lived and perished. Beneath the shell was an animal and behind the document there was a man. Why do you study the shell unless to form some idea of the animal? In the same way do you study the document in order to comprehend the man; both shell and document are dead fragments and of value only as indications of the complete living being. The aim is to reach this being; this is what you strive to reconstruct . . . True history begins when the historian has discerned . . . the living active man, endowed with passions, furnished with habits."⁵⁷ History needed to concern itself with real life rather than institutional abstractions.

One result of these orientations was an interest in the history of women. The subject had surprising popularity among nineteenth-century writers, sufficiently so that in 1844 controversy erupted between two literary eminences over priority in the field. In that year, both Sainte-Beuve and Victor Cousin (France's leading philosopher, a dominant figure at the Sorbonne, and a minister under Louis Philippe) published studies of women during the Old Regime. Sainte-Beuve was especially irritated by the overlap, and asserted his own methodological originality in terms similar to those used by Taine and the Goncourts. "I have preserved these technical details," he wrote of an erudition-filled footnote that he included in the republished version of an essay on the duchesse de Longueville, because they "indicate my priority in this kind of research, which has since been so worked over."⁵⁸ In 1862, the Goncourts also contributed to the genre, with their *La femme au dix-huitième siècle*, and that work also attracted significant attention. The princess Mathilde, whom they had met only once before, used her reading of the book as the occasion for a dinner invitation, and Jules Michelet himself cited it with

⁵⁵ Paul Bourget, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1899), 1: 174–75. In 1864, Fustel de Coulanges' *La cité antique* provided yet another example of the nineteenth century's hospitality to such views. Fustel opened with a ringing statement of historical difference, "the radical and essential differences that once and for all separate those ancient peoples from modern societies." His work also demonstrated the nineteenth century's interest in such ideas; published in a tiny initial printing, by a young and unknown author, the book reached its twenty-second edition in 1912: see Numa Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, François Hartog, ed. (Paris, 1984), 1, vi–vii.

⁵⁶ Aulard, *Taine historien*, 84.

⁵⁷ Taine, *History of English Literature*, 1: 1, 2.

⁵⁸ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, in *Oeuvres*, Maxime Le Roy, ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1960), 2: 1288.

praise in a new volume of his history of France.⁵⁹ Sainte-Beuve's review suggested the breadth of topics that seemed worth pursuing in this kind of history. The Goncourts, he wrote, had depicted women "of all ranks and all classes, . . . at every level of society, every hour, and every age. The book is a mine of information."⁶⁰

Bonnie G. Smith has shown that during the first half of the nineteenth century numerous female scholars explored women's history, and it is likely that Sainte-Beuve and Cousin were influenced by these efforts.⁶¹ But the question of Sainte-Beuve's originality matters less here than his approach to the topic. His studies insisted that women's history belonged in the mainstream of historical analysis, and they gave serious attention to women's place within the modern world. There was nothing inevitable about this approach. Cousin, for instance, idolized the aristocratic ladies of the seventeenth century and expressed horror at the public roles that women had come to exercise in his own times. "Woman is an *être domestique*, as man is a public personage," he wrote; "what are we to say of the *femme auteur*? What! a woman who, thanks to God, has no public cause to defend, throws herself into the public sphere, and her modesty is not revolted at revealing to all eyes, selling to the highest bidder . . . her most secret beauties, her most mysterious and touching charms, her soul, her sentiments, her sufferings, her inner struggles. Though we see this every day, and even among the most honest women, it will be eternally impossible for us to understand."⁶²

At points, Sainte-Beuve used condescending language in discussing women's history, and his friend Hortense Allart complained that the studies were too delicate in tone, failing to convey the intellectual force of his best work.⁶³ But in contrast to Cousin, he consistently stressed the severe limitations under which even the most free-spirited women labored during the seventeenth century, and he contrasted these with the liberating effects of modernity. The seventeenth-century duchesse de Longueville, for instance, lacked "a will of her own," however dazzling her personality, and could scarcely distinguish among religion, flirtation, and politics.⁶⁴ Conversely, he treated the revolutionary leader Madame Roland as a heroic figure, "one of the most eloquent and honest representatives for studying that political generation that wanted 1789, and that 1789 neither wearied nor satisfied"; and he expressed no doubts about the legitimacy of her ambitions to participate in public affairs.⁶⁵ He praised Germaine de Staël in similar terms for her determination to enter the male public world. He spoke of her "male and serious

⁵⁹ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 1: 901, 1: 1031. When the brothers paid him a grateful visit, he offered further praise, and urged on them additional research in the area: "you sirs, who are observers, you should write a history of chambermaids . . . It's a remarkable and important thing, the role of domestic servants in history." They ignored the advice but took it seriously enough to note it verbatim in their journal.

⁶⁰ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Nouveaux lundis*, 13 vols. (Paris, 1864–70), 4: 1 (December 1, 1862).

⁶¹ Smith, *Gender of History*, 50–59. Consisting of essays written from 1829 on, it is worth noting, Sainte-Beuve's studies of women come early in the sequence of studies that Smith cites.

⁶² Victor Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal: Premières études sur les femmes illustres et la société du XVII^e siècle*, 9th edn. (Paris, 1878), 28, 31. (In this quotation as throughout, I have eliminated paragraph breaks.) For Sainte-Beuve's critique of Cousin's approach as sentimental and superficial, see *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1293–95, footnote.

⁶³ Allart de Méritens, *Lettres inédites*, 140–41.

⁶⁴ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1280. Compare Cousin, *Jacqueline Pascal*, 25–26.

⁶⁵ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1140, 2: 1155.

outlook," noted that she adopted "an openly, nobly ambitious state of mind and inspiration," and placed her in a line of leading male writers.⁶⁶ Her fiction, centering on the situation of the creative woman trapped by romantic feeling, especially stimulated Sainte-Beuve's enthusiasm: her novel "*Corinne* is precisely the image of the sovereign independence of genius, even in a time of the most complete oppression."⁶⁷ Politics lurked in this literary assessment, drawing attention as it did to the Napoleonic repression under which de Staël suffered, and Sainte-Beuve insisted on the fruitfulness of her engagement in the politics of her era. Her posthumous *Considérations sur la Révolution française* had an enormous influence on political debate in the early Restoration, he wrote; and her death in 1817 deprived liberals of an important influence.⁶⁸ At a less lofty level, he offered the example of Pauline de Meulan, who would become François Guizot's first wife. Because of her family's financial collapse, de Meulan supported herself for a decade as an unmarried *femme journaliste* (her own term). Having quoted at length her defense of that position against others' pity, Sainte-Beuve concluded by praising her commitment to "the ideas of duty and work, such as the new society increasingly demands"; de Meulan offered "a model of the strong, sensible, hard-working woman, in the front rank of the middle class." In precise opposition to Cousin, Sainte-Beuve's *Portraits de femmes* argued for the value of women's entry into the public sphere.⁶⁹

Their literary orientations and mass audience did not prevent the Magny group from claiming scientific status for their approaches to the past, which (as they stressed) distinguished these from the flimsy or fictional accounts produced by some of their literary friends. Renan's views were the most ambiguous. As a skilled linguist and diligent editor of ancient inscriptions, he in some ways exemplified the nineteenth century's ideas about scientific history. But the very fervor of his belief in the natural sciences led him to stress the gap between their methods and those of historical investigation. "The natural sciences remained for me the sole source of truth," he recalled in his memoirs; had he followed his interest in them, he would have studied physiology and perhaps arrived at "several of Darwin's results, that I had some inkling of." The natural sciences remained the model of real knowledge, which historical study could never fully attain.⁷⁰ The Goncourts wrote history in a more literary and impressionistic manner, but they too insisted on rigorous methods, demanding that "at each step the historian remove prejudices [and] return to the facts" concerning eighteenth-century women; "the novel has given a false idea of everything."⁷¹

⁶⁶ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1090, 1099, 1098.

⁶⁷ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1123.

⁶⁸ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1132. Only in recent years have feminist scholars such as Nancy Miller and Bonnie Smith restored assessments of de Staël to so positive a level: see Nancy K. Miller, *Subject to Change: Reading Feminist Writing* (New York, 1988), 162–203; Bonnie G. Smith, "History and Genius: The Narcotic, Erotic, and Baroque Life of Germaine de Staël," *French Historical Studies* 19 (Fall 1996): 1059–81.

⁶⁹ Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits de femmes*, 2: 1194, 2: 1195. See Smith, *Gender of History*, 59, for the claim that in this period "the insider/male history written by both men of letters and professionals was based on the activities of great men and set in political and military narrative about them."

⁷⁰ Renan, *Souvenirs*, 158, 163, 164.

⁷¹ Goncourt and Goncourt, *La femme au dix-huitième siècle*, 1: 25.

Of the group, Taine expressed the greatest enthusiasm for applying science to historical study, arguing that these were overlapping rather than contradictory modes of investigation. His 1853 dissertation made the point bluntly: "We may view man as something of a superior animal, which produces philosophies and poems in about the same way as silkworms make their cocoons and bees their hives." Toward this idea-making animal, he proposed taking the stance of a naturalist, who would dissect the writer and make clear how his or her various parts functioned together.⁷² He returned to the image in the preface to his literary essays of 1858, describing himself as an anatomist of human systems, probing beneath the surface beauties of works of art to get at their underlying structures. "History's aim is not to drown us in detail, as it is commonly thought today," but rather to understand the "main forces" that govern each era, uniting the diversity of its surface manifestations. Only when thus pursued "will history cease being a compilation and become a science; only then will we be able to perceive and measure the secret forces that move us; then perhaps will we be able to *predict*."⁷³ His history of English literature (1864) likewise opens with a vigorous invocation of scientific method. "Vice and virtue," his introduction declares, "are products like vitriol and sugar; every complex fact grows out of the simple facts with which it is affiliated and on which it depends. We must therefore try to ascertain what simple facts underlie moral qualities the same as we can ascertain those that underlie physical qualities . . . There is, then, a system in human ideas and sentiments."⁷⁴ Objections that scientific history produced ugly writing or unsettling moral implications, "which could be sustained in the Middle Ages, cannot today be applied to any science, no more to history than to physiology or chemistry, since the right to determine human beliefs has passed entirely to the side of empirical experience, and since precepts and doctrines, instead of founding observation, [now] derive from it their own plausibility."⁷⁵ This remained his position in old age, despite the political shocks of his later years. "It's certain," he wrote Bourget, "that everything—physiology, psychology, history—can and should be seen from a deterministic, mathematical, geometrical viewpoint," although this did not (he added) preclude ethical and aesthetic judgments.⁷⁶ "The more I study moral issues," he noted in the same year, "the more I find at base mathematical ideas . . . the essential notion in the moral sciences is that of quantity."⁷⁷

Taine believed that race science supplied one such underpinning to historical analysis, but this was not the only resource he offered. Thus his *Les origines de la France contemporaine* asked what linguistic possibilities France had available to it in the eighteenth century and what forms of thought this linguistic apparatus permitted. During the two centuries leading up to 1789, he argued, French writers had sought to purify their language of uncouth words and to give it clarity and balance. The culture that resulted allowed only certain worldviews and prohibited others; having cut away the linguistic richness inherited from the Middle Ages,

⁷² Hippolyte Taine, *La Fontaine et ses fables*, 25th edn. (Paris, n.d.), v.

⁷³ Taine, *Essais*, ix, x, xi, xvi (preface to the 1st edition), emphasis in original.

⁷⁴ Taine, *History of English Literature*, 1: 7, 9.

⁷⁵ Taine, *Essais*, xxi, preface to the 2d edition.

⁷⁶ Hippolyte Taine, *Sa vie et sa correspondance*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1902–07), 4: 171 (November 1, 1883).

⁷⁷ Taine, *Sa vie et sa correspondance*, 4: 159–61 (April 22, 1883) (see also 4: 109, for another example).

classicism produced an intellectual impoverishment that eventually allowed “only a portion of the truth, a miserable portion.” In turn, linguistic poverty helped explain the Enlightenment’s fatal inability to ground its social theories in human realities. In this case, Taine turned to quantification to prove his point, comparing the limited number of acceptable words in French with the abundance of contemporary German and English.⁷⁸ A note to the text indicates another approach to establishing the history of culture on scientific foundations. “For the past twenty years,” he wrote with regard to the workings of religious belief, “thanks to the researches of psychologists and physiologists, we are beginning to understand the subterranean regions of the soul and the latent work [*travail latent*] that goes on there. The storage, residues, and unconscious combining of images . . . , the composition, disassociations, and sustained doubling of the self [*moi*] . . . the physical effects of mental sensations . . . —all these recent discoveries add up to a new conception of the mind, and psychology thus renewed offers strong insights for history.”⁷⁹ For Taine, scientific psychology was to illuminate the historian’s practice, by allowing understanding of the irrational and mysterious in human behavior. In particular, the historian could come to understand “latent” ideas that guide social actors, without their knowledge.

Here, as in his more extended writings on questions of psychology, Taine stressed the mutability of the self, its provisional status. By its nature, the soul was a historical phenomenon, heavily subject to outside influences. “What do we mean by a self [*moi*—the term used in French psychoanalytic writing for our “ego”], in other words, by a person, a soul, a mind?”⁸⁰ That the question required asking, amidst the supposed self-assurance of the late Victorian era, is itself significant, as is the equivalence that Taine saw among his terms; for him, “soul,” “person,” “self,” and “mind” all pointed to the same reality. Rigorously materialistic, Taine answered his question by arguing that the self had no real existence. It was merely the space within which the impressions of life were registered, an interior that remained amidst the continual flux of exterior impressions. Thus such stability as it had derived from its placement, not its content. Its coherence rested on memory, the series of sensations built up over a life. This vision led Taine to an interest in the circumstances that might disrupt the continuity of selfhood: false memories, delusions, insanity, and cerebral disturbances, concerning which he undertook researches with specialists at Parisian asylums.⁸¹ He concluded from these that no firm boundary separated madness from sanity, because selfhood had no firm ontological status. “Our idea of our selfhood [*notre personne*] actually refers to a group of coordinated elements, whose mutual associations, constantly under attack, constantly triumphing, hold together so long as our reason watches over them . . . But madness is always at the mind’s door, just as sickness is always at the body’s; for the normal combination is only an achievement [*réussite*]; it only results from, and renews itself by, the defeat of opposing forces.”⁸² Taine thus pioneered the later nineteenth century’s critique of the bounded, freely reasoning, freely choosing

⁷⁸ Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 1: 145.

⁷⁹ Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 2: 670, n. 3.

⁸⁰ Hippolyte Taine, *De l'intelligence*, 2 vols., 5th edn. (Paris, 1888), 2: 203.

⁸¹ Taine, “Note sur les éléments et la formation de l’idée du moi,” in *De l'intelligence*, 2: 465–74.

⁸² Taine, *De l'intelligence*, 2: 230–31.

individual of mid-Victorian ideology. But in this respect as in others, his scientific argument accorded with the larger outlook of the Magny group. In 1847, Sainte-Beuve had already written that "often, if I may say so, there is no deeper reality [*fond véritable*] in us, only an infinite array of surfaces."⁸³

These orientations placed the Magny group in a complex relationship to other historians of their day. Although they believed that their contemporaries had dramatically improved the methods of historical study, they also expressed reservations about contemporary historical writing; and these doubts applied even to Jules Michelet, whose interest in social history might seem akin to their own.⁸⁴ Sainte-Beuve produced immediate and enthusiastic reviews of books by Taine, the Goncourts, and Renan, but he declined an informal invitation to review early volumes of Michelet's *History of France* and never devoted a column to its later installments.⁸⁵ Trivial causes help to explain this failure. Even though the two enjoyed cordial relations, Sainte-Beuve was a notoriously unhelpful friend in literary matters, and he disliked Michelet's flamboyant prose style.⁸⁶ More important, however, he disagreed with Michelet's conception of historical change itself. In an 1850 review of a work on Rabelais, Sainte-Beuve made fun of Michelet for "pursuing, three centuries after the fact, that war against the Middle Ages, which he believes still threaten us." For Michelet, Rabelais (like Voltaire) was to be understood as a warrior for cultural progress. For Sainte-Beuve and his colleagues, there could be no such simple progress through history, indeed, no clear identification of a successful endpoint to historical development. "Every century has its mania," he wrote; "ours . . . is the humanitarian mania, and we think we honor Rabelais in attributing it to him." Although it expresses admiration for Rabelais's educational ideas, the essay ends by stressing his mysterious qualities, the gap that separates contemporary readers from an author in the past.⁸⁷ Taine extended this idea further, to something like a structuralist view of the differences between historical eras. Seventeenth-century style and sentiments, he wrote, "are so distant from our own that we understand them with difficulty . . . A transformed society has transformed the soul . . . each century, with its own conditions, produces feelings and beauties particular to it."⁸⁸ These views directly expressed the "exasperated pessimism, cynicism, nihilism" (in Nietzsche's phrase) that characterized the Magny group. As moral relativists, doubting the reality of historical progress, and reluctant to see in past societies prefigurations of contemporary achievements, they could not accept Michelet's vision of how past and present interacted. They shared his interest in the history of society but disagreed with him as to what that history meant.⁸⁹

⁸³ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Portraits littéraires*, Gérard Antoine, ed. (Paris, 1993), 929 ("M. de Rémusat").

⁸⁴ See above for Renan's statement of this view; Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 1: 880 (November 7, 1862).

⁸⁵ A. G. Lehman, *Sainte-Beuve: A Portrait of the Critic, 1804–1842* (Oxford, 1962), 202–03.

⁸⁶ Marcel Proust, *Contre Sainte-Beuve* (Paris, 1954), esp. 161–69; Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 1: 880 (November 7, 1862).

⁸⁷ Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, 16 vols. (Paris, n.d.), 3: 16 (October 7, 1850).

⁸⁸ Quoted and discussed in Dewald, "Lost Worlds," 430–31.

⁸⁹ For a nuanced reading of Michelet's idea of progress, which gives attention to the doubts and anxieties accompanying it, see Lionel Gossman, *Between History and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 201–24.

SAINTE-BEUVE, TAINE, AND THEIR ASSOCIATES, I have argued, believed that history was a central method for understanding the human condition, and that, as such, it needed to move beyond its fixation on politics, institutions, ideas, and narrative. Because this new history concerned itself with private persons and inner lives, it also demanded new sources and techniques of analysis, notably through the development of a scientific psychology. But this claim raises two further questions, both of them suggested in somewhat different terms by Alphonse Aulard in his 1905–1906 critique of Taine. One concerns the apparent contradiction between the innovations that the Magny group called for in historical method and its difficulties with the modern world itself. In one way or another, all may be described as social conservatives; why, then, did they turn so readily to novel conceptions of the past, conceptions that (as they emphasized) differed sharply from traditional ways of relating past to present?

In answering this question, it is important to note that the group was not unambiguous in its conservatism. The Magny diners were notorious for their atheism, and as such were treated as a social menace by conservatives during the Second Empire.⁹⁰ Their comments on the Old Regime also tended to be negative, and they vigorously defended the culture of the nineteenth century. The aristocratic Goncourts, to be sure, viewed themselves as “deep within, immigrants from the eighteenth century . . . déclassé contemporaries of that refined, exquisite, supremely delicate society.”⁹¹ Yet even they, it has been seen, enjoyed cordial intellectual relations with Michelet and Zola, pillars of republican culture during the late nineteenth century. Sainte-Beuve questioned the value even for the seventeenth century of “a brilliant, ephemeral, artificial, superficial monarchy, without deep links to the past or future of France, or even to the manners of its own time.”⁹² He suggested that “our century’s style . . . will be less correct and less learned, freer and more daring” than that of the seventeenth-century classics—but it would nonetheless produce its own masterpieces.⁹³ Taine made clear his contempt for the old French aristocracy, both before and after the crises of 1870–1871. During the Old Regime, he wrote in 1858, they had been ready traitors to the larger nation, “paid thugs” of foreign kings against their fellow countrymen; “within the country, they had power only to ruin the people and and pillage the state’s finances. They were the enemies of civilization, of order, of public peace. Every wound they received was a blessing for the country.”⁹⁴ “If you mean by [revolution],” he wrote a friendly critic in 1881, “the abolition of the Old Regime (arbitrary kingship, feudalism), nothing more reasonable; not only in France, but in Italy, in most of Germany and in Spain, the old machine was rotten and called only for overthrowing.”⁹⁵ Even his studies of academic philosophy brought forth defense of bourgeois society. “When a society’s law establishes unequal conditions, no one

⁹⁰ In 1863, the leading Catholic intellectual, Monsignor Dupanloup, publicly denounced Taine and Renan for atheism, leading Sainte-Beuve in turn to defend them (Casanova, *Sainte-Beuve*, 414, summarizes the episode).

⁹¹ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 1: 905.

⁹² Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française et du théâtre française au XVI^e siècle*, new edn. (Paris, n.d.), 281.

⁹³ Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau*, 284.

⁹⁴ Taine, *Essais*, 290, 291.

⁹⁵ Taine, *Sa vie et sa correspondance*, 4: 126.

is exempt from insults; . . . human nature is humiliated at every level, and society is only an exchange of affronts." Insofar as the revolution established legal equality and ended aristocratic power, Taine approved of it.⁹⁶ Renan also praised the revolution—and even some aspects of the ongoing revolutions that he witnessed during the nineteenth century. They showed the emergence of new societal energies and the consequent need for new social arrangements.⁹⁷

Nor were these writers altogether critical of modernity. "I envy the future," wrote Renan in his memoirs. "It's to one's advantage to arrive on this planet as late as possible . . . We must not, because of our personal tastes, stand in the way of what our era is achieving."⁹⁸ In an early work that he published only in 1890, two years before his death, he stressed his faith in material progress and its cultural benefits: "the human spirit will not be altogether free until it is perfectly freed from the material needs that humiliate it and block its development . . . Everything that serves the progress of humanity, however humble and profane it may seem, is by that fact deserving of respect and sacred."⁹⁹ Taine spoke more straightforwardly. He believed the nineteenth century to have been far more inventive and productive than its predecessors, and he viewed inventiveness as a critical sign of a society's health. "It's invention that measures moral force," he wrote in 1858; "To search, to discover, to apply, one must want with passion. The decay of invention among the Romans demonstrated their failure of nerve; our fecundity of invention shows our internal energy. This century, which is not yet finished, has produced more than its predecessors"; and he offered a list of what the sciences had recently achieved and seemed on the verge of discovering. These changes affected the humblest in French society: "the new science and industry have reached into the most distant villages, feeding, clothing, transporting, agitating men." But change extended well beyond the material realm, to include philosophy and culture as well: in this respect again following Sainte-Beuve, he argued that nineteenth-century literature was "as abundant in thought, as rich in masterpieces as its predecessors, appropriate in both ideas and form to the class and civilization that have produced it." If it was cruder than that of previous centuries, it was also more alive: "hardier, less enslaved to the proprieties, more universal . . . more passionate."¹⁰⁰

Among the group's writings, Taine's *Les origines de la France contemporaine* (written with explicit reference to the crises of 1870–1871) raised the deepest questions about both democracy and the processes by which it had been established. The book pleased conservatives, and they responded by electing both Taine and Renan to the bastion of French conservative culture, the Académie Française. Yet even this passionate critique of democracy neither defended the Old Regime's social order nor criticized the modern world. Rather, Taine's primary concern lay in the problem of revolutionary violence. He sought first to depict violence and then to explain it; in both efforts, he focused on its irrational qualities, the fact that so

⁹⁶ Taine, *Les philosophes classiques*, 113.

⁹⁷ Laudyce Rétat, *Religion et imagination religieuse: Leurs formes et leurs rapports dans l'oeuvre d'Ernest Renan* (Paris, 1977), 144–56; Rétat writes of Renan's "solidarité intérieure avec un parti avancé" (147), "sa sympathie spirituelle pour la révolution" (148).

⁹⁸ Renan, *Souvenirs*, 42.

⁹⁹ Renan, *L'avenir de la science*, in Rétat, *Renan, histoire et parole*, 249–50.

¹⁰⁰ Taine, *Essais*, 277, 278.

much of it was ill connected to the real problems and dangers that the revolution faced, and that it so often involved dramatic cruelties. These interests led him to pay close attention to the gruesome details of revolutionary violence, such as the symbolic indignities to which crowds subjected Bernard-René Jordan de Launay, Louis Bertier de Sauvigny, Joseph Foulon, and other victims before and after their deaths: he described the seventy-four-year-old Foulon, for instance, being marched to Paris “a bundle of hay on his head, a necklace of thistles around his neck, his mouth stuffed with hay.”¹⁰¹ For Alphonse Aulard, Taine’s deployment of such lurid detail conformed to the other weaknesses in his work. Seeking after literary effect and lacking professional training, Aulard argued, Taine heaped up examples of violence without considering their larger contexts. Like the tabloid journalists from whom he drew many examples, he retold horrific particulars with excessive relish, dwelling on the victims’ sufferings while ignoring the real dangers under which the revolutionary leadership worked. Taine failed as a historian because he focused on details and neglected the larger circumstances from which they emerged.¹⁰²

Reviewing the debate in 1909, the conservative historian Augustin Cochin drew attention to the importance within it of the concept of otherness. Aulard, he suggested, explained the revolutionaries’ choices as utilitarian political responses to extraordinary threats, to the principles of 1789, and to the nation itself, whereas for Taine the revolution could not be understood as an extension of ordinary life or as following its rules. Understanding the revolution therefore demanded a new kind of science, the application of psychological theory and comparison, rather than the common-sense reasoning that ordinarily characterized historical explanation; and contemporaries recognized the book as a “work of historical psychology.”¹⁰³ Cochin was not altogether happy with this psychological approach and argued that Taine had posed an intellectual problem without having the analytical framework needed to resolve it. Wanting to understand the revolutionaries’ behavior, Taine focused on their failings as individuals, which obscured from his view the systems that determined behavior. He could only understand the revolutionary leaders as criminals, their actions to be explained by particular facts in their backgrounds and personality.¹⁰⁴ The criticism applies even more strongly to Taine’s friends. Sainte-Beuve’s work was primarily biographical, a compilation of individual stories and a summary of individual works. Renan himself noted the irony that his plan to write a large-scale history of Mediterranean religion had culminated in a *Life of Jesus*, although he also defended the choice.¹⁰⁵ Historical psychology of the sort that they practiced seemed to have confined history to mere biography.

Cochin suggested an alternative source of interdisciplinary inspiration in the newly founded sociology of Emile Durkheim; as François Furet noted, he appears to have been the first French historian to propose that academic sociology might supply useful guidance to research.¹⁰⁶ But despite his questions about method,

¹⁰¹ Taine, *Les origines de la France contemporaine*, 1: 347.

¹⁰² For instance, Aulard, *Taine historien*, 178–81.

¹⁰³ Cochin, *La crise*, 55.

¹⁰⁴ Cochin, *La crise*, 55–66.

¹⁰⁵ Ernest Renan, *The Life of Jesus*, John Haynes Holmes, ed. (New York, 1927), 62.

¹⁰⁶ Cochin, *La crise*, 55–66, *passim*; François Furet drew attention to Cochin’s insight in this regard in *Interpreting the French Revolution*, Elborg Forster, trans. (Cambridge, 1981), 172 and following.

Cochin applauded Taine's definition of the problem and adopted it as his own: the phenomenon of revolution confronted historians with extraordinary behavior, which could not be explained in terms of utilitarian calculations of means and ends. Understanding it required new sources and methods, which would draw historians' attention to irrationality and allow them to make sense of it. Cochin, Taine, and the other conservative historians considered here thus turned to social history partly because of their very fears about modernization. These posed for them the problem of the irrational in history, forcing them to ask about the nature of social differences and about the force of unconscious motivations. Like other aspects of modern culture to which scholars have recently drawn attention, these historians' modernism had complicated linkages with conservative, even reactionary, politics.¹⁰⁷

The second question that Aulard raised in 1905–1906 concerned professional standards and the relationship between literature and scientific history. To what extent, he asked, could literary figures like the Magny diners be compared to the highly professionalized historians of the twentieth century?¹⁰⁸ For Aulard and his colleagues, the answer was clear. An enormous gap separated university historians, who devoted themselves to scientific method and the establishment of verified facts, from the amateurs who (in the words of two other Sorbonne historians) “consider history an art rather than a science, an exercise within the competence of any dilettante, and who, instead of confining themselves to the critical and exact determination of the facts, lose themselves in vain political or religious declamations.” Rather than follow scientific procedures, the amateurs left everything “to individual caprice, passions, and above all, the interests of the writers.”¹⁰⁹ But during these years, the boundaries between amateur and professional approaches were less clearly marked than such comments suggest. For one thing, as noted above, Taine and his fellows proclaimed their own allegiance to scientific methods, and in fact their efforts appear roughly to have met professional standards. Cochin verified a large sample of Taine's citations and found them as accurate as Aulard's own; some of Taine's free transcriptions of them merely reflected literary conventions of his age. As for Aulard's complaint about Taine's readiness to use local histories and memoirs rather than the documents produced by governmental authorities, precisely this made his work original and fruitful.¹¹⁰ Nor were the standards of university history always very high during the years before World War I. Following a thorough and sensitive overview of the university historians between

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, David Carroll, *French Literary Fascism: Nationalism, Anti-Semitism, and the Ideology of Culture* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); compare Lionel Trilling's remark that “it is one of the cultural curiosities of the first three decades of the twentieth century that, while the educated people . . . tended to become ever more liberal and radical in their thought, there is no literary figure of the very first rank (though many of the next rank) who, in his work, makes use of or gives credence to liberal or radical ideas” (“The Leavis-Snow Controversy,” rpt. in *The Moral Obligation to Be Intelligent: Selected Essays*, Leon Wieseltier, ed. [New York, 2000], 417–18).

¹⁰⁸ My understanding of the issues implicit in discussions of professionalization owes much to Smith, *Gender of History*.

¹⁰⁹ Pierre Caron and Philippe Sagnac, quoted in William R. Keylor, *Academy and Community: The Foundation of the French Historical Profession* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 175.

¹¹⁰ Cochin, *La crise*, 9–32; compare a recent suggestion that “Aulard was able to marginalize conservative interpretations of the Revolution, ridiculing the amateurism of Hippolyte Taine's frightened account”; Keith Baker and Steven Kaplan, “Editors' Introduction” to William Sewall, Jr., *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and What Is the Third Estate?* (Durham, N.C., 1994), xii.

1870 and the war, William R. Keylor concludes by noting how “exaggerated and premature” were their assertions of scientific method, given “the egregious absence of it in much of their written work.”¹¹¹ Aulard himself had trained in literature, with a dissertation on Italian poetry. Ernest Lavisse’s early career was based on his personal connections with the Bonaparte family and with leading figures in the imperial administration, rather than on scientific attainments; and one of his students described him as “not a scholar,” though “a great historian.”¹¹² Similar disparities between the rhetoric and the realities of scholarly training have been noted for Germany and the United States in these years.¹¹³ Through World War I, the professors’ vision of a scientific history was more ideological assertion than accurate description.

As important for an evaluation of Aulard’s critique is an assessment of the relative places of academics and men of letters within French intellectual life at the end of the nineteenth century. Christophe Charle and others have drawn attention to the lofty standing that Parisian professors enjoyed during the nineteenth century and to their close connections with other elites; claims to professional expertise, like Aulard’s, helped sustain this position.¹¹⁴ But the professors’ position was hardly so secure as they would have liked, and a countervailing tradition mocked the narrowness of their outlook and their lack of creativity. In 1863, the Goncourts recorded their salon encounter with a philosophy professor, “typical of that horrible race, the jolly university professor . . . he makes professorial jokes and defends labored paradoxes . . . There is in his whole person a certain low and disgusting smell of the provincial schemer.”¹¹⁵ In the next generation, Marcel Proust included a fictionalized version of the professor in his novel. His Professor Brichot is a pathetically subservient figure in the salon that he frequents, and is so poor that he considers marrying his servant. He nonetheless draws from his salon attendance “a glamour that set him apart from all his Sorbonne colleagues. They were dazzled by his descriptions of dinners to which they would never be invited.”¹¹⁶ Such images survived intact through World War II, and in 1954 Philippe Ariès offered a sweeping overview of the situation that the Goncourts and Proust claimed to have observed in particular cases. “We must think of the social origins of those who taught or wrote [history],” he explained. “During the second half of the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie turned away from university careers . . . Even today, recruitment is loftier in the law schools and at Saint-Cyr than in the humanities.” Intellectually able young men from the lower middle class “had few chances to shine in the literary salons . . . The Académie Française snubbed them, as did the

¹¹¹ Keylor, *Academy and Community*, 209.

¹¹² Keylor, *Academy and Community*, 68–69, 94–95, 107; see also Pim den Boer, *History as a Profession: The Study of History in France, 1818–1914*, Arnold J. Pomerans, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 309–22.

¹¹³ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 48.

¹¹⁴ Christophe Charle, “Academics or Intellectuals? The Professors of the University of Paris and Political Debate in France from the Dreyfus Affair to the Algerian War,” in Jeremy Jennings, ed., *Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century France: Mandarins and Samurais* (London, 1993), 94–116, esp. 100–01.

¹¹⁵ Goncourt and Goncourt, *Journal*, 1: 999 (August 19, 1863).

¹¹⁶ Marcel Proust, *Sodome et Gomorrhe* (Paris, 1989), 262.

cultivated public. In contrast, the upper university offered a field open to their ambitions. So, rather quickly, the professors' audience became one of future professors"—and the professors' writing (as Ariès saw it) became correspondingly narrow and dull.¹¹⁷

Early in the twentieth century, then, historical writing was less a defined field of expertise than a focal point for contesting visions of intellectual life, and even leading advocates of professionalization had difficulty with the alternatives that these visions placed before them. Ernest Lavisse, Charles Seignobos, and Charles-Victor Langlois all complained in these years about the narrowness of much historical research and urged historians to address larger questions.¹¹⁸ Lucien Febvre himself returned frequently to this theme, and from 1929 on he and Marc Bloch made it an important component of their journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. The journal's prospectus insisted on its engagement with the contemporary world and on the need for exchanges between historians and those dealing with contemporary problems. It proclaimed that even the distant past could not be understood without "study of today's living reality." At the same time, politicians and managers needed the perspectives that history could supply: "here we will assist men of action only by offering them the means to a better understanding of their own times; it is permitted to think that this is in itself a great deal."¹¹⁹ In keeping with its manifesto, the *Annales* devoted far more space to contemporary history than its competitors: between 1929 and 1939, over one-third of its articles dealt with the period since 1871, as opposed to 8 percent in the *Revue historique*, and Febvre and Bloch both wrote articles on contemporary subjects.¹²⁰ In 1933, in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, Febvre pursued the theme, arguing that historical education neglected the contemporary world and suffered as a result.¹²¹ Febvre and Bloch stressed the technical competence that they expected even in discussions of modern society, and they had harsh criticisms of literary approaches to historical study. But the widening influence of their journal ensured a measure of institutional permanence for the tradition of criticizing university history writing. Alphonse Aulard's vision of an entirely professional historical practice had failed to captivate even French academics.

IN 1942 AND 1944, LUCIEN FEBVRE published two great works on the psychology of the sixteenth century. Together with Marc Bloch's *Les rois thaumaturges* and *La société féodale*, these books founded the *Annales* school's interest in the history of mentalities. They presented one of Febvre's most powerful ideas, that historical eras had fundamentally different mental tools from one another, and thus lived in essentially different mental worlds. Scientific atheism, the example on which he

¹¹⁷ Philippe Ariès, *Le temps de l'histoire* (Monaco, 1954), 274–75. Carbonell, *Histoire et historiens*, 444–50, offers a somewhat different view of the professors' marginality, in stressing the Protestant views of the group surrounding the *Revue historique*.

¹¹⁸ Kaylor, *Academy and Community*, 105–08.

¹¹⁹ Bertrand Müller, ed., *Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, et les "Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale": Correspondance, I, 1928–1933* (Paris, 1994), 42, 43.

¹²⁰ Dosse, *New History in France*, 48. This orientation would change dramatically after 1945.

¹²¹ See Dewald, "Lost Worlds," 427.

focused, was basic to the modern world but literally unthinkable in the sixteenth century; more fundamentally, human personality itself had been different. In fact, I have argued here, ideas of this kind were not so new as Febvre suggested. As early as the 1840s, French intellectuals had developed elements of a robust history of mentalities, much of it focused on the otherness of past societies. They sought explicitly to get at the psychological realities of lives in the past, through understanding the details of daily life and through an exploration of unconscious and semi-conscious motivations. In one sense, we might say, there was scarcely need for an *Annales* historical revolution.

But this conclusion only reorients our understanding of Febvre and Bloch's contributions to historical thought rather than denying them. For Febvre and Bloch did not merely transmit the intellectual traditions of the later nineteenth century. Rather, they reconstructed elements of them to suit new societal and intellectual needs. For one thing, they adapted what had been a broad theme in later nineteenth-century culture to the needs of a developing academic history. More important, Febvre and Bloch redefined the relations between social history and the experiences of modern life itself. The Magny group was driven to its study of the past partly by its fears of the present; and Taine stressed the intellectual impoverishment brought on by some of modernity's most important intellectual movements, classicism and the Enlightenment. In contrast, Febvre and Bloch consistently celebrated modernity, which they viewed as providing Europeans a previously unknown assurance in dealing with the world; and Febvre at least saw its origins in seventeenth and eighteenth-century philosophy. For Febvre and Bloch, the history of mentalities thus served in part as a defense of modern thought itself, which had permitted escape from the constraints of the Middle Ages and Renaissance. For my purposes here, though, these specifics matter less than a broader point: the *Annales* historians need to be read from a literary as well as a scientific perspective. Like writers of all categories, they recycled and transformed the intellectual traditions around them. Writing about the past was for them (as for their predecessors) a way to think about large problems of human existence—in part through their very reworking of long-established themes. Incorporating figures like Sainte-Beuve, Taine, and their colleagues into our genealogy of contemporary historical practice can help us bring to light these essentially artistic functions of current historical writing, as a process that seeks to shape the present as much as to understand the past.

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Chiefs and Bureaucrats in the Making of Empire: A Drama from the Transkei, South Africa, October 1880

CLIFTON CRAIS

SCHOLARS ARE BEGINNING TO DEVELOP a new history of the state that brings to the study of power and politics the rich offerings of cultural studies. This development in part reflects a commitment to rethinking contemporary topics such as authoritarianism, civil society, ethnic conflict, and political instability. It also marks an attempt to extend the now considerable body of recent work on the cultural history of nineteenth-century imperialism produced over the past two decades.¹ Comparative literature specialists, many encouraged by new historicist approaches, have produced numerous studies on the imperial imagination, particularly on European representations of non-European peoples. Inspired by the work of Edward Said and other postcolonial critics, they have historicized seemingly static categories such as race and have provided important historical depth to issues ranging from sexuality to the social sciences. This rich literature has advanced more than simply our understanding of colonial history. Studies of Mughals and missionaries, of explorers and entrepreneurs, have reshaped metropolitan studies, including the character of imperial expansion itself.² One recent study, for example, has explored how the missionary experience in Africa created an "imperial culture" within England, in

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¹ For Africa, see, for example, Achille Mbembe, "The Banality of Power and the Aesthetics of Vulgarly in the Post-Colony," *Public Culture* 4, no. 2 (Spring 1992): 1-30; Jean-François Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly*, Mary Harper, trans. (London, 1993); Clifton C. Crais, ed., *The Culture of Power in Southern Africa: Essays on State Formation and the Political Imagination* (Portsmouth, N.H., 2003). On ethnicity, see Carolyn Hamilton, *Terrific Majesty: The Powers of Shaka Zulu and the Limits of Historical Invention* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). For a more traditional approach, see Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978). See also Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (London, 1992); Stephen Greenblatt, ed., *New World Encounters* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). Said's *Orientalism* was the subject of a symposium in this journal: *AHR* 104 (October 2000). Quite explicitly criticizing Said and those who have followed in his footsteps, David Cannadine recently has questioned the scholarly predilection to find an imperial world rife with race and difference. Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (Oxford, 2001).

which a domestic middle-class "missionary spirit" racialized the English poor and working classes.³

What unites these diverse studies is a common fascination with culture—the ways people produced meaning and understood their world in diverse settings typically characterized by highly unequal relationships. These studies form part of a broader historiographical trend shaped by scholars such as Clifford Geertz and more generally by history's discovery of anthropology.⁴ This concern with culture has shaped recent work on the making of the colonial order itself, that is, on the local structures of dominance within the vast areas that came under European control in the nineteenth century. As Nicholas Dirks put it, "culture was what colonialism was all about."⁵ The historical anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler, for example, has argued for the importance of studying the constitution of colonial categories, for bringing anthropology's classic concern with culture to the study of the colonial past. In this and in other similar works, scholars have centered their research on identity, power and knowledge, discourse, sexuality, race, ideology, religion, even clothing—colonial culture read as so many texts amenable to anthropological and new historicist perspectives.⁶

The state specifically, and politics more generally, has had an uneasy position within the new cultural history of empire. Jean and John Comaroff, for example, have argued that the new literature proves "that colonization was everywhere more than merely a process of political economy—or one vested primarily in the colonial state."⁷ Less glamorous are the studies of institutions, the lives of bureaucrats, or analyses of the causes of empire exemplified some three decades ago by Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher's monumental *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism*.⁸ To the extent that the state has been the center of analysis in the new cultural history of empire, it has been primarily in terms of analyzing the discursive strategies of rule, the epistemologies and techniques by which Europeans ordered and understood their colonial subjects and the lands they inhabited. The

³ Susan Thorne, *Congregational Missions and the Making of an Imperial Culture in Nineteenth-Century England* (Stanford, Calif., 1999).

⁴ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973). See also Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, 1988), 548–55.

⁵ Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1992), 3. See also Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995), 16.

⁶ See, for example, Jean and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, Vol. 2: *The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997), 218–73, which addresses clothing. Other chapters look at writing, cultivation, currency, architecture, and medicine. This is the second of a planned three-volume project. The first volume is titled *Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991). Both volumes were the subject of special reviews in the *AHR* 108 (April 2003).

⁷ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 2: 16.

⁸ Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (New York, 1961). The book went through numerous reprintings. Current events may lead to a return to political history as scholars and others contemplate an American empire. See, for example, Emily Eakin, "It Takes an Empire, Say Several U.S. Thinkers," *International Herald Tribune*, April 2, 2002; Robert D. Kaplan, *Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Demands a Pagan Ethos* (New York, 2001); Chalmers A. Johnson, *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire* (New York, 2000); Joseph S. Nye, Jr., *The Paradox of American Power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (New York, 2002).

emphasis has been more on strategies than on practice, more on the accumulation of knowledge than on the daily relationships of colonizer and colonized.⁹ Particularly where the emphasis on missionaries is strongest, the state enters later, after the colonization of consciousness, after the damage has been done, to regulate a world reshaped in the name of empire and modernity.¹⁰ Yet as Frederick Cooper and Ann Stoler have cautioned, understanding the “working of the colonial state” remains centrally important to comprehending the rise and fall of European colonialism.¹¹

This article is concerned with bringing the state back in without leaving culture out, much as a new generation of scholars has revitalized the study of state formation and political culture in twentieth-century Latin America.¹² The article focuses primarily on the earliest moments of state formation that began with conquest itself, as the state, as it were, came into being. The challenge, as Philip Corrigan has put it generally, is to focus “not [on] who rules but [on] how rule is accomplished.”¹³ Looking at state formation this way relates recent anthropologically oriented history concerned with culture to an older politically centered literature committed to understanding precisely how it was that Europeans extended control over such vast areas of the world so quickly and ruled with relatively few people. I am especially interested in exploring colonial conquest as quintessentially a cross-cultural encounter of a political kind. Conquest as cross-

⁹ See, for example, Arjun Appadurai, “Number in the Colonial Imagination,” in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, eds., *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia* (Philadelphia, 1993). See also C. A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge, 1996); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); and, most recently, Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton, 2001).

¹⁰ See, for example, T. O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington, Ind., 1982); Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*; Paul Stuart Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, 1995). For one critique, see Terence Ranger, “Africa in the Age of Extremes: The Irrelevance of African History,” in Simon A. McGrath and Christopher Fyfe, eds., *Rethinking African History* (Edinburgh, 1997). Particularly in South African historical studies, political historians continue to analyze the state according to the promulgation of policies and the success or failure of its intervention in rural and urban society, terms very much established by the state itself. See, for example, Adam Ashforth, *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford, 1992); Belinda Bozzoli, *The Political Nature of a Ruling Class: Capital and Ideology in South Africa, 1890–1933* (London, 1981); Saul Dubow, *Racial Segregation and the Origins of Apartheid in South Africa, 1919–36* (Houndmills, 1989); Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid, 1948–1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford, 1991). Social historians remain largely preoccupied with detailing who did what to whom when, and how that who—defined as peasant, worker, tribesman, or on the basis of gender—reacted to European imposition. In the best work, the colonized are shown to have either accommodated themselves to rule or reacted against an external imposition that remained intrinsically foreign. See, for example, William Beinart and Colin Bundy, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics and Popular Movements in the Transkei and Eastern Cape, 1890–1930* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987); Fred T. Hendricks, *The Pillars of Apartheid: Land Tenure, Rural Planning and the Chieftaincy* (Uppsala, 1990); Peter Delius, *A Lion amongst the Cattle: Reconstruction and Resistance in the Northern Transvaal* (Portsmouth, N.H., 1996).

¹¹ Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 21.

¹² See, for example, Allen Wells and Gilbert M. Joseph, *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatán, 1876–1917* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C., 1994).

¹³ Philip Corrigan, “State Formation,” in Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, xvii.

cultural encounter highlights how state formation consists of “a *claim* that in its very name attempts to give unity, coherence, structure, and intentionality to what are in practice frequently disunited, fragmented attempts at domination.”¹⁴ There is, I suggest, much to be learned from the encounters of bureaucrats, whose charge was to create a new political order, and their sometimes recalcitrant colonial subjects, who were trying to make sense of their occupation by outsiders.

At first glance, this may seem unsurprising, especially along the edge of empire, where European claims to rule could be very weak indeed. Scholars of early European expansion in the period before the administrative revolution of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries have long been attuned to the often bewildering complexity of cross-cultural encounters. Richard White has written of the necessity of people having to “arrive at some common conception of suitable ways of acting,” as he has suggested, a “middle ground.”¹⁵ Studies of Africa in the nineteenth century, however, usually have emphasized the differences separating European administrators from their African charges.¹⁶ Scholarship produced during the era of decolonization was inclined to see colonialism in terms of foreign imposition, the monolithic intrusion of Europe into other parts of the world. With few exceptions, the trend has continued. The recent literature concerned with culture not surprisingly has gravitated toward individuals like early missionaries, whose exciting lives and rich texts offered the possibility of complex readings of early colonialism. In contrast, the lives of bureaucrats, beyond mere conveyors of policy, seemed relatively wearisome.¹⁷ There has been a tendency to foreclose analysis of the creation of nineteenth-century colonial rule, including moments of violence, as a “dialogue of cultures”¹⁸ and the emergence of African understandings of a political world in which they became the subjects of a colonial state. Colonial conquest and rule, it is suggested here, were just as much cross-cultural encounters as were the interactions of Africans with European missionaries and traders. For conquest involved peoples with often radically different conceptions and practices coming together and struggling to make sense of what was happening to themselves and to others. Seen this way, resistance is thus not simply oppositional but, rather, represents part of a historic conversation Africans had about power, authority, and legitimacy, a conversation that engaged with colonialism but significantly extended beyond it.

The article centers on a drama of power and politics in the nineteenth-century

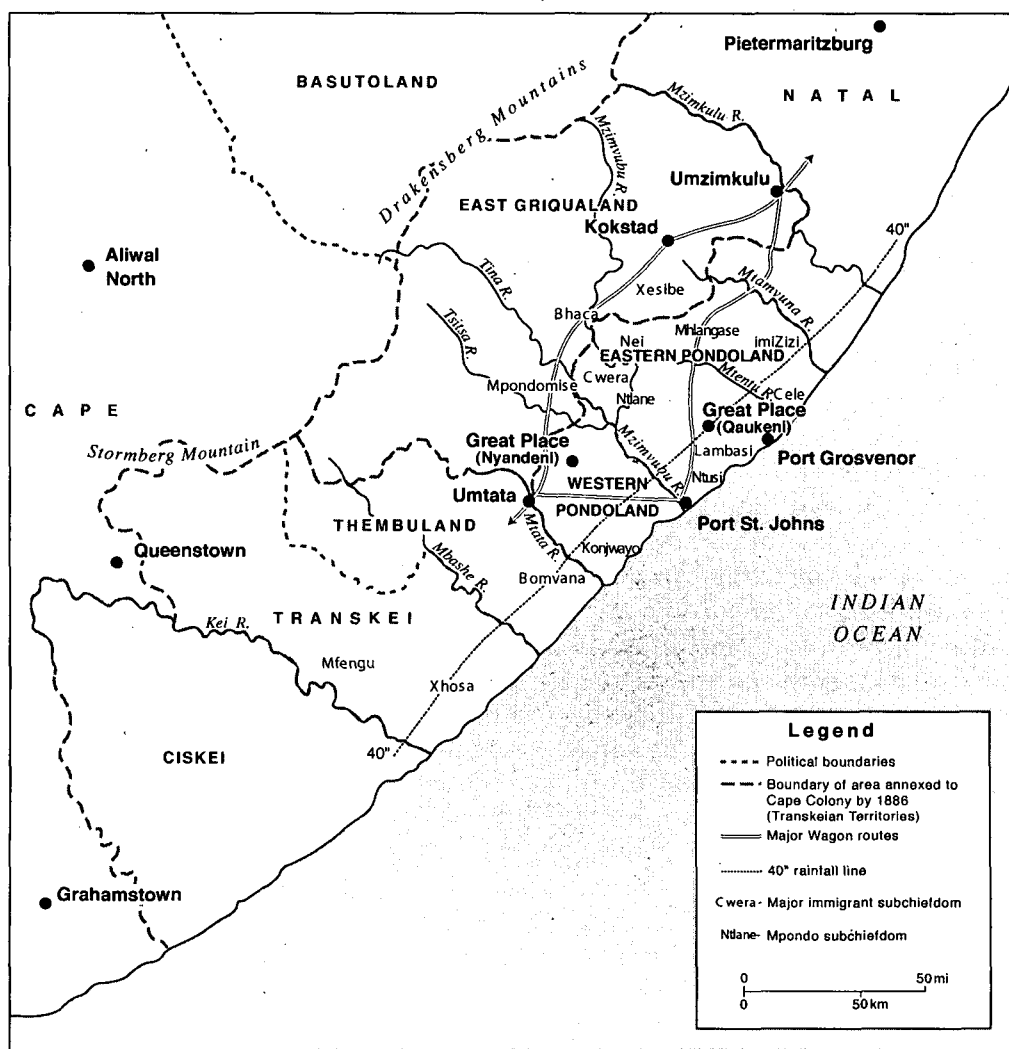
¹⁴ Derek Sayer, “Dissident Remarks on Hegemony,” in Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, 371. Sayer is here discussing Philip Abrams, “Some Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1, no. 1 (March 1988): 58–89.

¹⁵ Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, 1991), 50. See also Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (New York, 1994). The administrative revolution is discussed in Philip D. Curtin, *The World and the West: The European Challenge and the Overseas Response in the Age of Empire* (Cambridge, 2000).

¹⁶ Magistrates often commented on the social and cultural distance that separated them and the political system they were creating from indigenous political structures and processes; after all, they felt they represented islands of civilization in a sea of barbarism.

¹⁷ For one important exception, see Michael Crowder, *The Flogging of Phineas McIntosh: A Tale of Colonial Folly and Injustice; Bechuanaland, 1933* (New Haven, Conn., 1988).

¹⁸ Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America: The Question of the Other*, Richard Howard, trans. (New York, 1984), 250.



MAP: The University of Wisconsin Cartographic Laboratory.

Transkei, South Africa, played out in the relationship between a colonial magistrate and an African chief, the representatives of two different polities. The last quarter of the century saw rapid British expansion in South Africa and, indeed, across the continent. International rivalries partly motivated British expansion in the Transkei. The discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West in 1865, and the granting of responsible rule to the Cape Colony in 1872, however, created an environment for more spirited expansion. Most of the Transkei came under colonial rule in the space of about ten years. In 1868, the British high commissioner annexed nearby Basutoland, which was taken over by the Cape three years later only to be returned to British control. Widespread resistance began in the late 1870s and had engulfed much of the Transkei and Basutoland by 1880, largely because of the introduction of the magistrate system and the attempt to disarm Africans under the infamous 1878 Peace Preservation Act. To the northeast, tensions erupted in the Anglo-Zulu

War of 1879, in which the British suffered one of their worst defeats in the nineteenth century during the Battle of Isandlwana. On the subcontinent, the pace of imperial expansion and consolidation quickened after the discovery of gold in the 1880s, ending in one of the great wars of the age of empire, the 1899–1902 South African War.¹⁹

Bureaucrats played a central role in imperial expansion into the Transkei. In 1862, the Department of Native Affairs (NAD)—what would soon become the most sophisticated bureaucracy within the Cape government—was created to manage conquered African territories. With responsible government granted in 1872, the NAD emerged as a far more powerful bureaucratic agency.²⁰ In the 1870s, the department sent its employees into the Transkei to establish treaties, survey land, and proclaim British control. This move into the region entailed more than simply the presence of weapons and the proverbial Gatling gun. Bureaucrats brought with them papers, pens, forms, stamps, rules, legislation, law books, and especially telegraphs into unconquered lands. While colonial control remained tenuous, the material presence of the state became unmistakable. The instrumental power of the state might not be hegemonic, but its material artifacts were everywhere.²¹

The relationship between African chiefs and colonial officials represented a principal feature of the emerging political order of colonialism. These sorts of cross-cultural encounters between officials and chiefs took place across the continent, shaping in powerful ways the colonial order within an expanding British Empire in Africa. Officials arrived with new forms of power and communication, and of course entirely new institutions and procedures such as courts, trials, and jails. Their mission was to establish areas of control, if need be to “pacify” their new subjects, and to create orderly systems of administration among “barbarous” peoples. Africans, especially chiefs, had their own ideas. They pursued avenues of self-strengthening, an African “race for power” often in direct conflict with European intentions and aspirations.²² The situation on the ground, as it were, could be considerably messy, blurring what might appear at first sight to be so many clear differences and distinctions. As we shall see, for example, Africans perceived officials using a political grammar that connected authority and legitimacy with magic and agricultural fertility. Bureaucracy could become positively bewitching.

¹⁹ For a general history of the region, see T. R. H. Davenport and Christopher C. Saunders, *South Africa: A Modern History*, 5th edn. (London, 2000).

²⁰ For an overview, see Howard Rogers, *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1933).

²¹ From the end of the nineteenth century, the Transkei became especially important as a testing ground for new colonial policies ranging from indirect rule to agricultural management, particularly as Transkeian migrants came to represent a larger and larger proportion of an emerging migrant working class. In the apartheid era, the Transkei represented the lynchpin for the “homeland” policies of separate development. For background, see John S. Galbraith, *Reluctant Empire: British Policy on the South African Frontier, 1834–1854* (Berkeley, Calif., 1963); Jeffrey B. Peires, *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of Their Independence* (Berkeley, 1981); Clifton C. Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865* (Cambridge, 1992); Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles*. See also Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

²² On the African race for power, see John Lonsdale, “The European Scramble,” in J. D. Fage and Rolan Oliver, eds., *The Cambridge History of Africa*, vol. 6 (Cambridge, 1985). See also John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, *Unhappy Valley: Conflict in Kenya and Africa* (Athens, Ohio, 1992).

"GO ON I WILL FOLLOW," the Mpondomise paramount chief, Mhlontlo, told the British magistrate, Hamilton Hope, in early days of October 1880. And "where you die I will die." In the north, war had broken out in Basutoland. A punishing drought had brought widespread crop failure. Nearby, the chief's wife lay ill, slowly perishing from a long disease. Mhlontlo had been busily organizing his warriors as the moon reached its fullness and showered the land with shadows and then began to wane. Ritual specialists, the "witch doctors" responsible for protecting the chief and his people, ministered magic to make the warriors strong, to defend them in battle, to vanquish their enemies. Hope expected the ritually strengthened warriors to be British allies in the colonial war against rebel Basotho. The white magistrate also had been preparing himself: dashing letters and telegraphs off to colleagues and superiors, forging alliances with African chiefs, amassing a considerable arsenal of modern weapons, and asserting in ways both banal and ritualized the political supremacy of the British Empire.²³

Hope remained somewhat apprehensive of his dealings with the paramount chief. The magistrate reported he had been warned that he "was plunging blindfold into a trap laid for me by" the Mpondomise paramount chief. "I shall be rather amused," Hope wrote, if the chief, "true to his reputation disappoints everybody's expectations; if he does not I shall no doubt have convincing proof that everybody is right. My own opinion," he concluded, aware both of the moment's drama and contingency, "is that as in a game of cards, having led my King of Trumps if anybody in the game holds the Ace I lose the trick, if not my King wins."²⁴

On October 20, 1880, Hope departed from his offices for Mhlontlo's location and the seat of the Mpondomise paramountcy at Sulenkama. The day before, Hope had written that "I meet Umhlonhlo and his Impi [warriors] tomorrow at Sulenkama, and take as many [men] as I can with me from here; but though I go without hesitation, it is as well to provide for contingencies." "I go strengthened," he continued, "by the feeling that I am doing right, and that the Almighty will guide me . . . I have done my utmost to steer a straight and proper course in these matters, and if I fail, and have been deceived, I shall have shown that I backed my opinion."²⁵

Hope took with him three white officials, four African policemen, and a Khoikhoi servant. The nine men proceeded on horseback and with two-wheeled carts (Scotch carts) along the wagon road that stretched north to Natal and south to Umtata, the colonial capital of the Transkei. Just over five kilometers out from the magistracy, the men turned left and onto the narrow path that led north into foothills and to Mhlontlo's residence. The men, carts, and horses lumbered up a broken and uneven path. Rain further complicated their journey. By now, the drought was finally coming to an end, replaced not by light rains but by furious downpours that turned rivulets into rushing streams and made the track the men

²³ I explore this story in greater detail in Clifton Crais, *The Politics of Evil: Magic, State Power, and the Political Imagination in South Africa* (Cambridge, 2002).

²⁴ CTAR, Chief Magistrate, Kokstad (hereafter, CMK) 1/152, Hamilton Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 14, 1880. See also CMK 1/152, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 19, 1880; Resident Magistrate, Maclear, to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 22, 1880.

²⁵ Hope to A. E. Davis, October 19, 1880, in "Historical Record of the Murder of Hamilton Hope," typescript originally compiled by W. C. Henman, photocopy in possession of author.

were traveling slippery and unstable. They stopped and made camp for the night. Rain was not the only complication hindering their progress. For the men brought with them fifty-one Snyder rifles, 7,000 cartridges, percussion caps, and gunpowder, in addition to a substantial provision of food. This was a not inconsiderable supply of weaponry. All told, the men were transporting more than 1,000 pounds of weapons and supplies. A far larger quantity of weapons was in transit to the magistracy and arrived there early Saturday morning.²⁶ Mhlontlo had requested the arms in return for agreeing to fight as allies of the British against the Basotho rebels in what became known as the Gun War of 1880–1881. In return, Mhlontlo assured Hope that he would assemble his warriors at Sulenkama, where chief and magistrate, ruler and subject, would gather in preparation for war.

Hope arrived in Sulenkama on the morning of October 21. He anxiously wanted to press north to Matatiele. He was, after all, a conqueror in the great age of British imperial expansion in South Africa and around the world.²⁷ To not press immediately to battle was for Hope to acquiesce to barbarism. But delays ensued. Hope suspected treachery. Were the warnings correct? Mhlontlo assured Hope that his army would collect on Friday. Thursday evening, the chief dined with the magistrate and spent the night sleeping under the Scotch cart filled with ammunition.²⁸

By Friday morning, only some 400 men in arms had arrived. Hope “addressed a few words to them,” explaining his intention and his desire “to make as much haste as possible.” The chief intervened. Not all his men were present, he told the magistrate. Mhlontlo suggested, and Hope agreed, reluctantly, to wait until the following day, Saturday, October 23. On Friday evening, the chief again dined with Hope, along with his brother and four other men. Chief and magistrate “had a long conversation.” Hope again explained to Mhlontlo the urgency of departing from Sulenkama on Saturday to make war on the rebel Basotho.

Saturday morning, the number of armed men had nearly doubled. The rains had stopped. The army, including the “principal men of the various clans,” formed a “great curve a short distance” from Hope’s encampment.²⁹ Warriors continued arriving during the day. In the early afternoon, Mhlontlo “came to Mr. Hope and sat down in the Marquee with us all, and after partaking of a friendly glass of Brandy and water, asked us all to go up to the ‘Umguyo’” ritual celebrations that fused agricultural fertility and chiefship and “where he said it would be decided upon what number of men would be enrolled” to fight in the colonial war.³⁰

Hope saw the event as affirming the political supremacy and power of the magistrate, another moment when Africans recognized the power and legitimacy of the British Empire. This was not the first but the second time the magistrate had attended, indeed had participated in, the ritual ceremony. To garner so many warriors would unequivocally demonstrate the magistrate’s mastery over a chief

²⁶ CTAR, Native Affairs (hereafter, NA) 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880.

²⁷ See Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986), 142, for statistical material on British imperial expansion.

²⁸ CMK 1/152, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 22, 1880; W. T. Brownlie, *Reminiscences of a Transkeian* (Pietermaritzburg, 1975), 82.

²⁹ NA 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880; Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 82.

³⁰ NA 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880.

who had too long resisted acknowledging the fact of colonial subjugation. The chief asked the magistrate to address the warriors, many of whom were then performing a war dance. Hope agreed. The men—chief, magistrate, Hope's clerk, and two other white men—entered the great curve. Hope and another official seated themselves on the rug of Hope's favorite horse. Another man stood behind them, while the last was "a short distance away watching the men as they danced and sang their war songs," the warriors with weapons in hand pretending to stab their victims.³¹

Suddenly, a great piercing whistle followed by a loud shout rang through the air. Everyone "stood still."³² "Pondomise there is no word from me," Chief Mhlontlo told his people, "the words you will hear [are] from your Magistrate." "We are Government people in the true sense of the word," the chief continued. "Government is our rock and shade." If Hope found these words comforting, what the chief then said mystified the magistrate, reversing in his mind the very semantic logic of the chief's declaration. "I am going to inform Sunduza [A. E. Davis, one of the white men]," Mhlontlo declared, "the words which *I wish* Mr. Hope to say."³³ The chief led Davis away from the magistrate, out of the great curve of assembled men. Some thirty feet from where Hope and the other whites sat, the chief stopped and turned around. He pointed to Hamilton Hope, and cried out "You Pondomise! There are your chiefs!"³⁴

Six men, all ritual specialists, rushed Hope and the two other white men. Mhlangeni, who also served as one of the chief's counselors, "seized" the magistrate by his long white beard and, "so drawing upwards his head, stabbed him in the breast." Within minutes, all three men were dead. The remaining white, Davis, survived; Mhlontlo saved him because Davis's father and now his brother served as missionaries to the Mpondomise.³⁵ Mhlontlo, Davis reported, "was fighting only against the Government."³⁶ "The English government," Mhlontlo said,

has either entirely changed from what it was doing a few years ago, or it must be ignorant of what its Magistrates are doing. We are harshly treated. We came under the Government in order to gain peace and quietude, instead of which we have been in a continual state of unrest from the treatment we have received. Faith has been broken with us over and over again . . . Our cattle are to be branded; our arms are to be taken away; and after that our children are to be seized and carried across the water.

"I shall not be taken alive," Mhlontlo ended, "a man can only die once."³⁷

The chief later refused requests by Davis and his brother to bury the mutilated bodies. They were to remain there as fallen enemies, as carrion for birds and scavenging animals, their bones scattered to the winds; "the bodies must be eaten by birds, or their medicines would not act."³⁸ Mandondo, one of the chief's ritual

³¹ Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 83; *Fort Beaufort Advocate*, November 5, 1880, in "Historical Record."

³² Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 83.

³³ Emphasis mine. NA 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880.

³⁴ Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 84.

³⁵ Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 84; NA 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880.

³⁶ NA 20, Davis to Secretary for Native Affairs, October 29, 1880; (University of Cape Town, hereafter UCT); BC 293, Walter Stanford to [?], November 23, 1880.

³⁷ *Eastern Star*, November 23, 1880, in "Historical Record."

³⁸ *Eastern Star*, November 23, 1880, in "Historical Record." "The fowls of the air (aasvogels) should

specialists, mutilated the body "for war purposes."³⁹ Hope's beard was cut off, and his clothes stripped. Mhlangeni wore Hope's trousers and donned his beard. He subsequently led attacks on colonial troops.⁴⁰ A few years later, he was arrested but miraculously managed to escape from the Kokstad jail. Another ritual specialist took the magistrate's coat. On October 24, this man led an attack on the Maclear magistracy, where a colonial official shot him dead. He was wearing the "great bull's" coat.⁴¹

On the day of Hope's death, Mhlontlo organized an escort to bring Davis back to the magistracy. There he packed his bags and fled to a nearby mission station. The telegraph wire had been cut, a few poles destroyed, the telegraph stolen; rebels would destroy most of the telegraph wires that were webbed across the Transkei. Mhlontlo had confiscated the munitions that had arrived the day of Hope's murder: 265 Snyder rifles and 15,750 rounds of ammunition. By October 29, the magistrate's offices and jail had been destroyed by fire.

Before the destruction of the buildings, Mhlontlo briefly occupied the magistracy. He sat in Hope's "great chair," before the law of the man and empire that had ruled over him. The "great table from the house of trials (court-room)" lay before the chief. On it sat "that great book, the book of causes (criminal record book)." A man "turned over the leaves of the book and read aloud from it: 'So-and-so charged with the crime of so-and-so; found guilty; sentenced to so-and-so.'" "And then there would arise a great shout, and the armed warriors would rush upon the book and stab it with their spears, the while they shouted the death shout . . . [T]he warriors exulted and laughed aloud and made mock of the Government, who, they said, was now dead."⁴²

SCHOLARS HAVE TENDED TO SEPARATE the violence of conquest from the "cultural technologies of rule."⁴³ Maps, censuses, and other statistical operations, the accumulation of ethnographic information, and so on typically follow the crude force of foreign intervention. What is striking about nineteenth-century colonial conquest in the Transkei, however, is precisely how central these technologies were to conquest itself, and to African resistance to imperial expansion. Mapping, censuses, and telegraphy represented a crucial part of conquest.⁴⁴ Africans were as

eat them, or the witch doctor's medicine would not act." *Port Elizabeth Telegraph and Eastern Province Standard*, November 26, 1880, in "Historical Record."

³⁹ (UCT) BC 293, B116.39, William P. Leary to Stanford, June 29, 1922. This also occurred in the Bhamata Rebellion of 1906–1908 in Natal, where a European's body was mutilated to strengthen the warriors. See Benedict Carton, *Blood from Your Children: The Colonial Origins of Generational Conflict in South Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 2000), 134.

⁴⁰ CMK 1/94, Leary to officer commanding, May 2, 1881.

⁴¹ (UCT) BC 293, B116.39, Leary to Stanford, June 29, 1922; Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 112, 84.

⁴² Brownlie, *Reminiscences*, 88. Hope was not the only magistrate whose power was mocked in the great rebellion of 1880–1881. See below and Crais, *Politics of Evil*, 39.

⁴³ Dirks, *Castes of Mind*, 9; Dirks is aware of the role of this cultural history in making colonialism possible, but still holds on to periodization that emphasizes the crude brutality "of conquest that first established power on foreign shores."

⁴⁴ On shipping and telegraphy, see Daniel R. Headrick, *The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850–1940* (New York, 1988), 18–48, 97–144; see also Rudolf

much conquered by bureaucrats as by soldiers, by procedures as by bullets, by institutions, techniques, and Enlightenment rationality as by Snyder-Enfield rifles and the Gatling gun. Culture was from the beginning an essential feature of colonial state formation, not something the state later "discovered" in formulating its policies of segregation and apartheid. What Michel Foucault described as the "science of government" was an integral feature of conquest and state formation, much like the magistrate in J. M. Coetzee's luminous novel, *Waiting for the Barbarians*, who has accumulated "shelves and shelves of paper . . . the records of decades of humdrum administration."⁴⁵ For the most part, violence took place *after* magistrates had subjected new regions to the technologies of the modern state. The relative absence of initial large-scale violence meant that the principal encounters Africans had were with bureaucrats charged with creating a colonial state.

Certainly, military force remained a possibility. Bureaucrats, however, preferred conquering with paper, forms, censuses, and law books. Officials were instructed to render Africans and the landscape they inhabited cognizable to law and to regular administration. As Hope put it in 1879, his job was "to take cognizance of everything that goes on."⁴⁶ Officials such as Hope typically rendered Africa cognizable through the application of political technologies such as censuses, surveying, and mapping, the application of law, and detailed descriptions of social life.⁴⁷ With the mapping of space came the counting and classification of bodies; the two were closely associated.⁴⁸ Drawing lines and counting people—a preoccupation of the state, indeed, its "classificatory logic"⁴⁹—were among the first duties of new resident magistrates. As with maps, over the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries censuses became more accurate and more detailed. To count was to know. To do both involved the creation of fixed categories. As magistrates drew maps, they also collected statistical data so that they could then "fix" colonial subjects on a spatial grid.⁵⁰

Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton, N.J., 2002). Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics* (Chicago, 1997); see also Mary Poovey, "The Production of Abstract Space," in Susan Hardy Aiken, et al., *Making Worlds: Gender, Metaphor, Materiality* (Tucson, Ariz., 1998). On the earlier period, see Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (New York, 1995), esp. 16–40.

⁴⁵ J. M. Coetzee, *Waiting for the Barbarians* (New York, 1980), 23; Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality: With Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault* (Chicago, 1991), 99.

⁴⁶ CMK 1/94, minutes of meeting, December 23, 1879. The study of knowledge and colonialism has been of particular importance to scholars of Asian history. See, for example, Appadurai, "Number in the Colonial Imagination." See also Bayly, *Empire and Information*; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*; and, of course, Said, *Orientalism*.

⁴⁷ See Said, *Orientalism*; Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*; Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*; Stoler, *Race*. On surveying, see D. Graham Burnett, *Masters of All They Surveyed: Exploration, Geography, and a British El Dorado* (Chicago, 2000).

⁴⁸ Silvana Patriarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, 1996), 50.

⁴⁹ Appadurai, "Number in the Colonial Imagination," 315.

⁵⁰ "The modern colonial state," Appadurai has argued with respect to the British in India, "brings together the exoticizing vision of orientalism with the familiarizing discourse of statistics. In the process, the body of the colonial subject is made simultaneously strange and docile . . . [S]tatistics are to bodies and social types what maps are to territories: they flatten and enclose." "Number in the Colonial Imagination," 333–34. See also Richard Saumarez Smith, *Rule by Records: Land Registration and Village Custom in Early Punjab* (Delhi, 1996); Martin Moir, "Kaghazi Raj: Notes on the

The most stereotyped image was that of tribal society. The map and census were important instruments in the creation of a model of African society on which officials could act. Maps and numbers, space and numeracy, made possible the creation of colonial categories that could be fixed spatially, thus allowing for a state-sponsored territorialization of culture. The ethnographic diagram of chiefs' genealogies and the maps of native reserves represent the two endpoints of the fixing of culture in space; in one sense, the latter circumscribed the former. Power and control lay at the center of both. The genealogy is precisely a schematic representation, indeed an instrument, of power and jurisdiction premised on a putative "common characteristic or interest."⁵¹ This location of culture in space constituted an intrinsic feature of conquest and early colonial rule, of rendering Africans cognizable, for example through sedentarization and attempting to create ethnically pure districts. Early state formation entailed bureaucratic attempts to organize space on the basis of homogeneous tribal designations demarcated by administrative boundaries; in fact, early colonial officials forcibly removed Africans designated as belonging to a different "tribe."⁵²

Imperial expansion during the Transkei colonial rule generally proceeded in two waves. The first wave, depending on the area, roughly in the period between the 1850s and the 1870s, consisted of a series of political agreements in which African rulers nominally accepted British rule. In so doing, the British expected them to end political conflicts, glossed in the archive as "tribal wars." Until the late 1870s, the British were not always clear how they intended to rule these new possessions. In some respects, early rule in areas such as Thembuland and further to the east was similar to a protectorate. Few in number and their control nominal, resident magistrates ruled "principally through their own Chiefs and in accordance with Kaffir laws and customs, when not opposed to justice or humanity."⁵³ Chiefs thus retained much of their power. In many areas, chiefs in effect appropriated the first magistrates as part of their attempts to consolidate and extend their power. Generally in this early period, magistrates evinced "an unwillingness to measure" their "power and authority with that of the Chief under" them.⁵⁴

Conquest proceeded mainly through a series of agreements between chiefs and officials. Again, violence typically took place after, not before, colonial rule had been extended over a given area. Chiefs initially agreed to have their people

Documentary Basis of Company Rule: 1773–1858," *Indo-British Review* 21, no. 2 (1993): 185–93. More generally, see Mary Poovey, *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864* (Chicago, 1995); Poovey, *History of the Modern Fact: Problems of Knowledge in the Sciences of Wealth and Society* (Chicago, 1998).

⁵¹ *Black's Law Dictionary*, 7th edn. (St. Paul, Minn., 1999).

⁵² See also Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture*, 3; Stoler, *Race*, 16, on the importance of culture and the creation of colonial orders. This concern with locating culture geographically grew inversely to the rise of migrant labor, which spread people from the reserves over the entire expanse of South Africa. As capitalism seemed to lead to the dispersion of people, raising in the twentieth century the specter of detribalization, officials redoubled their efforts to ensure that colonial subjects could not escape their tribal appellations. See Crais, *Politics of Evil*, 145–64.

⁵³ (UCT) BC 293, D10, manuscript of Rev. E. J. Warner containing the history of his father, Rev. Joseph Cox Warner, n.d., typescript.

⁵⁴ (UCT) BC 293, B2631, Edmonstone Judge and Col. J. M. Grant to Secretary for Native Affairs, December 30, 1872. Early policy is described in Colonial Office (hereafter, CO) 4521, John James Graham, "Unannexed Tembuland," August 16, 1881; CO 1156, James W. Leonard, Opinion, April 23, 1881.

"placed . . . under the protection" of the Cape government. Chiefs saw these agreements as so many alliances and, importantly, not recognition of colonial status. Technically, Africans were not colonial subjects, even if "the colonial government had been exercising de facto jurisdiction." And magistrates, including the chief magistrate, the head NAD official in the Transkei, "had no legal status independently of the will of the Chiefs."⁵⁵ This muddled situation changed toward the end of the 1870s, when bureaucrats received instructions from their superiors definitively to reduce the power of chiefs and, in their place, to create an orderly system centered on resident magistrates who would no longer have to act on the sufferance of African rulers.⁵⁶

In 1878, Hamilton Hope became the third magistrate appointed to the Mpondomise. As with other magistrates, Hope spent much of his time gathering statistical data, demarcating boundaries, collecting information on African custom, and, of course, extending the British rule of law.⁵⁷ In the early 1870s, following a period of political expansion and contraction, Mhlontlo and a number of other chiefs in the East Griqualand area had accepted British suzerainty. Hut tax first became payable in 1875. In a long report written at the end of 1877, the second magistrate, William Shaw, confidently asserted, "Magistrates now occupy the position formerly held by the Chiefs."⁵⁸ The official exaggerated; the situation was far more complex. Mhlontlo was not so compliant; indeed, he remained very much committed to expanding his authority. In an 1878 witchcraft case, Mhlontlo had confiscated the property of one of his subjects. The magistrate had intervened, fining the chief fifteen head of cattle. While "he has not refused to pay the demand," Mhlontlo "greatly embarrassed me by his passive opposition and non-compliance."⁵⁹ In other respects, the chief seemed cooperative; officials often had difficulty understanding why a chief might appear pliant in one instance and intractable in another. The chief, for example, "personally afforded" the magistrate's "clerk every assistance in making" a census of his people "as accurate as possible, and in which he evidently took considerable interest."⁶⁰ In this and other instances, the chief was attempting to use the British in such a way as to enlarge his political domain, even as colonial officials were concluding that the chief was submitting to their control.

Hope previously had served in nearby southern Basutoland, where he ruled as the first magistrate over Chief Moorosi. There Hope did his duty as a bureaucrat,

⁵⁵ CO 4521, Graham, "Unannexed Tembuland," August 16, 1881.

⁵⁶ In 1877, the colony annexed Griqualand East and the region between the Kei and Bashee rivers. Griqualand East had received its first magistrate six years earlier; annexation formalized a prior process of colonial conquest, making de jure what was in many respects already de facto. In 1884, Mqikela, the Pondo paramount chief and son of Faku who had led Pondoland on the road of political centralization, quite literally sold Port Saint Johns in return for a yearly subsidy. In 1885, the colony annexed Tembuland, Emigrant Tembuland, Gcalekaland, and Bomvanaland. The following year saw the incorporation of the rest of the Transkei barring Pondoland, which was annexed to the colony in 1894. By this time, with the exception of Pondoland, the Cape had annexed the entire Transkei, a region of over 20,000 square miles. See also F. Brownlie, *The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records* (Lovedale, 1923).

⁵⁷ See CMK 1/94, Hope to Brownlie, September 4, 1879; CMT 1/94, Hope to Davis, August 6, 1879; CMT 1/53, Hope to Henry Elliot, July 24, 1879; Crais, *Politics of Evil*, 68–95.

⁵⁸ NA 158, William Shaw, Report, January 1878.

⁵⁹ NA 158, Shaw, Report, January 1878.

⁶⁰ NA 158, Shaw, Report, January 1878.

deploying the political technologies of the modern state and, if necessary, flogging his subjects. Hope earned the dubious "reputation for being cruel and vindictive."⁶¹ The next magistrate would inherit a discontented people who rebelled shortly after his arrival and then, again, in the Gun War of 1880.⁶²

Hope's reputation surely would have reached Mhlontlo. His arrival among the Mpondomise created some considerable concern. It also offered an opportunity to roll back some of the previous magistrate's efforts to erode chiefly rule. In late August 1878, Mhlontlo called a meeting with the new magistrate. This itself was important. Colonial rituals of subordination usually entailed a new magistrate first calling a meeting of his subjects. Equally important, Mhlontlo attended the meeting, instead of sending his chief counselors and ritual specialists.

The Mpondomise leaders wasted no time. "We are here today about the letter sent by Government appointing you as our Magistrate," said Tyali. "We have not come for anything else." Next, the recently appointed headman Zenzo raised the central issue of the jurisdiction of chiefs and headmen. "We thank Government . . . Our first complaint we made to the first Magistrate [Joseph Millerd Orpen] who said your ground is your inheritance. Well I don't see the ground today. Again, I was once a chief, but when Government came I had to give up my chieftainship. I was a chief under Umhlonhlo[;] I am now no longer able to get any fines."⁶³ Others continued in much the same vein. When another headman criticized Shaw's rule, Hope chastized him. He was not deterred: "We want all cases to be taken first to Umhlonhlo." Then Noranga added: "Why do you stop us when we talk about Shaw? He ruled us wrong—he beat us with the 'cats' without the word from the Chief."

Hope was unimpressed:

Some of you have spoken very well, but you are all making one mistake—it is this: That although you admit you are under the Government you seem to expect Government to come down to your level and adopt your customs and let you dictate to the Magistrate . . .

You want me always to consult Umhlonhlo—who is the leader—but I will not . . . So long as he behaves well and is willing to assist me, I will consult him . . . [H]e and the other headmen may act as arbitrators in civil cases, but must not use force to carry out their decisions, and every man may appeal to me before he complies with the judgements of chiefs and headmen—but you must not expect me to send cases to the Chief.

The magistrate ended by saying "that the Government is first and the chief second."⁶⁴

Finally, Mhlontlo spoke. "I asked Mr. Shaw to show me the first letters from Government, those that refer to our being taken over so that we could discuss them, but he declined to go into old matters . . . We want you in the presence of the Minister to take those first letters and read them to us so that we can understand the law. The letters are still here, let them be read—they are not dead." Hope

⁶¹ Anthony Atmore, "Moorosi's Rebellion: Lesotho, 1879," in Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds., *Protest and Power in Black Africa* (New York, 1970).

⁶² See Atmore, "Moorosi's Rebellion"; Judy Kimble, "Labour Migration in Basutoland, c. 1870–1885," in Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone, eds., *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (London, 1982), 119–41. The colonial administration had introduced a new policy aimed at disarming Africans.

⁶³ NA 158, minutes of meeting, August 22, 1878.

⁶⁴ NA 158, minutes of meeting, August 22, 1878.

ended the meeting. "You were only trying a new horse, to see if you could tease him, and whether he was likely to buck if you were not careful—each [speaker] has had a little ride on him to try, and now that you have seen what sort of horse you have got, I hope you are all satisfied." Laughter followed. The people dispersed.⁶⁵

The meeting in fact had settled little. A November 1878 case of witchcraft accusation raised again the division of power. The case began near the homestead of headman Mtoninzi, who, three months earlier, had publicly criticized Shaw's rule, only to receive the magistrate's sharp admonition. A "man of some importance" had fallen ill. Accusations of witchcraft followed. Hope rescued the accused, who had been "very much injured from the tortures" inflicted by the witch doctor and others, and arrested all the men with the exception of the "wizard" Cekeso. Hope alleged that Mtoninzi "encouraged" the men "to torture her till she produced the charms," and thus had contravened colonial law.⁶⁶

Hope demanded that Mhlontlo attend the trial. The accused "admitted their guilt but said that Mtoninzi had said that I [Hope] had given him authority to torture any one who might be "smelt out" provided he stopped short of killing them." Unimpressed by this argument, Hope fined the men and sentenced them to hard labor, including Mtoninzi, once a chief, then colonial headman, now a convict "breaking stones and wheeling a barrow."⁶⁷

Hope's efforts to accumulate power for himself and for the empire proceeded. In January 1879, he spoke to Mhlontlo concerning the "Mguya" that had just been performed at the chief's home. The Mguya, a central ritual moment for the Mpondomise, celebrated authority and fertility and reaffirmed the heroic status of chiefs as the descendants of men who slew leopards and who brought nourishing rains. The chief explained to Hope that Orpen, the first magistrate, had allowed his people to conduct Mguya. He further explained that, "besides Doctoring the people to strengthen them in case of war," Mguya offered the opportunity for the chief to discuss pressing matters with his people. Nonetheless, Mhlontlo assured Hope "that the ceremony . . . had no political significance."⁶⁸ The magistrate was concerned with what he considered to be the political implications of doctoring the army. In short, Hope feared conflict. He left the interview reassured of Mhlontlo's fealty.

Some nine months later, Hope attended a Mguya, at the chief's invitation. For Hope, the ensuing months had been taken up with the collection of hut taxes, land demarcations and resultant boundary and other land disputes, reports to his superiors and discussion of the Moorosi Rebellion taking place in nearby Basutoland, legal cases, and the more mundane duties of bureaucrats living on the frontier.⁶⁹ Hope clearly knew that the ceremony related to issues of political authority; he saw his presence there as part and parcel of his magisterial duties but also as an indication of the superior position of the magistrate vis-à-vis the chief. What Hope did not sufficiently appreciate was the fact that he was entering the

⁶⁵ NA 158, minutes of meeting, August 22, 1878.

⁶⁶ NA 158, Hope to Secretary for Native Affairs, November 26, 1878.

⁶⁷ NA 158, Hope to Secretary for Native Affairs, November 26, 1878.

⁶⁸ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, January 17, 1879.

⁶⁹ See below and CMK 1/94, Hope to Brownlie, September 4, 1879; NA 18, Grant to Elliot, March 5, 1880.

most intimate domain of Mpondomise power and ritual, and especially the relationship between the ceremony and agricultural fertility and chiefship.

Confident of his position, Hope redoubled his administrative efforts. He began a campaign of assiduous collection of taxes, including arrears dating back to 1875. Mhlontlo complained in February. In May, the issue had become serious enough for Hope to call for a meeting with the chief, accompanied by about 400 men.⁷⁰ Hope began the meeting by demanding the payment of "all arrears." Mhlontlo immediately countered by demanding "to know where is the record of any meeting called by Mr. Orpen or Mr. Shaw to pay the Hut Tax for 1875." From here, the meeting became rancorous. The government "has not shewn us anything," pronounced one man, who spoke *in vino veritas*,

or any reason why we should pay the Hut Tax, [W]e have not obtained ground yet to shew we have come under Government . . . I have only paid Hut Tax once. I do not see the truth of the Government in not giving us the ground we wanted. This ground has been given to other chiefs. We would like to get some of our ground back. We must grumble, we always do grumble. I will pay Hut Tax when Mhlonhlo pays. Government has him round the neck and is strangling him.⁷¹

Others continued in much the same vein. "We will never hear the truth of our words," Zenzo asserted. "How will people accept a law that has never been proclaimed." At this point, Hope read an extract from an 1874 meeting of Orpen and the Mpondomise concerning hut taxes as a condition of British colonial supremacy. Zenzo promptly fainted.⁷²

Hope began collecting taxes in July, beginning, significantly, with the chief. The chief and his people paid Hope £157 in two days, a considerable sum. "[S]ince then the people generally have come freely to the office" to pay their taxes. Hope "received every assistance from the Chief Umhlonhlo in the collecting of the Tax and the discovery of defaulters."⁷³

In September 1879, one year after becoming magistrate, Hope and his clerk attended a spring Mguya to bring rain and fertility to the land. Hope authorized the ceremony, to which he was invited by the chief. About 400 to 500 people attended, most arriving by horse. In the morning, they "gathered in front of the cattle Kraal and had a dance." In the afternoon, Hope asked the chief "to put his men through some military manoeuvres which he did with considerable skill and precision."⁷⁴

After a few men of influence spoke, the chief began his speech. He had called "these sons of the great English Bull" to the ceremony. "We are thankful," Mhlontlo said, "that the Magistrate has had sufficient confidence in us to allow us to stretch our legs in a dance, for although our enemies are still saying that we wish to fight against the Government, we are not such fools, and our [Mguya] is a time honored custom amongst us and we guyn [celebrate] in times of peace, and for our

⁷⁰ CMK 1/94, Hope to Brownlie, February 21, 1879; CMK 1/94, Hope to Brownlie, April 5, 1879; CMK 1/94, meeting of May 3, 1879.

⁷¹ CMK 1/94, meeting of May 3, 1879.

⁷² CMK 1/94, meeting of May 3, 1879.

⁷³ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, May 21, 1879.

⁷⁴ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, September 19, 1879.

harvests." Mhlontlo then instructed his people to pay their taxes. "This is the chief thing that ensures you the protection of Government."⁷⁵

Ever the committed bureaucrat, Hope now believed that his efforts to build the British Empire in the distant Transkei were finally bearing fruit. The land had been mapped, districts and sub-districts demarcated, the people counted and taxed. Hope saw the Mguva as a moment of submission, as affirming the political supremacy and power of the magistrate. What he scarcely understood was that Africans had been busily attempting to appropriate his power so as to bring rain. In doing so, they were placing an important burden on the white official and potentially exposing Hope to new kinds of criticism.

The spring Mguva failed to bring nourishing rains. By the end of the year, large parts of the Transkei were experiencing a severe drought.⁷⁶ In December, Mhlontlo complained of Hope's conduct in criminal proceedings, especially Hope's generous use of the whip. Again, the chief returned to the earliest years of colonial rule. Mhlontlo asked "that Mr. Orpen should be here, and we wish to talk to him . . . as our first Magistrate + Governor. We wish to speak to him before our good Magistrate" Hope.⁷⁷

Crisis loomed by March 1880, when green maize is eaten and Africans throughout the Transkei celebrate first fruits—a central ceremony in the creation and reconstitution of political society. The crops, as Hope later wrote, were an "entire failure."⁷⁸ Nor was this all. Mhlontlo's principal wife had fallen ill early in the spring and was "slowly dying of a lingering disease."⁷⁹ Hope was also unwell. He had been sick for some time and was finding his work "very exhausting."⁸⁰

In March, as drought gripped the land and the chief's wife lay sick from a disease that lingered like the dry days, chief and magistrate again locked horns, again around the resolution of disputes. One of the chief's sisters had been slighted "on her way down to her husband," an important moment in the marriage ceremony. Moreover, "a lot of young men attacked and rather maltreated her [bridal] escort."⁸¹

Mhlontlo leapt into action, fining the attackers and sending a leopard's tail to a man who had made insulting remarks to the bridal party. The brouhaha constituted a "blood case" and thus involved fines. Not surprisingly, the magistrate learned of the conflict and, especially, that the chief had acted "with his usual impetuosity."⁸² Hope informed the local headman that no one "but myself had the power to enforce any fines" and was soon threatening people with humiliating flogging. But Hope went one step further. Not only did the magistrate order his chief constable to confiscate the leopard tail, he had it returned to Mhlontlo.

Sending the leopard tail, a sacred emblem among the Mpondomise, back to the chief was a great insult and outrage. The chief "had flown at" the policeman "in a

⁷⁵ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, September 19, 1879.

⁷⁶ See, for example, NA 18, William G. Cumming to Chief Magistrate, Tembuland, January 10, 1880.

⁷⁷ CMK 1/94, Mhlontlo to Hope, December 20, 1879.

⁷⁸ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, August 25, 1880.

⁷⁹ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, August 25, 1880.

⁸⁰ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, March 13, 1880.

⁸¹ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, March 13, 1880.

⁸² CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, March 13, 1880.

great rage, refused to hear any message and ordered him off the premises with the tiger tail, which he was to take back to where he got it." But the policeman refused, leaving the leopard tail at the chief's residence. Only after some of the chief's men threatened him with death did the functionary take the tail away.⁸³

The affair of the leopard tail involved complex and highly charged meanings. For Hope, the chief's sending the leopard tail meant that, once again, Mhlontlo was refusing to recognize British rule. For the chief, as for other Africans, the tail meant much more, particularly in the context of drought. It symbolized not simply chiefship but also, and importantly, the mytho-historical relationship between authority and the land. Not surprisingly, and indeed seemingly inexorably, the fracas of the leopard tail led to a large meeting of the magistrate and his subjects, which about 900 people attended, roughly twice the size of Hope's previous meetings with the Mpondomise. Chief Mhlontlo did not attend, although his principal praise singer and war doctor did. Both spoke. So, of course, did Hamilton Hope, who reiterated that only the magistrate could levy fines. He also took possession of the leopard tail, the use of which he declared was illegal. Hope admonished the chief and instructed all assembled that they "must look to the Magistrate for [their] orders."

Coming armed as you did the other day. My Police have been insulted. The people have come here armed. No one must insult or come armed. I will tell you when to come armed . . . There are some things I wish attended to. You must pay up your Hut Tax.

The tax, Hope argued, was the "grease of the wagon" of rule. The magistrate ended his disquisition by banning Sunday beer drinks.⁸⁴

The chief's praise singer saw things somewhat differently. He pointed out the relative impotence of headmen. Soon, the meeting began unraveling; Hope's threats to flog people did not help matters. The men in effect began arguing the case and, at the same time, protesting the position of headmen and the banning of Sunday beer drinks. One man pointed out how Hope and Mhlontlo "were friends and they now seem at variance. Speak you wizards who did this." He had spoken of what had been silent: the use of magic in the creation of political conflict. For the drought, Mhlontlo's wife's illness, and the rising political temperature all indicated the use of powerful and malevolent magic. Hope concluded the meeting, returning to the issue of the powers of headmen. "The Headmen wanting more power is an old tale," he began.

All they want is to be able to "eat up" people's cattle. You Headmen have power to settle garden disputes, to bring people to the office who have delayed in paying their Hut Tax, that is enough power for you to have, and that is all you will get . . . I am over the Headmen, and not they over me . . . "Smelling out" [witchcraft accusations] I hear is in existence, if I find out such a thing I will inflict a very severe punishment.

Hope then announced he was going away, and that his clerk would be collecting hut taxes.⁸⁵ He would return to his death. In the meantime, drought continued ravaging the area. Mhlontlo's crops had failed; he was forced to sell a considerable number

⁸³ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, March 13, 1880.

⁸⁴ CMK 1/94, meeting of March 23, 1880.

⁸⁵ CMK 1/94, meeting of March 23, 1880.

of his cattle to purchase £200 worth of grain. His wife's illness progressed. But August is usually one of the driest months. Would the spring rains come?

Mhlontlo's wife died in early October 1880. By this time, war had broken out in Basutoland and in neighboring Griqualand East, the Gun War of 1880. Soon, virtually all of Basutoland and much of the Transkei was in open rebellion, the largest conflict ever to have engulfed this region. By the middle of the month, the chief was busily "organising his tribe and Doctoring them." Hope reported seeing "armed parties . . . hovering round on the hills." The question for the magistrate was whether the Mpondomise would rebel or ally themselves with the British.⁸⁶ Heavy spring rains were falling. Hope still felt unwell. On October 19, Hope received a letter from the missionary Stephen Adonis warning him that Mhlontlo "meant treachery" and that "mutiny had been all along intended and on a certain day [would be] carried out."⁸⁷ Three days later, the magistrate at nearby Maclear had "grave reasons from reliable information" of "an intended plot."⁸⁸ Yet Hope pressed on to Sulenmaka through a rain that, to him, seemed "incessant."⁸⁹ Clearly, Chief Mhlontlo was rebuilding his power. Hope may not have fully known it, but by the end of the second week of October the magistrate was "now dancing to" the chief's "fiddle in every possible manner." The chief was "delighted to wait a little bit."⁹⁰

It was in a setting of quenching rains and incipient rebellion that Hope met his death before the largest assembling of Mpondomise the magistrate had ever witnessed. Mguys were moments when the institution of chiefship was exposed and potentially open to criticism as well as reaffirmed and expanded. Hope as chief was overthrown so that Mhlontlo's chieftaincy could be reaffirmed. The morning before Hope's death, Mhlontlo had sat apart, the once vanquished and now exalted chief participating in and surveying the reconstitution of the chiefship and the return of social health before a grand and extremely charged political ceremony. Messengers moving between the army and the chief crawled to and from him, in movements of exaggerated deference.

Hope's murder, then, destroyed at least temporarily the colonial accumulation of power and the attempt to build legitimacy on the edge of empire. His demise, already indicated by his ill health, rebuilt the chiefship, strengthened the Mpondomise army in their coming war with the British, and brought rain. Hope was not only killed but also was ritually murdered, or should I say sacrificed, a "great bull" killed to renew society and polity.⁹¹

HAMILTON HOPE HAD AT HIS DISPOSAL the political technologies of the modern state. He used them assiduously. He mapped the land and created administrative districts based on the fiction of pure tribes. He counted people and property. He presided over legal proceedings. Hope also issued passes for Africans traveling out of the

⁸⁶ CMK 1/152, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 14, 1880.

⁸⁷ CMK 1/152, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 19, 1880.

⁸⁸ CMK 1/152, Resident Magistrate, Maclear, to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 22, 1880.

⁸⁹ CMK 1/152, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, October 19, 1880.

⁹⁰ A215, Hope to John R. Thomson, October 19, 1880. Thomson was magistrate at Maclear.

⁹¹ CMK 1/94, Hope to Chief Magistrate, Kokstad, September 19, 1879.

district. He communicated with his superiors through letters and the telegraph—an indispensable technology in addressing that “great question of the government of the Natives”⁹²—that had been installed in the magistracy the year before he assumed his command at Qumbu. Like bureaucrats elsewhere, Hope pushed a lot of paper.

Even if the state’s control remained weak, by the late 1870s its presence had become ubiquitous. The political technologies of conquest and colonial rule had a conspicuous place in the African resistance of the early 1880s. Rebels stole telegraph machines, telegraph wires, and the paper on which a bureaucratic order rested. Africans also appropriated colonial procedures, particularly the criminal trial. Mhlontlo became Hamilton Hope when the chief occupied the magistracy and oversaw a mock trial. This was not the only case of such mimicry. In Thembuland to the west, warriors looted and burned to the ground the magistracy of Walter Stanford, who later became chief magistrate for Griqualand East, central member of the 1881 Native Laws and Customs Commission, undersecretary for Native Affairs, chief magistrate of the Transkei, and knight of the realm—in short, a man of exceptional status, to African and European alike. But not before a “high festival” in his office overseen by the rebel chief Dalasile.

A blanketed warrior representing Ndabeni (myself) occupied the judicial bench. Another on a chair below was addressed as Lufele (Daniel). Then a mock prisoner was placed in the dock and the form of a criminal trial was mimicked with keen humour. Nor was Webb (Umquwu) the chief constable left out of the piece. At the conclusion of the dramatic entertainment, the offices, our houses, and the police huts, were set on fire.⁹³

We now know that the languages of the dominated were never simply its own. What is less clear is how the “hidden transcripts” of resistance came to be written, as it were, using the material culture and institutional practices of a political order the colonized critiqued and contested.⁹⁴ South Africa has a rich tradition of such appropriation, extending from the birth of the modern state in the nineteenth century well into the twentieth-century triumph of segregation and apartheid.⁹⁵ Luise White recently has written of the stories Africans in East and Central Africa told each other about firemen and vampires, employees of the colonial state who people believed practiced a most malevolent magic. White explores the emergence of vampire beliefs as a rich and malleable commentary on people’s anxieties, their concern with evil and misfortune, and the ways they imagined themselves and others in the colonial period. What is especially striking in this envisioning of the world is the centrality of state institutions and practices. The most commonplace administrative features of the colonial state—firemen, police, game rangers,

⁹² NA 158, Shaw, Report, December 31, 1877.

⁹³ J. W. MacQuarrie, *The Reminiscences of Sir Walter Stanford*, 2 vols. (Cape Town, 1958), 1: 131. See also 1/ECO 4/1/1, statement of Mangele, March 8, 1881.

⁹⁴ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, Conn., 1990). For Mikhail Bakhtin, the carnivalesque was “the ritual location of uninhibited speech . . . the only place where *undominated discourse* prevailed.” Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 175. See also Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, Helene Iswolsky, trans. (Bloomington, Ind., 1984).

⁹⁵ See Crais, *Politics of Evil*.

surveyors—helped sustain the most extraordinary conceptions of how the world worked.⁹⁶

Precisely because of these complications, precisely because colonial rule was never simply an act of foreign imposition, the state became an ineluctable part of the subaltern political imagination. Fascinated with modern power, especially the bureaucratic power of the state, Africans sought the locations of modernity's magic. This was not without irony. By entering into a conversation with modern power, Africans participated in its dissemination. Resistance necessarily entails the production of difference in the constitution and reconstitution of political subjectivities, but these were ambiguous productions because of their intimate relationship to state formation. The inclusion of Hamilton Hope—his body and the world of which he was a part—into the political imagination of the Mpondomise also marked “the assumption of subaltern status.”⁹⁷ A quintessential act of resistance became also the remembered moment of colonial subjugation.

David Cannadine has ably demonstrated how the British transferred their conceptions of status and hierarchy to their relationships with indigenous rulers, and in so doing he has emphasized what they had in common with kings and princes instead of what separated them. In the Transkei, and elsewhere in Africa, the recently colonized were doing much the same, by translating Europeans into their own conceptions of the world. Particularly striking are the ways in which Africans believed that Europeans, including bureaucrats, used malevolent magic, in short, that officials were witches, or more precisely witch-chiefs.⁹⁸ Michael Herzfeld has written, “Bureaucrats work on the categories of social existence in much the same way as sorcerers are supposed to work on the hair or nail clippings of their intended victims.”⁹⁹ Much of the insidious power of witches stems from their panoptic

⁹⁶ Luise White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000). On witchcraft in Africa, see, for example, E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford, 1937); Max Gluckman, ed., *The Allocation of Responsibility* (Manchester, 1972); Mary Douglas, ed., *Witchcraft Confessions and Accusations* (London, 1970). See also Peter Geschiere, *Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa* (Charlottesville, Va., 1997); Adam Ashforth, *Madumo: A Man Bewitched* (Chicago, 2000).

⁹⁷ Marshall Sahlins, *How “Natives” Think, About Captain Cook, For Example* (Chicago, 1995), 188.

⁹⁸ Historians have written of the paradoxical nature of authority and its relation to magic. We have noted the importance of precedence, that chiefs descended from pioneers and thus were considered to have a special relationship to the land and to the forces that protect it and make it bountiful. Access to and control over magic was connected to their pioneer status. Jan Vansina, *Paths in the Rainforest: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, Wis., 1990), 97, has written that leaders “had extraordinary powers, identical with and often superior to those of witches . . . A battery of charms helped him to repel the attacks of witches, and his own witchcraft killed competitors or subjects.” And yet, paradoxically, witchcraft was both “an ideology of equality and cooperation” and central to political competition and the centralization of power. Equally paradoxically, the chief embodied collective identity and was simultaneously the most individualistic of figures, capable of behavior that could extend well beyond ethical norms. They both made and unmade the world. See also Igor Kopytoff, ed., *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies* (Bloomington, Ind., 1987). On magic and agriculture in Europe, see, for example, Carlo Ginzburg, *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, John and Anne Tedeschi, trans. (Baltimore, 1983).

⁹⁹ Michael Herzfeld, *The Social Production of Indifference: Exploring the Symbolic Roots of Western Bureaucracy* (New York, 1992), 62. Ashforth, *Madumo*, 132, quotes a healer who says, “People, they know that there is witchcraft. So if the government says ‘There is no witch,’ this means that they are protecting this witchcraft so that it must grow, grow, grow.” For a parallel, see chap. 6 on suspicions that the state was protecting thieves who used magic.

surveillance of the victims. Unencumbered by ethical or moral obligations, their cool calculating behavior has as its goal the attainment of a single object—selfish appropriation at another's tragic expense. Witches, and of course the modern state as well, depend on the accumulation of detailed and often intimate information. The very political technologies Hope so energetically deployed awakened in Africans the specter of witchcraft.¹⁰⁰

An interest in culture thus might usefully be turned to the study of politics, state formation, and African resistance in the colonial era. Recent emphasis on the capillary forms of power not surprisingly had led to a sense that the study of the state was old-fashioned. When scholars have analyzed the state in Africa, they typically have seen it as the "geographical extension of the metropolitan state,"¹⁰¹ its specificity determined by how the state grappled with capitalist development and especially the "native question."¹⁰² It is certainly true, as Cooper has argued, that the "political base" of the colonial state, "and the point from which the cultural and social background of its officers emanates, is distinct from the social formation in which it acts."¹⁰³ The death of Hope, however, suggests a more complicated picture, a blurring of the foreignness of colonial domination. Focusing on conquest as cross-cultural encounter offers historians a way of understanding the nature and daily exercise of domination and resistance and the imbricated histories of ruler and ruled, as Africans translated the European political world into indigenous concepts and practices and Europeans intentionally or inadvertently wore the political mask of the very people they were busily conquering. In so doing, it offers one way of transforming older approaches to both social and political history, by focusing on state formation and on the ways in which various historical actors made claims to dominance and control.¹⁰⁴

What of Mhlontlo? The chief fled into the mountains of Lesotho, where he lived for some two decades in exile and as a fugitive. In 1903, however, the colonial authorities apprehended him. In a long trial ending in May 1904, Mhlontlo faced charges for the murders of Hope and the other white men. The case received widespread attention. Under colonial South Africa's bifurcated legal system, Africans were members of tribal groups and liable to customary law in civil matters. In criminal matters, however, Africans were tried as individuals, and the law was, in theory at least, culture blind. Before the white man's court, the chief's actions were in effect removed from their cultural context, a context in which a different set of

¹⁰⁰ In the 1920s, people called the poll tax, the *impundulu*, the lightning bird and a classic witch familiar; and in the 1970s, Africans in the Western Cape believed that whites "were either under evil influences or were possible witches themselves." Quoted in Crais, *Politics of Evil*, 4–5.

¹⁰¹ Mahmoud Mamdani, *Politics and Class Formation in Uganda* (London, 1976), 142.

¹⁰² Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*.

¹⁰³ Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization and African Society: The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (Cambridge, 1996), 264.

¹⁰⁴ On state formation, see Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, "Popular Culture and State Formation," in Joseph and Nugent, *Everyday Forms of State Formation*; Wells and Joseph, *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval*; Abrams, "Some Notes on the Difficulty of Studying the State." For important contributions to the study of the state in Africa, see Lonsdale and Berman, *Unhappy Valley*; Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject*. For one synthesis of new work, see John L. Comaroff, "Reflections on the Colonial State, in South Africa and Elsewhere: Factions, Fragments, Facts and Fictions," *Social Identities* 4, no. 3 (October 1998): 321–62. For a study of administrative history, see Ivan Evans, *Bureaucracy and Race: Native Administration in South Africa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997).

rationalities had been operating. Not surprisingly, after deliberating only twenty-five minutes, the jury returned with the verdict of not guilty. The chief, after all, had never laid a hand on the deceased. According to one account, the "verdict was received with breathless interest and elicited shouts from the natives in Court, which were immediately suppressed." Mhlontlo thanked the judge and, outside the court, received "many congratulatory remarks and offerings from natives. So ended a trial," the local newspaper concluded, "which has evoked no small interest on account of the revival of a tragedy which at the time of its occurrence thrilled both Europeans and natives."¹⁰⁵ In 1906, Mhlontlo returned to his home, not as a chief but as a simple commoner. He died in 1912, living on barren land, "poor, in debt, and having to purchase grain for his family."¹⁰⁶

The death of Hope and the memory of Mhlontlo continue to breathe life into public discourse on the past and present during a time of important political transition and reconstruction in South Africa. Mpondomise tribal leaders have called for the "restoration of its lost kingdom,"¹⁰⁷ in effect a return to imagined pre-colonial borders and a heroic history. Increasingly, people have spoken publicly of a Mpondomise past, of valorous chiefs, and especially of the loss of land at the hands of British conquerors. In August 2000, plans were being made to honor Mhlontlo in order to correct "those historical imbalances and restore back to the community what is truly theirs . . . His only crime was to resist oppression and the death of the then Qumbu magistrate, Mr. Hamilton Hope."¹⁰⁸ People have invoked sacred symbols and have awakened a vision of politics that connected historical and political legitimacy to the land and the rains that originate high in the hills and mountains of Lesotho, a politics not of evil but of fertility and social health. Indeed, at one celebration, five molesnakes "made a mysterious appearance at the laying of a tombstone." The serpents' appearance was a harbinger of "peace . . . and an occasion for joy." In welcoming the snakes, "prayers for rain were also offered. Before the end of the day, it was raining cats and dogs."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ *Graham's Town Journal*, May 19, 1904.

¹⁰⁶ Beinart and Bundy, *Hidden Struggles*, 121.

¹⁰⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, November 7, 1998; see also January 7, 1999.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Dispatch*, August 25, 2000.

¹⁰⁹ *Daily Dispatch*, December 24, 1999.

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Review Essays
God and the Enlightenment

Historians of the West have a love-hate relationship with “modernity.” The burden seems easier on sociologists and political scientists, say, who often write about modernity as a notion that is analytically equivalent to “antiquity”: that is, one that is conceptually straightforward even if its meaning remains an open and much debated question. Historians, by contrast, are more likely to be skeptical about the very meaningfulness of “modernity”: What does it refer to? When does it begin? What multiple presuppositions does the very assumption of modernity necessitate, regardless of how one defines it or locates it chronologically? And yet, at the same time, so much historical inquiry is egged on—almost despite itself—by a teleological curiosity about the origins of things modern. (It is revealing that historians, typically, find the *adjective* more congenial than the greater commitment demanded by the *noun*.)

For no period, perhaps, is this more true than for the eighteenth century—that century poised precariously between the “Early Modern” and “the Modern.” Practitioners in this field have long been convinced that their gaze is focused on the threshold of modernity, and that if they hold it long enough the mysteries of the modern will inevitably unravel in front of their eyes. Many contemporaries agreed: the early nineteenth century boasted a whole choir of witnesses who reflected back on the huge, perhaps unbridgeable gap between their “modern” world and that of the eighteenth century—a gap proportionally greater, they asserted, than that between other adjacent generations in historical memory.

Predictably, the understanding of the nature of the transition to modernity has changed with every new generation of historians: economic, political, social, and cultural factors have all taken their successive turns on the front seat of the scholarly bandwagon. And yet one element in the changing faces of the nascent modern has until recently remained, overall, rather constant: the modern, we were told, was *secular*. In any case, it was more so than the pre-modern. The balloon of modernity that finally broke

its centuries-old chains could only soar upward by jettisoning overboard the ballast of religion: with a lesser weight assigned to God, the sky was the limit.

The view of religion as antithetical to European modernity is the point of departure for the following two Review Essays. Both **Jonathan Sheehan** and **Dale K. Van Kley** wish to revise and indeed reverse this view: surveying recent literature—Van Kley focusing on France, Sheehan primarily on England and Germany—they insist that such a picture of modernity suffers from what Donald Winch has elsewhere described as “premature secularization.”¹ The works they review signal a new trend in the historiography of Enlightenment Europe that brings religion centrally back into the picture. As such, moreover, these works partake of a broader return of religion among European historians: a comparable case is the history of the Renaissance, the characterization of which as a secularizing period has come already a while back under heavy assault in the works of Natalie Zemon Davis, Donald Weinstein, and Carlo Ginzburg, among many others. To be sure, historians are not likely to be greatly surprised by evidence of tenacious *survivals* of earlier religious forms, bastions of resistance that coexisted together with those new Enlightenment trends. But the essays before us suggest a more powerful and more surprising argument: namely, that the resurrection of eighteenth-century religion is not simply a shift of scholarly emphasis to the *limits* of European modernity but rather the belated identification of religion at the heart of the project of modernity itself, a constitutive element of its very shaping.

Dale Van Kley’s “Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity” is primarily concerned with the contradiction between these two characterizations, casualty and chrysalis, as it unfolded in the French case: that is to say, why did a deeply Christian nation suddenly turn against Christianity more radically than any other, as was the case in the postrevolutionary efforts of “dechristianization”? In order to get there, Van Kley first directs the reader’s attention to the considerable evidence for the vitality of eighteenth-century French Catholicism, encouraging us to rethink the images of a straightforward conflict between “zealots” and “the enlightened” that had been common currency since the days of Paul Hazard, or of the Enlightenment as a straightforward “rise of modern paganism” in the manner of Peter Gay. Secondly, Van Kley suggests that the break between the French

¹ Donald Winch, *Riches and Poverty: An Intellectual History of Political Economy in Britain, 1750–1834* (Cambridge, 1996), 23.

Revolution and religion was ultimately contingent rather than inherent to the revolutionary project: the advent of modernity, even in the exceptional French case, did not inevitably require it. Nothing, perhaps, demonstrates this contingency more clearly than a comparison with the American Revolution, where, as Patricia Bonomi wrote almost twenty years ago, “evangelical Calvinism and religious rationalism did not carve separate channels but flowed as one stream toward the crisis of 1776.”²

Jonathan Sheehan’s “Religion, Enlightenment, and the Enigma of Secularization” squarely considers the consequences of making religion into a cornerstone of the Enlightenment, given the Enlightenment’s longstanding reputation as the supposedly secularizing movement par excellence and the handmaiden of Western modernity. Not least among those consequences are the difficulties and possibilities that emerge as we try to assign new meanings to the key terms in this equation—“religion,” “enlightenment,” and “secularization.” “Religion,” Sheehan reminds us, is not an ahistorical, heuristic analytical category but rather a category that was made and remade in highly relevant ways during the very period under investigation. For “enlightenment,” Sheehan takes the opposite route, suggesting a different heuristic meaning in order to capture more precisely and more broadly the distinctiveness of this period: namely, as a set of communicative and knowledge-organizing practices or “media.” The forms of such media had a more decisive modernizing effect than any particular ideas expressed through them; a point that Sheehan drives home with an intriguing coupling of two unlikely eighteenth-century texts, drawn from his own work, whose commonalities of form override their apparent disparity of message. Sheehan’s redirection of the Enlightenment from the realm of ideas to the realm of the structures that make the communication of such ideas possible, it may be noted, brings to mind Roger Chartier’s well-known *Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*: a conjuncture that in turn may lead us to wonder about the possible connections between two parallel historiographical developments—the revival of historical interest in religion, as documented in these essays, and the ascendance of cultural history at about the same time.³

Finally, the third category that is now in need of reconsideration is “secularization,” a task with which both pieces before us centrally engage. Van Kley prefers to replace it with “laicization,” which allows for change

² Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America*, rev. edn. (1986; New York, 2003), 188.

³ Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, N.C., 1991).

without this change amounting to a decrease in religion, and which he then contrasts with that contingent and tragic postrevolutionary attempt at “dechristianization.” Sheehan is equally committed to a narrative of change—the eighteenth century for him becomes a “post-theological” age—but one that is far from equivalent to secularization, as is evident from the prominence of religious figures in its unfolding. These conclusions therefore direct the reader’s attention to the question that is likely to become the next step: What *was* God doing in the eighteenth century? If God’s continuing central presence during this period cannot be denied, and yet if this presence was indeed different from that which God had had in previous centuries, then it is only by stepping outside the arguments for and against a narrative of secularization—as both essays in front of us exhort us to do—that we can grasp the distinctiveness of the European eighteenth century, in contrast both to the “Early Modern” that had preceded it and to the “Modern” that succeeded it.

Dror Wahrman
Associate Editor

Review Essays
Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization:
A Review Essay

JONATHAN SHEEHAN

IN 1726, IN THE TINY TOWN OF Berleburg in central Germany, a group of religious radicals began publishing what became one of the most imposing Bible translations of the eighteenth century. Over the next fourteen years, their leader, Johann Friedrich Haug, orchestrated the release of over 6,000 pages in eight folio volumes. Steeped in mystical speculations and spiritualist excess, this Bible was the publishing high point of a heterodox religious underground that thrived in the early eighteenth century, when the reformers known as Pietists began to erode the foundations of a Lutheran Church they saw as hopelessly hamstrung by orthodoxy. In the name of such reform, the Berleburger Bible project sought to replace the standard vernacular Bible with a new one, better suited to the religious sensibilities of the age. Through translation, the “one divine meaning” of the Bible would finally become apparent.¹

Not all readers, however, appreciated these efforts. Indeed, the gut reaction of the religious orthodoxy might be boiled down to two words: “poison and evil.” Filled with “amazing and erroneous expressions,” the work was, for one reviewer, clearly the work of “fanatics.”² To the editor of the *Auserlesene Theologische Bibliothek*, the best diagnostician of this Bible’s faults was the Enlightenment philosopher Pierre Bayle, whose article “Aaron” lambasted “a certain Bible translation, which he called a ‘cunning and plagiarized’ Version . . . recalling in the meantime that the simple and ignorant would be able to protect themselves less than the intelligent and knowledgeable.” The Berleburger Bible was not, the editor continued, “a work for all people, in all classes,” and Bayle presumably testified to this.³ But in making the comparison between the new translation and that other “Bible of the eighteenth century,” Bayle’s 1697 *Dictionnaire historique et critique*—a work irrevocably tainted for contemporaries by the stains of libertinism and

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¹ Johann Friedrich Haug, *Die Heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testaments/nach dem Grund-Text aufs neue übersehen und übersetzt* (Berleburg, 1726), 3v.

² *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen* (1727): 1176; *Fortgesetzte Sammlung* (1731): 271; Josef Urlinger, “Die geistes- und sprachgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Berleburger Bibel” (PhD dissertation, Universität Saarlands, 1969), 245.

³ *Auserlesene Theologische Bibliothek* 22 (1727): 917.

atheism—the editor’s tongue was firmly in his cheek. Few works in the eighteenth century, after all, represented the perils of learned scholarship for the “simple and ignorant” more dramatically than Bayle’s dictionary.⁴ The comparison between it and a work of spiritualist prose would, then, seem a piece of rhetorical slight of hand, tarring the Berleburger editors with the same brush of heterodoxy applied to Bayle. In the end, after all, what did Berleburg have to do with Bayle? What could religion have to do with the Enlightenment?

Up until recently, scholars would have answered in near unison, “Nothing.” But in the past ten years, religion has returned to the Enlightenment. While modern scholars have long listened carefully to the complaints of the devout—“that *Atheism* and *Infidelity* grow mightily among us”—they have begun, in the last decade, to pay attention to other eighteenth-century voices.⁵ The 1758 voice of the *Edinburgh Magazine*, for example, which declared that “there never perhaps was an age in which religion was so much in fashion among us, as it has long been . . . [G]reat is the thirst of multitudes after little refined points and particular doctrines of piety.”⁶ Or that of *The Court Magazine*, which proclaimed in 1761 that “there never was an age wherein a thirst after Christian Knowledge more universally prevailed, than the present” and pointed to the “variety of Publications on religious subjects, the crowded assemblies in every place of public worship, and the large increase and multiplicity even of sectaries” as incontrovertible proof.⁷ The new attention to such voices is emblematic of a broader shift in the study of the Enlightenment. “Religion itself has returned to the agenda,” one scholar triumphantly declares. Nor is he alone. Rather, as others announce, “it has become almost a commonplace of historiography that . . . religion remained a force [in the Enlightenment] determining the lives of large sections of the population”; “eighteenth-century religion . . . has becoming increasingly central to historians’ understanding of the way in which eighteenth-century society functioned”; “religiosity . . . [was] at the very heart of English intellectual life in the period of the Enlightenment.”⁸ Religion, it seems, is back.

This resurrection of religion atop what Horton Davies once described as the “surface of the moon,” a terrain “pock-marked” with the “extinct volcanic craters” of faith, has happened alongside a broad resurgence of interest in religious topics since 1989.⁹ The resurgence is apparent across a wide variety of fields. The “New Gospel of Academia” was the October 2000 headline in the *Los Angeles Times*,

⁴ Ruth Whelan, *The Anatomy of Superstition: A Study of the Historical Theory and Practice of Pierre Bayle* (Oxford, 1989), 10.

⁵ Richard Willis, *Reflexions upon a Pamphlet intituled, An Account of the Growth of Deism in England* (London, 1696), 1.

⁶ *Edinburgh Magazine* 2 (1758): 210–11.

⁷ *The Court Magazine* 1 (1761): 126.

⁸ Jonathan Clark, *English Society, 1660–1832*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 2000), 28 (the first edition makes no such claim); Eckhart Hellmuth, “Towards a Comparative Study of Political Culture,” in *The Transformation of Political Culture: England and Germany in the Late Eighteenth Century*, Hellmuth, ed. (Oxford, 1990), 25; John Gascoigne, “Anglican Latitudinarianism, Rational Dissent and Political Radicalism in the Late Eighteenth Century,” in Knud Haakonssen, ed., *Enlightenment and Religion: Rational Dissent in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge, 1996), 219; David Ruderman, *Jewish Enlightenment in an English Key: Anglo-Jewry’s Construction of Modern Jewish Thought* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 19. Nigel Aston’s *Christianity and Revolutionary Europe, 1750–1830* (Cambridge, 2003) and S. J. Barnett’s *Enlightenment and Religion: The Myths of Modernity* (Manchester, 2003) unfortunately appeared too late for consideration in this essay.

⁹ Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*, 5 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1961–75), 3: 143.

which declared religion a “hot field of inquiry” and reported an almost 35 percent increase in membership in the American Academy of Religion since 1994.¹⁰ In 1996, the Ford Foundation added religion to their list of newly funded program areas. In the past five years or so, the Pew Charitable Trust showed its own interest by pouring money into ten “Centers of Excellence”—including the University of Southern California’s Center for Religion and Civic Culture, Princeton’s Center for the Study of Religion, and Yale’s Center for Religion and American Life—that have given religion a prominent institutional face in the academy.¹¹ In the meantime, the Lilly Endowment’s “Initiative on Religion and Higher Education”—launched in 1989—has, in the words of its evaluators, precipitated a “religious revitalization in the academy.”¹² And it seems that there is some truth to this estimation. The “Religion and Politics” section of the American Political Science Association took off in the early 1990s, while the religion section of the American Sociological Association—begun in 1994—has grown quickly to become one of the larger in the organization. Hent de Vries’ diagnosis of a “return of religion” in contemporary literary theory matches this wider story, and when the hippest of theorists, Gianni Vattimo, declares that “postmodern pluralism has enabled . . . the recovery of the Christian faith,” we can safely say that religion has found a home in poststructuralism.¹³ Perhaps less apocalyptically, historians, too, have pushed religion into the scholarly limelight. The 1990s, commented Clarence Taylor in 1996, “have been a golden age for literature on . . . African-American religion.”¹⁴ In European history—my own field—the immense and continued popularity of historians such as Peter Brown, Caroline Walker Bynum, and Natalie Zemon Davis testifies to the attraction of pre-modern religion. And even the vaunted nineteenth-century “secularization of the European mind” has fallen on hard times, with scholars such as Margaret Lavinia Anderson declaring the decline of religion after 1800 a fantastic product of “the secularization of scholarship in the twentieth century” rather than a reflection of any real historical trend.¹⁵

But the debut of religion on the stage of the Enlightenment has been one of the most dramatic moments in this play. After all, more than virtually any other period, the Enlightenment has traditionally been read as the very cradle of the secular world. If, for Owen Chadwick, “the problem of secularization” was “not the same

¹⁰ Teresa Watanabe, “The New Gospel of Academia,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 2000.

¹¹ On the Ford Foundation, see the “Ford Foundation Report,” Summer/Fall 1996 at www.ford-found.org; on the Pew centers, see <http://religionanddemocracy.lib.virginia.edu/partners/pewcenters.html> and www.pewforum.org. My thanks to Princeton’s Center director Robert Wuthnow for this information.

¹² The report, written by Kathleen Mahoney, John Schmalzbauer, and James Youniss, can be found at www.resourcingchristianity.org/downloads/Essays/PublicReport.pdf.

¹³ Hent de Vries, *Philosophy and the Turn to Religion* (Baltimore, 1999), 431; Gianni Vattimo, *After Christianity* (New York, 2002), 5.

¹⁴ Clarence Taylor, “A Glorious Age for African-American Religion,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 15 (Winter 1996): 79.

¹⁵ Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1975); Margaret Lavinia Anderson, “The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany,” *The Historical Journal* 38 (September 1995): 648. See also Dagmar Herzog, *Intimacy and Exclusion: Religious Politics in Pre-Revolutionary Baden* (Princeton, N.J., 1996); David Blackbourn, *Marpingen: Apparitions of the Virgin Mary in Bismarckian Germany* (Oxford, 1993); and earlier, Jonathan Sperber, *Popular Catholicism in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, 1984).

as the problem of enlightenment,” the difference for him was only quantitative, not essential: “Enlightenment was of the few. Secularization is of the many.”¹⁶ Making religion into a cornerstone of the Enlightenment thus tends to raise intriguing and troubling questions about the precise nature of this secularizing vision. Rather than treat this new enthusiasm for matters of the spirit as a mere historiographical corrective to a literature that long left religion to the side, then, this essay will map it onto what I see as a communal discomfort with the usual story about the Enlightenment and the history of modernity. The injection of religion into the Enlightenment, I suggest, is part of a revision of the history of secular society that has sent the very category of the Enlightenment—long defined as a philosophical program whose anti-religious zeal paved the way for our secular present—into great turmoil. Enlightenment and religion, for a variety of reasons, make a difficult marriage. But these difficulties are productive, I argue, for they allow historians to question implicit and explicit understandings of religion and to put pressure on the slippery and often misleading notion of secularization. Recent scholarship helps point the way, I propose, to more expansive and rigorous approaches to both “Enlightenment” and “religion.” In so doing, it helps to address some of the enigmas of modern secularization. And it may show that in fact Bayle had quite a bit to do with Berleburg.

TO BEGIN EXPLORING THE DIFFICULTIES of wedding religion to the Enlightenment, we can begin with a question and a story:

How far could theologians go . . . in allowing the use of [scientific] techniques in matters sexual? The abbé [Jean-Antoine] Nollet and [Lazzaro] Spallanxi published an account of their experiments using condoms on male frogs, *Expérience pour servir à l'histoire de la génération* (1785); this, apparently, was allowable. But in 1777 the theologians had had Dr. Guilbert de Préval banned from practicing medicine for his experiment to show how similar precautions in human beings constituted a preservative against venereal infection—hardly surprising, since, in full-bottomed wig and chemise, he gave a personal demonstration with two whores in a public session presided over by the duc d'Orléans.¹⁷

Packed with similarly precious stories, John McManners' monumental *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* sketches the religious complexities of the age. His affair of the condom reveals the Enlightenment dispute with religion in all its perverse glory. “In the age of Enlightenment,” the Catholic Church was challenged by “not only educated laymen, but also by the more intelligent churchmen.” Hand in hand, the intelligent abbé Nollet and the good doctor Préval battered the irrational sanctions of the church, the first slyly, the other with bold gusto. Shagging two whores in front of the duc d'Orléans was not just *fun* science, it was also *good* science and, moreover, *impious* science. Antinomian delight paired with an appreciation for sober fact: the combination was a lethal injection for a church stuck in its ways. If the eighteenth century was the “golden era of the French

¹⁶ Chadwick, *Secularization*, 9.

¹⁷ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998), 2: 306–07.

Church," it was also the "autumn season . . . before the leaves began to fall and winter came."¹⁸

McManners' greatness lies in his dissection of this fecund, decaying landscape of the French Catholic Church. In its golden age, the French Church was blessed with an educated and motivated clergy, high levels of lay piety, and splendid church ritual. But its roots were rotten, ready to break in the storm of revolution that erased the connections between church and state and destroyed the web of authority that had lent so much pomp and power to the Christianity of eighteenth-century France. This was a pious age teetering on the edge of impiety, a baroque castle of religious power whose foundations were melting away. The new science, the new sex, the cutting wit, the creeping doubts, the social conscience, the radical politics: these forces of the Enlightenment prepared the church for its dissolution in the whirlwind of 1789. The "thinkers of Enlightenment"—in McManners' story—were the bad conscience of the Gallican Church. Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot: they represent a self-evidently irreligious concept called enlightenment. The "age of Enlightenment" mocked religion and finally made it irrelevant. The "State and the majority went their way," leaving only a trace of religion behind.¹⁹

Church and Society offers rich fare, one of the few texts under review whose "religious and intellectual history . . . frequently engages with cultural history," as B. W. Young has commented.²⁰ But if rich, it is also a melancholy fare. Although McManners clearly would like to put religion back into the eighteenth century, his story offers a church whose own flaws lead to an outcome both depressing and inevitable. In a way, he just flips Peter Gay's famously optimistic sense that the Enlightenment purged the modern world of religious poison, echoing Gay's vision of "the desiccation of Christian mysteries after a century of criticism" but inverting the emotional stakes. In both, the eighteenth century is the cradle of secularization, the staging ground for a modernity shorn of its religious character. "Words whose reverberation previously had an indescribable force . . . have now lost all significance," wrote one commentator in 1793; we can imagine these words included "faith," "spirit," "resurrection," and "sin," among others. In the classic historiography of the Enlightenment, freedom of religion entailed freedom *from* religion, for better or worse. The great church historian Johann Mosheim saw the dark side, gloomily declaring eighteenth-century Europe blighted by those "who . . . aim at the total extinction of all religion." "To destroy every established institution has long been *the order of the day*," complained the *Anti-Jacobin Review* in 1799: "Every thing must bow down to the goddess, *Reason*." This language of despair did not die in the nineteenth century. We can find it in the oft-quoted words of Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, for whom the Enlightenment "behaves toward things as a dictator toward men," it "liquidates" them. Its idolatry of reason invents a mythology based on annihilation. Whether optimistic or pessimistic, then, the old

¹⁸ McManners, *Church and Society*, 2: 306, 1: 3.

¹⁹ McManners, *Church and Society*, 2: 288, 2: 306, 1: 4.

²⁰ B. W. Young, "Religious History and the Eighteenth-Century Historian," *The Historical Journal* 43 (September 2000): 857.

consensus saw an Enlightenment forcing religion into the corners of human experience and destroying the stories it told about nature, society, and mankind.²¹

In doing so, the Enlightenment made modernity "legitimate." Banishment of religion guaranteed modernity's freedom from the shackles of the past, and allowed it to develop its own legitimate and authoritative character. Modern is modern, in a sense, to the degree that it is secular.²² This intimate bond between the Enlightenment and secularization forces all efforts to put religion back into the Enlightenment to take a position on the nature of modern, secular society. It is surely not accidental that although the tools to write a "better history" of the Enlightenment have been long available to historians, only now, in the past ten to fifteen years, has religion "been reinstated as a legitimate part of Enlightenment studies."²³ The rise of a religious politics in the United States and elsewhere has made it crystal clear that the dissipation of religion as an ideological force can in no way be understood as an inevitable consequence of modernity. This new sense of religion's potency raises serious doubts about secular modernity. More important here, it raises anxieties—which permeate the new scholarship on eighteenth-century religion—about the ostensible birthplace of secular modernity, the Enlightenment.

We can find the origin of these anxieties, somewhat arbitrarily, in the once-cheerful "disaggregation" of the Enlightenment proposed by Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, who stressed in their 1982 book *The Enlightenment in National Context* the "many different forms the Enlightenment took in vastly different . . . environments." The enormous influence of this book has made Gay's hieratic opening line to *The Rise of Modern Paganism*—"there were many philosophes in the eighteenth century, but there was only one Enlightenment"—highly suspect, not merely because of its reifying tendencies but also because of its treatment of religion. Indeed, for most of Porter's commentators, religion was the dominant qualification of the *kind* of Enlightenment peculiar to distinct geographical areas. In England, for example, "Enlightenment goals . . . thrive . . . within piety." In Germany, the "*Aufklärer* . . . worked within religious and theoretical traditions which they amended but did not reject." In the Netherlands, the Enlightenment functioned "as much in the name of moral and spiritual rejuvenation as political or philosophical progress." In Austria, "the closeness of the Reform Catholics to the main assumptions of the Enlightenment is obvious." In Switzerland, "the scientific or rational and the transcendental views of life were perfectly compatible."²⁴

²¹ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, Vol. 1: *The Rise of Modern Paganism* (New York, 1966), 330–31; Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 252–53; Johann Lorenz Mosheim, "A Brief Sketch of the Ecclesiastical History of the Eighteenth Century," in *Ecclesiastical History* (Philadelphia, 1798), 6: 6; *Anti-Jacobin Review* 1 (1799): 506; *Anti-Jacobin Review* 7 (1801): 25; Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, John Cumming, trans. (New York, 1972), 7, 9, 12–13.

²² On legitimacy, see Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). Blumenberg criticizes both the argument that legitimacy of the modern age depends on its "worldliness" and the corollary argument that, by revealing the religious foundations of the modern age, one is somehow divesting it of its legitimacy (17).

²³ Pace J. G. A. Pocock, "Within the Margins: The Definitions of Orthodoxy," in *The Margins of Orthodoxy*, Roger Lund, ed. (Cambridge, 1995), 37; S. J. Barnett, *Idol Temples and Crafty Priests: The Origins of Enlightenment Anticlericalism* (New York, 1999), 7.

²⁴ Robert Sullivan, "Rethinking Christianity in Enlightened Europe," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34,

Cheerfully distinct, national contexts offered a way to put religion back into the Enlightenment.

In some cases, this cheer remains. As even its title indicates, David Sorkin's 1994 effort to unify the two faces of Germany's premier Jewish philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn, the "Socrates of Berlin and . . . Moses of Dessau," is relatively optimistic about the reconciliation of religion and the Enlightenment. Sorkin's *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment* describes the Jewish Haskalah, reform Catholicism, and progressive Protestantism as communally in search of a middle way between faith and doubt, not "a departure from previous . . . tradition but an effort to renew it, not rupture but self-conscious continuity." But in recent years, the story of the Enlightenment and religion has grown bleaker, and scholars seem uncomfortable with conciliatory language.²⁵ McManners' elegiac tone is only one indication of a general anxiety about a range of implicit and explicit questions. What would it mean for the idea of the Enlightenment if it came to include religion? Can a category defined by its opposition to superstition, faith, and revelation survive when this opposition disappears? What would a reconciliation of the Enlightenment and religion mean to the story of modernity's origins?

Such questions hide inside the modern scholarship on the Enlightenment and religion and lend it its particular pathos. The category of enlightenment itself seems shaky, as if incapable of surviving the introduction of religion without some reduction in power. The recent revival of Isaiah Berlin's "Counter-Enlightenment" is, I believe, a symptom of these uncertainties. If the Enlightenment held dear the familiar principles of "universality, objectivity, rationality," Berlin's largely German Counter-Enlightenment insisted on the particularity of truth and the "impotence of reason to demonstrate the existence of anything." Fiery passion, commitment to divine inspiration, and insistence on the primacy of faith and the irrational more generally: Johann Herder and Johann Hamann, later Edmund Burke and Joseph de Maistre, held these standards high in the battle against the coldness of reason. Newer research has reached beyond Germany and made the Counter-Enlightenment a general feature of eighteenth-century Europe. In a minor key, C. D. A. Leighton has argued that the Counter-Enlightenment is "more deserving of study" than its rationalistic opposite, precisely because it is so poorly defined. More significantly, B. W. Young's 1998 *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* has unearthed an English Counter-Enlightenment inhabited by the followers of François Fénelon, William Law, and John Wesley, a heterogeneous countertradition that took shape precisely around its opposition to Newtonianism and rational religion. Against the Enlightenment "clerical culture" in the England of George II (1727–1760), there grew up a heterodox Counter-Enlightenment that promoted a "mystical, visionary, and essentially biblical" form of eclectic theology.

no. 2 (2001): 299; Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981), vii; Gay, *Enlightenment*, 3; Roy Porter, "The Enlightenment in England," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment*, 6; Joachim Whaley, "The Protestant Enlightenment in Germany," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment*, 111; Simon Schama, "The Enlightenment in the Netherlands," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment*, 55; Samuel Taylor, "The Enlightenment in Switzerland," in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment*, 80.

²⁵ David Sorkin, *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), xxi, 154–55.

In all of these cases, the Counter-Enlightenment allows its authors both to tell a story of an eighteenth-century religion untarnished by the patina of decay and also to salvage the traditionally rationalist idea of enlightenment from the challenge of religion. But its effects are profoundly “pathetic,” for the Enlightenment that results is a *failure*. Even if the modernity of the Enlightenment is preserved, the efficacy of the Enlightenment in actually creating this modernity is denied. Tragedy persists, in other words, in an Enlightenment whose rationalist aspirations fell short of their mark, and fell victim to religion, irrationalism, and enthusiasm.²⁶

The pathos of the Enlightenment does not depend on tragedy. Irony works just as well in the new stories of the Enlightenment and religion. It is not accidental, for example, that the supreme ironist Edward Gibbon is the centerpiece of J. G. A. Pocock’s 1999 vision of effective if unsecular “clerical and conservative” Enlightenments in England. Pocock’s “ecology” of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* does many things in its first two volumes, and will do many more in the volumes to come. But in addition to the marvelously rich materials that Pocock uses to breathe life into the work of scholarship—the overlapping contexts of Gibbon’s life, travels, and publishing—*Barbarism and Religion* also articulates a strongly ironic sense of Enlightenments whose development were “contained within a context of religious diversity, establishment and dissent.” Gibbon’s Enlightenments were not instinctively anti-religious: they “had nothing . . . of the *riformatore*” and did not conceal a “clandestine irreligiosity.” Instead, Gibbon’s tools of erudite analysis, developed within “the culture . . . of that liberal Protestantism that was seeking to ally belief with criticism and faith with scepticism,” took him to unexpected places. Like Protestants more generally, Gibbon replaced “the pursuit . . . [with] the history of theology” without meaning to.²⁷

The ironic separation of intentions and outcomes is not unique to Gibbon’s Enlightenments. Indeed, it permeates a number of Pocock’s Enlightenments, which include, among others, a Protestant Enlightenment, an Utrecht Enlightenment, a Scottish Enlightenment, a Swiss Enlightenment, an Arminian Enlightenment, and an Anglican Enlightenment. Such diversity can be jarring—indeed, it seems that virtually any substantial adjective might have an Enlightenment in the eighteenth century—but it is a natural consequence when the Enlightenment is purged of the drive to create a secular modernity. No longer does the Enlightenment have the unified character it had when its great opponent was religion. Once religion is incorporated, in other words, it begins to divide the Enlightenment into thinly sliced wedges of coherence. The ultimate irony of Pocock’s Enlightenments is that they can be defined as such only by virtue of their witting or unwitting participation in the general trend of “diminishing spiritual authority, or reconciling it with that of civil society, by the conversion of theology into history.” If, as Knud Haakonssen argued in a self-conscious extrapolation from Pocock, “the strong modernising drive that we identify with the Enlightenment” was not *intentionally* irreligious, at

²⁶ Isaiah Berlin, “The Counter-Enlightenment,” in Berlin, *et al.*, *The Proper Study of Mankind: An Anthology of Essays* (London, 1997), 263, 249; C. D. A. Leighton, “Hutchinsonianism: A Counter-Enlightenment Reform Movement,” *Journal of Religious History* 23 (June 1999): 176; B. W. Young, *Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1998), 44, 121.

²⁷ J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (Cambridge, 1999), 298, 10, 298, 253, 298, 66, 73.

least not in England, still its *outcome* was renewed secularism. What was a tragic failure in Berlin's story is an ironic success in Pocock's. The sense of loss persists nonetheless, for it is a success un hoped for by the participants in the Enlightenment, a consequence of their own failure to see where their tools would take them.²⁸

Although recent scholarship has tried hard, in other words, to detach the Enlightenment from irreligiosity, the story of Enlightenment secularization proves very difficult to shed. On the one hand, the presence of religion seems to diminish the power of the Enlightenment. On the other, the resulting Enlightenment still retains a fundamentally secularizing power. Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that we find a move afoot to discard the Enlightenment altogether from the history of the eighteenth century. If so much work must be expended to preserve an Enlightenment (and Pocock's fragmented Enlightenment certainly demand Herculean scholarly labors), perhaps, as Jonathan Clark has argued in an influential series of polemics, the Enlightenment "can no longer be used as a reliable and agreed term of historical explanation . . . [or even] as a shorthand signifier of an accepted body of authors and ideas." Perhaps the "unified project" called the Enlightenment is a "fiction" that needs to be forgotten and, with it, all of its usual baggage: secularization, modernization, liberalism, freedom of religion and thought.²⁹

If we do so, an account of eighteenth-century religion doubtless becomes easier. By discarding the Enlightenment, Clark's *English Society, 1660–1832* can offer a compelling story of the eighteenth-century English confessional state, a hybrid church-state whose Protestant constitution dominated England from the Restoration until its quick dissolution with the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts in 1828 and the Reform Bill in 1832. The hegemonic church, Clark argues, dominated England during the eighteenth century. It guaranteed the authoritative hierarchy of the state. It even sanctioned *opposition* to it, for the "central core" of the radical critique of society was founded in "religious heterodoxy," not anti-religious sentiment. The dismissal of the Enlightenment is not incidental to this new ubiquity of religion. Instead, excluding the Enlightenment evacuates the landscape of what was traditionally understood as the force of irreligion, leaving religion its absolute freedom.³⁰

But it is precisely this freedom that makes Clark's work so problematic. For surely such a stable and comprehensive system could not vanish virtually overnight in the late 1820s. Whatever the virtue in Clark's polemics against comfortable stories of a secular and enlightened England, it works against him here, at least, where the "sudden collapse" of the *ancien régime* becomes virtually inexplicable. Even if secularization—understood as a "long-term process by which a disappearance of religious ties, attitudes to transcendence, expectations of an afterlife . . . is driven onward in both private and daily public life"—is a thorny concept, Clark's easy dismissal of it comes at considerable explanatory cost. In essence, Clark has to

²⁸ Pocock, *Barbarism*, 138–39, 306; Knud Haakonssen, "Enlightened Dissent: An Introduction," in Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 3.

²⁹ Clark, *English Society*, 9.

³⁰ Clark, *English Society*, 339.

pay the price for his own historical nominalism, for his insistence that the Enlightenment and secularization are simply figments of the historiographical imagination. Ridding the historiography of accepted categories has its pleasures, but pleasure alone does not justify such pruning. Certainly, it is wholly irrelevant that “eighteenth-century Englishmen had no sense of living through” the Enlightenment and “were unaware of a social process later designated ‘secularisation.’” The very discipline of history, after all, was built on the insight that people participate in larger processes of which they are individually quite unaware. Distaste for categories is no argument against their usage.³¹

But we can take from Clark a real question: can we make the Enlightenment into a *useful* category, one capacious enough to comment on the peculiar forms of religious life that inhabited the eighteenth century? To do so, it seems crucial to move the Enlightenment outside the exclusive ambit of philosophy. The contemporary literature has done this in a few ways, not least by pushing France to the periphery of the discussion. Indeed, for Pocock, Clark, Sorkin, and most other researchers, the French Enlightenment is the great counterexample. It is the location of what Pocock calls the “cosmopolitan” Enlightenment, the movement whose idol was the *Encyclopédie* and whose god was philosophy.³² With some notable exceptions, French historians have tended to absent themselves from the recent literature on religion. The exceptions are not insignificant: Suzanne Desan’s work on lay religion and revolutionary politics, Timothy Tackett’s examination of the politics of the 1791 Ecclesiastical Oath, Dale Van Kley’s longstanding efforts to link Jansenism to the “desacralization” of the French monarchy, David A. Bell’s most recent connection of revolutionary nationalism to Catholic educational and missionary activities, among others.³³ But more than anywhere else, the Enlightenment in France is still understood as fundamentally anticlerical and, in a connected way, fundamentally philosophical. That Bell’s only index entry under “Enlightenment” is a reference to the heading “philosophes” is a token of this deeper assumption, one that makes the union of the French Enlightenment and religion very difficult to sustain.³⁴

For the move away from philosophy does not just create a new geography of the Enlightenment, it also gives it a whole new intellectual and cultural content. Thus Gibbon is interesting to Pocock not just as an ironist but as an advocate of erudition over philosophy. Erudition “did not lead to the intellect’s sovereignty over its environment, but rather to its immersion in it.” By stressing erudition, Pocock demotes philosophy to a mere component of the Enlightenment, other components of which might include religion and religious scholarship. And this demotion is clearly crucial for Pocock’s own disaggregating project: once the essential link

³¹ Blumenberg, *Legitimacy*, 3; Clark, *English Society*, 11, 10.

³² Pocock, *Barbarism*, 138.

³³ Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Timothy Tackett, *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 136 (see also his *Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757–1765* [New Haven, 1975]); David A. Bell, *The Cult of the Nation in France: Inventing Nationalism, 1680–1800* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001).

³⁴ Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 296.

between philosophy and the Enlightenment is broken, enlightenments are free to multiply.

Jonathan Israel's 2001 *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* is clearly concerned about this demotion, not least owing to his desire to overcome the growing sense, as John Robertson has recently put it, that “the Enlightenment . . . never . . . existed.”³⁵ Philosophy, in Israel's amazing and wide-ranging book, glues together an Enlightenment threatened by the fragmentations of Porter and Pocock. It is the key to the “making of modernity,” and, unsurprisingly, religion has little place in this story. Enlightenment philosophy “overthrew theology's age-old hegemony” and “eradicated magic and belief in the supernatural from Europe's intellectual culture.” The Moses of the “radical Enlightenment” was Baruch Spinoza, the secret figure crucial “to any proper understanding of Early Enlightenment European thought,” the “supreme philosophical bogeyman” of the eighteenth century. Using Spinoza and Spinozism as benchmarks, Israel's book reconstructs an aggressively pan-European and anti-Pocockian vision of an Enlightenment at war with religion. As in most wars, there are quislings, in this case the “moderate Enlightenment”—those committed to easing “confessional rigidities . . . without effectively widening the scope of intellectual freedom”—whose betrayal of Spinozan ideals threatened to derail the modern virtues of secularism, democracy, and science.³⁶

Whether his trenchant history is correct or not, Israel sees clearly how important a specifically philosophical Enlightenment is to the traditional story of “rationalization and secularization.”³⁷ To move beyond this story—as most recent scholarship on the Enlightenment and religion wants to do—means moving beyond the philosophical definition of enlightenment, which, while it has the virtue of simplicity, tends to conceal as much as it shows. Revisionists simply cannot allow enlightenment to be boiled down, as it was by Norman Hampson twenty years ago, to a set of philosophical assumptions about nature, man, law, and providence.³⁸ This approach both defines too rigidly the questions that can be asked about the Enlightenment and predetermines the kind of stories that can be told about secularization. It is because the Enlightenment is understood as philosophical, in other words, that an irreligious tinge repeatedly clings to it. To overcome this tinge, new ideals of enlightenment must be invented.

But to do this, as all of our authors show us, the problem of secularization must be confronted directly. As an analytical category, secularization plagues the efforts to connect the Enlightenment and religion, not least because the term is so crucial to the self-imagination of the modern age, which has, from the eighteenth century onward, understood itself as surpassing its religious past. If secularization has long been seen as a passive process—Chadwick's “growing tendency in mankind to do without religion”—perhaps the time has long come to inject some contingency and

³⁵ John Robertson, “The Enlightenment above National Context: Political Economy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland and Naples,” *The Historical Journal* 40 (September 1997): 671.

³⁶ Pocock, *Barbarism*, 252; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001), 4, 12, 159, 80, 108. See pp. 137, 140–41, for criticisms of Pocock and his theory of multiple Enlightenments.

³⁷ Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 4.

³⁸ Norman Hampson, “The Enlightenment in France,” in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment*, 41–42.

activity into it.³⁹ To accomplish this, we need to think not just about enlightenment but also about its partner in the secularizing process, "religion." For religion has never been left behind, either personally or institutionally. Instead, it has been continually remade and given new forms and meanings over time. Thinking more carefully about religion is a fundamental step in understanding both the Enlightenment and the enigmas of secularization.

"WE SHOULD NOT HAVE THE WORD 'religion' at all. When and how did it originate?" asked the German aphorist Georg Lichtenberg at the end of the eighteenth century. As his question signals, religion, as such, is an invented category of analysis. And yet, for all of the ink spilt on the question of the Enlightenment, the issue of religion per se has been of little interest to historians. Indeed, historians have been content to play rather loose with this category, assuming, I suppose, that readers instinctively recognize religion, and so explanation would incur the charge of pedantry. However, such looseness has its perils, since it can generate useless statements of fact. Take, for example, this bland, uninformative, yet utterly typical formulation: "Enlightenment religion can be characterised as rational, tolerant and non-mysterious." Even leaving aside the issue of the Enlightenment, in what sense can "religion" be "characterised as rational"? Was it simply that a concept of "rational religion" was invented? Or were its exponents themselves rational? In the practice of pulpit oratory, were logical syllogisms the rhetoric of choice? Were the articles of faith arranged in a rational manner? Were practices rationalized and devotional exercises (prayer, sacraments, hymns) transformed into acts of the intellect? It might mean all or any of these things, but the term itself tells us little about the operation of religion across social, political, and intellectual boundaries.⁴⁰

Many researchers working on the Enlightenment and religion—especially Jonathan Clark and those followers living in the shadow of what one commentator has gleefully called the "Clarkite revolution"—have casually taken up religion as a "revivified form of political history." By focusing on ecclesiastical politics, by stressing the "political valence of virtually all eighteenth-century expressions of religion," volumes such as *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (2001) have put religion onto the historiographical map by unraveling the connections between rational Dissent and Enlightenment politics, between Jansenism and Enlightenment politics, between Pietism and Enlightenment politics, and so on. Thus we now have a fairly rich notion of how religious heterodoxy and political opposition intersected in eighteenth-century England, a sense of how "political activity [became] an extension of . . . religious and moral principles," and we can certainly no longer take for granted the simple opposition between rational and religious thought. But at what cost? In the case of Clark, it comes at the cost of flattening religion into a politico-theological pancake, and then dividing it up between the Dissenters and the orthodox. As a consequence, some of the most significant

³⁹ Chadwick, *Secularization*, 17.

⁴⁰ Georg Lichtenberg, "Sudelbücher," in *Schriften und Briefe*, Wolfgang Promies, ed. (Munich, 1968), 1: 671; Martin Fitzpatrick, "The Enlightenment, Politics and Providence: Some Scottish and English Comparisons," in Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 64.

religious transformations of the eighteenth century disappear. Methodism and Evangelicalism, for example, were not signs of religious ferment but instead simple “marks of the Church’s strength and spiritual effectiveness,” because they “inherited almost intact the mainstream ecclesiology and political theology of the Church.” Nor should we distinguish Methodism from Evangelicalism (which would have surprised many late-century Evangelicals!), because they share the same “political theology.” In fundamental ways, Clark has himself taken over the position of such nineteenth-century High Church polemicists as William Van Mildert, later the bishop of Durham, who argued that “the entire fabric of our Constitution, our Laws, and our Government” is completely upheld by what he called “*Religion*.” Van Mildert’s abstractly political concept of religion has become Clark’s own, and the consequence is, to some extent, impoverishment. Even for Orthodoxy, as Peter Nockles has noted, the “exclusive preoccupation with the political dimension” divests it of “those distinctively ecclesiastical, sacramental, and liturgical preferences” that give it coherence as a “separate theological party.” What results is a substitution: for the “triumph of rationalism and stability,” we get instead a “new kind of stability” grounded in an “age of largely unperturbed and unproblematic faith.”⁴¹

Reading religion as a form of veiled politics is perfectly legitimate and even unsurprising given that, as Young has noted, “the social and cultural history” (of the English eighteenth century in particular) “has seriously neglected religion.”⁴² But if legitimate, it is certainly not the only way to read religion. It is with a sense of “the religious complexity of modernity” that, for example, Leigh Eric Schmidt’s *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* recently showed how, in the United States, the eighteenth-century sensorium became a zone of conflict about the proper use of the ear and eye. Religion, in Schmidt’s story, is a complicated set of rhetorics (of divine presence, power, and absence) that generates both corporeal and philosophical practices. Alternatively, one might argue, as Darrin McMahon has in his 2001 *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity*, that the “religion” to which the Enlightenment was ostensibly opposed never even existed as such, because it was invented by the strategic arguments *against* the Enlightenment generated by the turmoil of the French Revolution. If, as Roger Chartier has argued, “the Revolution invented the Enlightenment by attempting to root its legitimacy in a corpus of texts,” then McMahon shows the counter-revolution delegitimizing this Enlightenment by giving it an essentially anti-religious disposition. By “emphasizing the essential antagonism between religion and *philosophie*,” reactionary clerics and

⁴¹ James J. Sack, *From Jacobite to Conservative: Reaction and Orthodoxy in Britain, c. 1760–1832* (Cambridge, 1993), 36; Young, “Religious History,” 859; Dale Van Kley and James Bradley, eds., “Introduction,” *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe* (Notre Dame, Ind., 2001), 37; John Seed, “‘A Set of Men Powerful Enough in Many Things’: Rational Dissent and Political Opposition in England, 1770–1790,” in Haakonssen, *Enlightenment and Religion*, 163; Clark, *English Society*, 285, 294; Mildert quoted in Clark, *English Society*, 426; Peter Nockles, “Church Parties in the Pre-Tractarian Church of England 1750–1833: The ‘Orthodox’—Some Problems of Definition and Identity,” in *The Church of England, c. 1689–c. 1833*, John Walsh, et al., eds. (Cambridge, 1993), 339; Jeremy Gregory, “The Eighteenth-Century Reformation: The Pastoral Task of Anglican Clergy after 1689,” in Walsh, *Church of England*, 68.

⁴² Young, “Religious History,” 859.

aristocrats reduced the Enlightenment to “the sum of its most radical parts while effacing the manifold religious distinctions drawn throughout the century.” Religion, in this context and for these clerics, would be an equally fantastic category, a fictive entity to whose decline “the Enlightenment” was dedicated.⁴³

There is just as little need to embrace the post-1789 definition of religion, of course, as there is to accept the post-1789 definition of the Enlightenment. The choice we make is significant, however, because the kind of “religion” we examine determines the kind of story we can tell about the Enlightenment. The irony, of course, is that the Enlightenment was precisely the period in which the very concept of religion underwent radical change. Before then, “religion” generally described the ritual behavior practiced by Christians, Jews, Muslims, and pagans, and *religio* was connected to the “careful performance of ritual obligations.” By the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, religion was converted from a set of rituals into a set of propositions: “propositional religion” allowed for the comparison of various religions by juxtaposing the content of their beliefs. Enlightenment comparative religion and its effort to understand the common roots of “religion” (whether in nature, humanity, or God) was born and built atop this foundation.⁴⁴ As modern researchers, we can add *other* visions of religion: an anthropological one focused on ritual, a social one focused on the communities and their practices, an ideological one focused on the doctrinal or theological content, an institutional one that looks at clergy and their churches. Each of these visions shifts not only the kind of relationship possible between the Enlightenment and religion but also the story we can tell about religious transformation.

To see how categories shape stories, we need look no further than that great divide in the study of religion, the one between the “internal” and the “external” visions of religion. In the first case, historians define true religion as an internal state reflecting the individual’s relationship to God. This ideal—developed in the eighteenth century and perfected in the early nineteenth—sees the “relegation [of religion] to the private consciences of individual believers” as the ultimate expression of the religious spirit.⁴⁵ The explosion of what Ann Taves has called “theologies of experience” in the eighteenth century could serve as evidence for this shift, as could the “privatization of piety” that lies at the heart of what Jean Delumeau has called the “christianization” of Europe in the eighteenth century, as missionaries converted pagan practices into Christian faith.⁴⁶ In this story, the Enlightenment is no opponent of religion. Instead, it was the element that, as Roy Porter’s *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (2000) puts it,

⁴³ Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 30; Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2001), 101; Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution* (Durham, N.C., 1991), 5; McMahon, *Enemies*, 101.

⁴⁴ Jonathan Z. Smith, “Religion, Religions, Religious,” in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Mark C. Taylor, ed. (Chicago, 1998), 270; Peter Harrison, “Religion” and the Religions in the English Enlightenment (Cambridge, 1990), 25–26.

⁴⁵ Bell, *Cult of the Nation*, 37.

⁴⁶ Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances, and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 47; Kaspar von Greyerz, *Religion und Kultur: Europa 1500–1800* (Göttingen, 2000), 285; Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire* (Philadelphia, 1977).

“purified and demarcated” the sacred from the profane realm.⁴⁷ It offered the cleansing fire that purged religion of what Friedrich Schleiermacher long ago called the “dead slag” of arbitrary customs.⁴⁸

Proponents of the “external” vision could not be more scornful of this story and its effort—as Richard Trexler grimly wrote—to “cauterise human experience.” Religion, for the externalists, must be defined as a “communit[y] of behaviour” and scrutinized through the sociological and anthropological lens of practice.⁴⁹ Historians then judge the progress or failure of religion by looking at evidence of ritual participation by the faithful, regardless of their inner beliefs. If fewer people were going to church, this would be a priori evidence that religion is on the decline. As the philosopher Marcel Gauchet’s *Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion* (English translation, 1997) patently shows, this vision of religion is far more amenable to the traditional secularization thesis. Although the “subjective experience” of religion is an “irreducible anthropological residue,” Gauchet argues, *real* religion—in which the divinity owns and inhabits “the entire social space”—has been on the decline since the time of Moses. In this view, the eighteenth century represented the “deepest ever fracture in history,” as this decline of religion reached its final terminus.⁵⁰

Given that such radically different stories can be produced simply by shifting the nature of “religion,” the importance of the (pre-empirical and pre-evidentiary) choice of definitions is clear. To put religion into dialogue with the Enlightenment, in other words, we need to determine exactly who the partners in this conversation are. It may very well be that “religion” in *all* senses cannot be related meaningfully to the Enlightenment, precisely because the horizons of these two things were socially and culturally distinct in the period. This is not, I hope, an invitation to endless theoretical speculation on categories. But categories are important, in particular in periods of historiographical transformation. And the best theoretical platform should create the richest research program.

With that in mind, I would like to offer some provisional ideas about both the Enlightenment and religion. It seems clear that if, as Pocock has suggested, we move away from the Enlightenment as a set of doctrinal or philosophical precepts, the research program will become much more capacious. The language of rationalism, materialism, determinism, indeed, the entire philosophical definition of the Enlightenment, has tended (with some exceptions) to constrain rather than promote new research. At the same time, the language of multiple Enlightenments has a scattering effect that threatens to deprive the category of real analytical weight. I would suggest that rather than overly scatter or concentrate the Enlightenment, it would be more productive to treat it as a new constellation of formal and technical practices and institutions, “media,” to borrow from Friedrich Kittler. Such practices and institutions might include philosophical argument, but

⁴⁷ Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London, 2000), 205.

⁴⁸ Friedrich Schleiermacher, *On Religion: Speeches to Its Cultured Despisers*, Richard Crouter, trans. (Cambridge, 1988), 194.

⁴⁹ Richard Trexler, “Reverence and Profanity in the Study of Early Modern Religion,” in Kaspar von Greyerz, ed., *Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (London, 1984), 256, 253.

⁵⁰ Marcel Gauchet, *The Disenchantment of the World: A Political History of Religion* (Princeton, N.J., 1997), 163, 8, 162.

would encompass such diverse elements as salons, reading circles, erudition, scholarship and scholarly techniques, translations, book reviews, academies, new communication tools including journals and newspapers, new or revived techniques of data organization and storage (dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies), and so on. This would, in a sense, return us to some of the “structures” that make Jürgen Habermas so popular even while abandoning the pedagogy of the public sphere that makes him so problematic. Enlightenment is not, in this context, value neutral, as Martin Gierl has pointed out in his excellent analysis of the “new communication systems” generated in the eighteenth century to deal with disagreement about theological and political truths. The very possibility of juxtaposing a spectrum of positions within one publication, Gierl shows, changes the manner in which theological controversy can be waged, defusing the polemics of the seventeenth century. These media make certain kinds of arguments possible and rob others of their structural efficacy. But they are not inherently anti-religious, nor do they force the Enlightenment to reenact a blind process of secularization. They are not intrinsically prejudicial to “religion,” however understood, nor do they prevent us from treating in a nuanced way this enormous area of eighteenth-century cultural life.⁵¹

Instead, the media-driven concept of the Enlightenment allows us concentrate on precisely those places where the social, cultural, and intellectual horizons of religion and the Enlightenment fused. Scholarly media, academies, universities, reading societies, salons, journals, newspapers, translations: these were all places where various entities called religion were investigated and invigorated. Religion and the Enlightenment were wedded together, not because of any intrinsic intellectual affinity between rationalism and mystery but because the media of the Enlightenment were fundamental structures through which new religious cultures and practices were created. And the creators were not just the devout, although many were that. Instead, the creators spanned the spectrum of personal piety, some profoundly impious, some not. Finally, the media approach allows one to clarify the limits of the Enlightenment-religion relationship. Indeed, certain religious domains might be, by and large, external to these media: private devotion, prayers, certain liturgical elements, church law, and so on. Others would come into continual contact, helping to shape and being shaped by them. Not only would this expansion of the Enlightenment allow for a more productive scholarship on the Enlightenment and religion, it would also, in my view, clarify the question of secularization. Secularization would no longer be shorthand for the inevitable (intentional or not, serious or ironic) slide of the pre-modern religious past into the modern secular future. Instead, it would be an account of how new “religions” were produced in and through the media of the Enlightenment. It would be an account of how

⁵¹ Friedrich Kittler, *Discourse Networks, 1800/1900* (Stanford, Calif., 1990), esp. chaps. 1–3 and pp. 229–39; Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), esp. part 2; Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1997), 415. The recent effort to define the Enlightenment as a republic of letters—structured by “social and discursive practices and institutions”—could easily be encompassed by the media definition of the Enlightenment: see Dena Goodman, *Republic of Letters: A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 2; also Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, Conn., 1995).

religion was made modern, how it was reconstructed in such a way as to incorporate it into the fabric of modernity. In short, it would be an account of cultural work.

WHAT WOULD SUCH AN ACCOUNT DO for our opening scene? Would it let Berleburg have something to do with Bayle? The answer, I think, is yes. For the account asks historians to shift the way they have read both documents. Let's begin with Bayle, whose perplexing dictionary offered its readers an alphabetical series of articles on figures as diverse as Aaron and Attila, Sarah and Spinoza, all attended by a horde of annotations. Traditionally, historians have asked the question, "What was the aim of his writing?" and their answers fell roughly into two camps: either Bayle was (with Elisabeth Labrousse) a writer whose aims conformed generally with Christian teachings, or Bayle was a "libertine" (David Wootton) and advocate of "Spinozism and philosophical atheism" (Jonathan Israel).⁵² In the former case, historians take Bayle seriously when he professes his faith; in the latter, his texts are read as "tactical device[s]" or as fine examples of "the art of theological lying."⁵³ What I am calling a media reading of Bayle would not resolve this longstanding conflict about Bayle's religious intentions, because it would not ask *what* Bayle meant. Instead, it would ask *how* Bayle's text functioned. Bayle's philosophical sentiments would play a secondary role to his textual practices, practices that, as Ernst Cassirer wrote long ago, are simply perplexing:

In Bayle there is no hierarchy of concepts, no deductive derivation of one concept, but rather a simple aggregation of materials, each of which is as significant as any other and shares with it an equal claim to complete and exhaustive treatment . . . [H]e never follows a definite plan assigning limits to the various types of material and distinguishing the important from the unimportant, the relevant from the irrelevant.⁵⁴

Bayle pursues this accretionary method rigorously throughout the *Dictionnaire*. Beyond issues of "tactics," this method permeates all articles, religious or not. As a dictionary, one of many that appeared at the end of the seventeenth century, the *form* of Bayle's text broke the world into discrete parts, alphabetized them, and provided running commentary. Articles did not need to cohere, nor were positions set in stone. Instead, its form opened up horizons of interpretive behavior unknown in the previous age.

Now the curious fact is that exactly the same logic applies to the Berleburger Bible, a text that has puzzled commentators for many years. In the main, scholars have asked the identical question they have addressed to Bayle: What does it mean? And through a variety of strategies, they have managed to discover "a consistent work of [theological] interpretation" hidden underneath "its variety and its

⁵² Elisabeth Labrousse, *Pierre Bayle*, 2 vols. (The Hague, 1963–64); David Wootton, "Pierre Bayle, Libertine?" in M. A. Stewart, ed., *Studies in Seventeenth-Century European Philosophy* (Oxford, 1997); Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 339.

⁵³ Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 339; David Berman, "Deism, Immortality, and the Art of Theological Lying," in J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., *Deism, Masonry, and the Enlightenment* (Newark, N.J., 1987).

⁵⁴ Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, Fritz Koelln and James Pettegrove, trans. (Boston, 1951), 202.

richness.”⁵⁵ Whatever the truth of these interpretations, however, I would suggest that this cleansing operation actually overlooks the central *work* this text performed. This was, after all, a text whose massive folio pages are crammed not just with theological commentary but also with scores of quotations from literally dozens of authorities. Ancients range from Aristotle to Xenophanes; moderns from Robert Bellarmine to Athanasius Kirchner. This battalion of scholars provides information on topics as widely varied as geography, philology, history, philosophy, numerology, and mysticism. Leviticus 25: 13—“In this year of jubilee each of you shall return to his property”—occasioned, for example, a rambling explanation that relied on cabalistic numerology, mystic theology, and chronology in order to unfold its subtle secrets.⁵⁶ After providing a range of conflicting numerological estimates for “the great restoration of all rational creatures” in the so-called seventh jubilee, Haug offered his perplexed readers only this final piece of advice: “we cannot in these, our fleeting times, have any correct concept of these determined ages and eternities.” So was numerology meaningful or not? Both possibilities remained open in the Berleburg commentary, which teamed with a brand-new translation to offer, for the first time, a new *form* of the vernacular Bible, one that had little compunction about overwhelming its reader with a mass of apparently contradictory facts.

The vertiginous effects of scholarship; the circular, doubling, and dizzying annotations; the multiplication of commentaries arranged in networks rather than hierarchies; the unresolved conflicts between various layers of notes: these were, of course, exactly the same qualities that attended Bayle. His article “Aaron” (used, remember, to criticize the Berleburg Bible) and its analysis of the Golden Calf, for example, offered its readers a collage of arguments about Jewish idolatry, the failures of the rabbinic imagination, iconoclastic Bible translations, and the virtues of the learned, who “can keep themselves from snares, while the ignorant cannot.”⁵⁷ Read as reflections of philosophical and theological programs, of course, Bayle and Berleburg were oil and water. One was dedicated to spiritual and mystical renewal, the other to at best a skeptical fideism and at worst outright atheism. But read with attention to form—to their practical textual expressions—the “Bible of the eighteenth century” had much in common with this actual eighteenth-century Bible. In both, an apparently spontaneous accumulation of detail breaks down and deracinates their philosophical or theological “message.” Both incorporate wildly heterogeneous collections of sources, an eclectic strategy that put all authoritative proclamations on an equal level. Neither Bayle nor Haug offered a key for establishing the hierarchy of authority among the sources. Instead, their commentary was a library of materials, so much so that both men were forced to rebut charges of plagiarism. In both cases, underlying materials swamped the ostensible “text” (biblical passage, dictionary entry). And finally, the formal aspects of both works prevented the reconstitution of an ostensibly unified universe of meaning.

This sketch indicates that the main issue may not be the “influence” of

⁵⁵ Martin Brecht, “Die Berleburger Bibel: Hinweise zu ihrem Verständnis,” *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 8 (1982): 199.

⁵⁶ Haug, *Die Heilige Schrift*, 1: 542.

⁵⁷ Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 3d edn. (Rotterdam, 1720), s.v. “Aaron.”

Enlightenment philosophy on the Berleburger Bible. This Bible had little to do with Enlightenment philosophy. It did, however, have much to do with Enlightenment media, which it used to reconstitute the vernacular Bible. These media were not committed to exact philosophical positions, nor did they advance exact philosophical aims. Instead, they were developed as techniques of collection, presentation, and organization that proved remarkably adaptable to a variety of *different* philosophical, religious, and scholarly aims. At the same time, they are not neutral with regard to their message. Bayle was not more of an Enlightenment figure than Haug, but he was a cannier human being, one who had a deeper sense of the kinds of arguments sustainable within the media. Dense annotation and conflicting notes made certain kinds of theological claims—about the organic unity of the biblical message, for example—extraordinarily difficult to sustain. In this sense—in the sense that the Berleburger Bible made the biblical text unstable and set it into tension with scholarly commentary—we can consider this part of the “work” of secularization. But the denigration of the Bible was not a foregone conclusion here. Instead, this work involved a considerable *investment* in the object it was supposedly destroying. The investment came in the form of new scholarly practices that employed the media of the Enlightenment in order to make a “post-theological” Bible, a Bible fresh and relevant to the modern world.⁵⁸

WITH THIS FINAL EXAMPLE, we can bring the story full circle back to the new histories of religion that have emerged in the past fifteen years. It is no accident that the study of religion assumed such urgency after 1989, I think, a period when the political certainties of the twentieth century collapsed and the project of modernity ran headlong into the haunting specters of religious politics. The efforts to rewrite the story of the Enlightenment are symptomatic of a wider sense that religion may not have lost its grip, in the end, on the modern social, political, and cultural imagination. If symptomatic, however, these struggles to understand religion and the Enlightenment also illuminate the problems faced in many fields as scholars seek to write religion back into the story of the present. From Berleburg and Bayle, we can see how the *forms* and *practices* of modern culture can be used to widely divergent ends, even ends apparently antithetical to the *doctrines* that modern culture assumes to be true. It is probably no accident that religion has so effectively colonized radio and television, after all, seeing in them media whose ideological content is not fully prescribed. From the wider literature on eighteenth-century religion, we can see a shifting sense of the story of secularization, a story that nearly always takes its leave from that crucible of modernity, the Enlightenment. If the Enlightenment is no longer read as a philosophical and anti-religious movement but rather, as some of the authors reviewed here do, as a set of cultural institutions and practices whose relationship to religion was complicated and diverse, then the Enlightenment no longer can provide the opening move in that inevitable decline of religion called secularization. Secularization—understood as the passive demo-

⁵⁸ On the invention of the post-theological Bible, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (forthcoming, Princeton, 2004).

tion of religion to the corners of human experience—has lost its luster. Instead, it must be treated as a contingent and active set of *strategies* that change religion over time. This is as true of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as it was of the eighteenth. If the Enlightenment keeps its status as the cradle of modernity, it will be less as the birthplace of secularism than as the birthplace of a distinctly modern form of religion whose presence and power continues to shape the present.

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Review Essays

Christianity as Casualty and Chrysalis of Modernity: The Problem of Dechristianization in the French Revolution

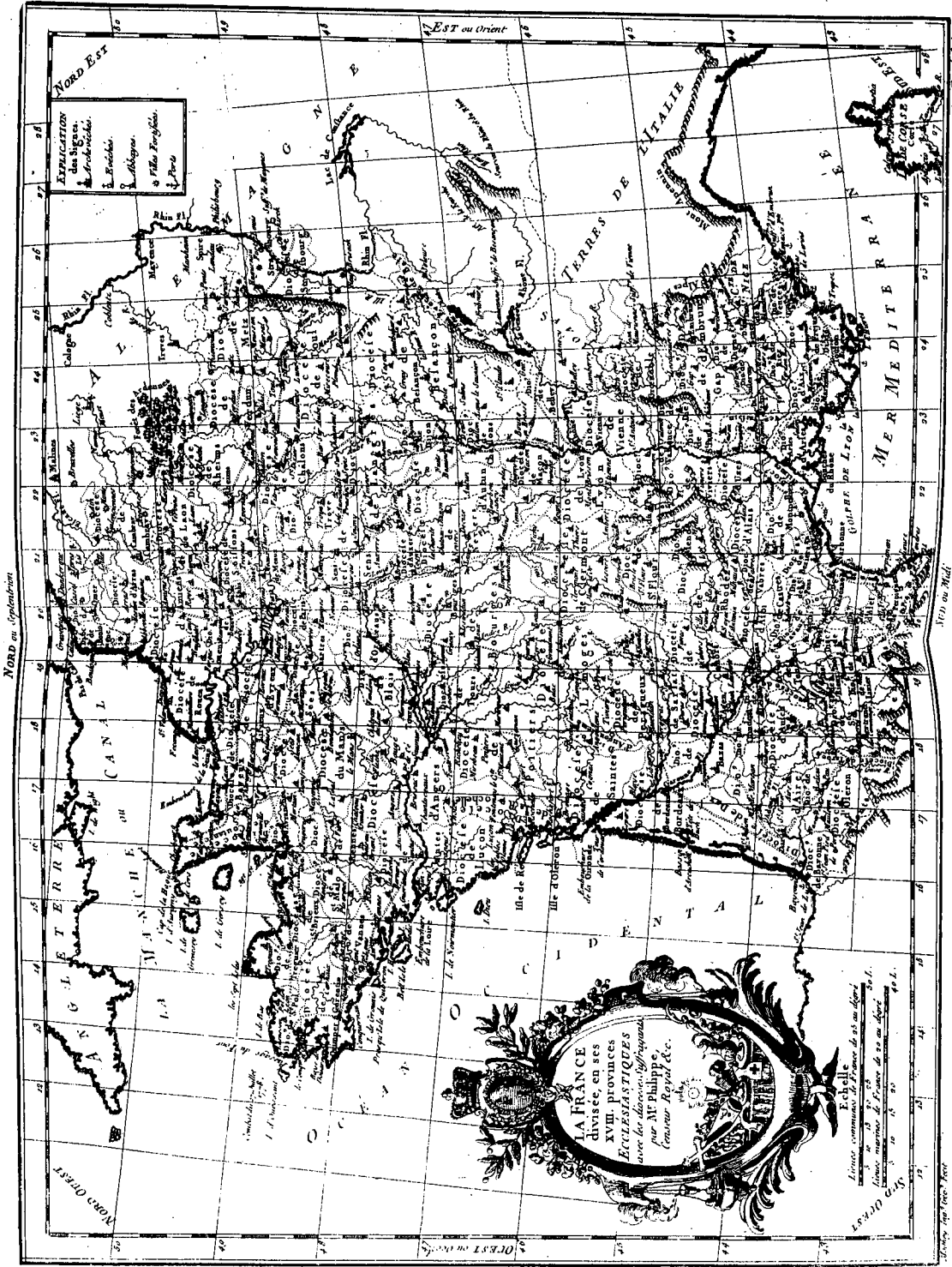
DALE K. VAN KLEY

ATTENDING AN ASSEMBLY OF THE CLERGY'S ELECTORS IN 1789, a certain French parish priest in Alsace successfully pleaded that their list of desired reforms, or *cahier de doléance*, for the instruction of the upcoming meeting of the Estates General include a demand for the enclosure of open fields. But he did so not in order further to disenfranchise landless peasants dependent on the remaining stubble after the harvest but, rather, to prevent their children from tending the sheep allowed to graze there, lest they observe the animals too closely and "thereby learn how they multiplied." The poor priest was obviously oblivious to the fact that he was participating in the beginnings of a revolution that, far from enhancing the celibate clergy's influence over the sexual mores of their (metaphorical) "flocks," would eventually legitimize divorce and try to oblige many priests themselves to marry. Perhaps he should have foreseen the shape of such a revolution from afar in the notoriously impious works of the eighteenth-century French philosophes. Yet he was not much more likely to have read them than a pious mother who, listening to a soporific sermon by Cardinal de Luynes not far from Alsace or very long before, had scolded her daughter for falling asleep "instead of listening to Monseigneur and learning about the lives of Saint Voltaire and Saint Rousseau."¹

These vignettes are among many such in the two-volume, sixteen-hundred-page *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* by John McManners, Regius Professor Emeritus of Ecclesiastical History and recently retired fellow and chaplain of All Souls College, Oxford. Published as part of the Oxford History of the Christian Church, these two volumes represent the summa of one of the most distinguished historians of eighteenth-century Christianity—indeed, of Christianity and eighteenth-century culture generally—whose best-known works include *Death and the Enlightenment*, *French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime*, and a

I would like to thank the Newberry Fellows' Seminar for a spirited and most helpful discussion of the first draft of this review essay, as well as, in particular, Professors Rita Hermon Belot, George Marsden, James E. Bradley, James Grossman, Marion Miller, Marianne Ruel Robins, Frank Walker, Sue Sheridan, Shanti Singham, and most especially Sarah Austin, Associate Director of Research and Education at the Newberry Library, and Professor Susan Rosa of Northeastern Illinois University, for constructively critical readings of the same and subsequent drafts.

¹ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1998), Vol. 1: *The Clerical Establishment and Its Social Ramifications*, 272; and Vol. 2: *The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*, 278.



MAP: From the eve of the French Revolution comes Etienne Andre Delille's Atlas, published in 1789. In the 18th century, France was divided into ecclesiastical provinces and dioceses.

short synthesis entitled *The French Revolution and the Church* (1969).² Like these others, this summation of a life's work comes unmistakably from the empirically oriented British historiographical tradition at its finest. If social history it is, it is social history with a human face—chart-less, graph-less, and characterized throughout by an approach that McManners himself calls “friendly realism.”³ His is a thematic rather than a thesis-driven book, a beautiful portrait of an ecclesiastical society full of forgivable sinners and some unsung saints. Yet the book's many unforgettable anecdotes do not make it an “anecdotal” history in the pejorative—and largely French—sense of that term. Rather, the anecdotes serve to fill in the total portrait or give point to a larger if understated problematic. That problem is how a state and society still so apparently Christian and specifically Catholic as was France in the eighteenth century could manage to give rise to the first revolution that turned against Christianity and produced a campaign to “dechristianize” its entire culture.

This problem remains no less acute if one moves forward into the revolutionary maelstrom. At the high tide of the Terror during the revolutionary year II (1793–1794), with most of the clergy in hiding and all of the churches closed, French lay men and women undertook religious education, continued to baptize their newborns, celebrated unconsecrated or “white” Masses, and bought catechisms and rituals in numbers that appalled the Parisian police. Numerous were those Frenchmen during the revolution who wanted a republic but their Catholicism too, and said so in so many words. Far from being resolved, the problem only becomes clearer as a problem peculiar to France by stepping outside of France in order to gain a comparative perspective. Across the Atlantic in the revolutionary British colonies, the first bishop of Baltimore—the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence—combined an ultra Roman Catholicism with a commitment to democracy and freedom of conscience, a coupling that stands in arresting contrast to the more limited possibilities in postrevolutionary France, where a similar synthesis emerged stillborn when belatedly attempted by the French priest-theologian Hughes-Félicité Robert de Lamennais in 1830. Farther south, Catholic clergymen wielding neo-scholastic theories of the social contract and the right to revolt gave ideological succor to the independence movements of Central and South America, which were also able to mobilize religious symbols such as the Virgin of Guadalupe and exploit the widespread conviction that Latin American Catholicism was purer than in Europe. Back in Europe, the “atheism” of the French Revolution was the most alien aspect of its international message. Along with military conscription and requisition, it was everywhere the most potent catalyst in the making of counter-revolution.⁴

² John McManners, *Death and the Enlightenment: Changing Attitudes to Death in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1981); and *French Ecclesiastical Society under the Ancien Régime: A Study of Angers in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester, 1960).

³ McManners, *Church and Society*, 1: 1.

⁴ Bernard Plongeron, with Astérios Argyriou, Vivianne Barrie, Dominique Bourel, Christian Chanel, Mikhail Dimitriev, François-Georges Dreyfus, Hanna Dylagowa, Bernard Heyberger, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, Claude Michaud, Alfred Minke, Antón M. Pazos, Mario Rosa, and Yves Saint-Geours, *Les défis de la modernité, 1750–1840*, vol. 10, in *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, J.-M. Mayer, Ch. and L. Pietri, A. Vauchez, and M. Venard, eds. (Paris, 1997). The examples are taken from 541–63, 595–600, 794–818, 203–11.

These examples come from another summa published at about the same time as McManners', this one the thousand-page *Les défis de la modernité, 1750–1840* (The Challenges of Modernity), written for the most part by Bernard Plongeron, a recent professor emeritus at the Institut Catholique in Paris and director of research at the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique. The tenth volume in a series on the history of Christianity designed to replace Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin's classic but never completed tome on the history of the Christian Church, Plongeron's volume caps an equally distinguished trajectory as a historian of French Catholicism during the revolutionary period, along which the high points are probably his *Conscience religieuse en révolution* and *Théologie et politique au siècle des lumières, 1770–1820*.⁵ Theologian as well as historian, Plongeron is almost entitled to a category by himself. Yet this volume and Plongeron's work generally just as clearly emanate from the French *Annales* tradition and its various permutations, indebted at once to Lucien Febvre and Robert Mandrou's work on collective *mentalités*, to Marc Bloch's bias in favor of comparative and problem-oriented history, and to Gabriel Le Bras' pioneering work in religious sociology. The volume bristles with charts, maps, and graphs, which take the place of McManners' choice stories. That this volume is conceived of as a chapter in the history of Christianity and not of the Christian Church also says much. Far from being the object of preferential analysis, churches and states here tend to get in the way of the development of Christian thought and sensibility, as indicated by such chapter headings as "Modernity up against the Apparatus of Churches" or "Napoleon to Metternich: A Modernity in a State of Blockage."⁶

As the examples taken from this volume indicate, what also distinguishes it from McManners' two volumes is the global purview to which it aspires—no less than Christianity around the entire globe from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Plongeron is perforce the principal author and editor of this volume that is the result of the collaboration of fourteen other specialists. Plongeron nonetheless shouldered the vast mass of the enterprise, producing the sections on Russia, China, Korea, both French and English-speaking North America, French Guyana, and co-authoring the important sections on the Central and South American revolutions, not to mention his solo performance in the chapters on France itself. Yet despite the volume's pervasive stress on Christianity's successful adaptation to and even complicity in the making of modernity—especially political modernity—France and the French Revolution devour the lion's share of the coverage, thus augmenting rather than quietly digesting the problem of the exceptionality of

⁵ Bernard Plongeron, *Conscience religieuse en révolution: Regards sur l'historiographie religieuse de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1969); and *Théologie et politique au siècle des lumières, 1770–1820* (Geneva, 1973). The new volumes in Desclée's series, *Histoire du christianisme*, are designed to take the place of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis des origines jusqu'à nos jours*, 20 vols. in 23 (Paris, 1924–64), in which the relevant volumes for the early modern period are 19, Edmond Préclain and Eugène Jarry, *Les luttes doctrinales et politiques aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1955–56); and 20, Jean Leflon, *La crise révolutionnaire, 1789–1846* (Paris, 1949). Yet another competitive series is Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond, *Histoire de la France religieuse*, the most relevant volume in which is Philippe Joutard's *Du roi Très Chrétien à la laïcité républicaine, XVIII^e–XIX^e siècles* (Paris, 1991).

⁶ Plongeron, *Les défis de la modernité*, chapter headings from Pt. 1, chap. 3, "La modernité affrontée aux appareils des églises," 179–246; and Pt. 3, chap. 1, "De Napoléon à Metternich: Une modernité en état de blocus," 635–737.

French revolutionary dechristianization. The question that McManners and Plongeron's volumes raise in different ways may thus be put in terms reminiscent of those used by Alexis de Tocqueville to underscore the problematic nature of the revolutionary rupture. If all or most of eighteenth-century Christendom including France were descending the staircase from transcendently to secularly legitimized societies at a stately pace, in good part under Christian auspices, why did France alone "throw herself out of the window in order to arrive sooner at the bottom" in the form of "dechristianization?"⁷ Or, to invoke the ghost of Tocqueville once more, if "nothing in Christianity, even in Catholicism," was incompatible with the values of democratic societies, why the rupture between the Gallican Church and the revolution in France?⁸

THE PROBLEM IS MADE MORE RATHER THAN LESS complex by the present state of the historiographical fields of the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution. Where Paul Hazard, George Havens, and Kingsley Martin once perceived a stark and almost Manichean contest between the forces of light, learning, and liberty on the one side and those of Christian and especially Catholic obscurity on the other—an acceptance at face value of the point of view of French philosophes—historians now tend to see a far more complex series of conflicts and interactions in which Christians and would-be enlighteners turn out often to wear the same uniforms and to find themselves on both sides of all of the century's major conflicts.⁹ Where religion is concerned, the past several decades have witnessed the publication of any number of studies on aspects of eighteenth-century Christianity that have broken out of such ready-made categories as the revenge of the emotions against reason or the rearguard defense of the Old Regime's political and social order, and have made a case for the religion's active agency in—as well as traumatic reaction to—the transformation of the Old Regime to the modern world. Among these breakthroughs are J. C. D. Clark's and James E. Bradley's pathbreaking work on the role of religion in the making of English political radicalism as well as conservatism, and the renewed appreciation for the continued creativity of Jansenism in the eighteenth century, not only in political thought and activity but even in theology, as Catherine Maire's work has made clear.¹⁰

⁷ Alexis de Tocqueville, *Correspondance d'Alexis de Tocqueville*, in *Oeuvres complètes d'Alexis de Tocqueville publiées par madame de Tocqueville*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1865–68), Tocqueville to M. Freslon, St.-Cyr, September 23, 1853, 6: 253–54. "Arrivé au milieu de l'escalier, on se jette par la fenêtre pour être plutôt arrivé au bas."

⁸ Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'ancien régime et la Révolution française* (Paris, 1856), 34.

⁹ The classics referred to are George Havens, *The Age of Ideas: From Reaction to Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York, 1955); Kingsley Martin, *French Liberal Thought in the Eighteenth Century: A Study of Political Ideas from Bayle to Condorcet* (New York, 1963); and Paul Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne* (Paris, 1935), or *The European Mind*, J. Lewis May, trans. (Cleveland, Ohio, 1963).

¹⁰ J. C. D. Clark, *English Society 1660–1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics during the Ancien Regime*, 2d edn. (Cambridge, 2000); James E. Bradley, *Religion, Revolution, and English Radicalism: Nonconformity in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1990); and Catherine L. Maire, *De la cause de Dieu à la cause de la nation: Le jansénisme au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1998); Monique Cottret, *Jansénismes et lumières: Pour un autre XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1998); Marie-José Michel, *Jansénisme et Paris, 1640–1730* (Paris, 2000); Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil*

In ways analogous to what has recently happened to the concepts of “Counter-Reformational Catholicism” or “Tridentine Catholicism” for the preceding period, this scholarship has effectively fragmented the monolithic confessional traditions including Catholicism into a variety of religious senses and sensibilities, transforming them not only into receptacles but also emitters of “light” in their own right.¹¹ Thus, in the Protestant North, did the German Pietists as repristinated by the work of James Van Horn Melton turn out to have cleared a literary “public space” later occupied by the *Aufklärer*, with whom they shared a commitment to religious toleration, while in the Catholic South, the Settecento Religioso as depicted by Mario Rosa—a gentle challenge to Franco Venturi’s Settecento Riformatore—produced its fair share of Catholic clerics in its quest for “progress” and a “public felicity” and what passed as Jansenism shaded imperceptibly into the cause of *lumi* and *lucis* in both Italy and Spain.¹² In betwixt-and-between France, the full extent of the Jesuits’ role in the rehabilitation of human nature and consequent entanglement in the French Enlightenment’s moral thought and empirical epistemology has long been appreciated, thanks to the late Robert Palmer’s classic and still irreplaceable *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*.¹³ But while their uncompromising commitment to St. Augustine’s rigidly interpreted doctrines of human depravity, selective grace, and divine predestination would seem to have made the Jansenists—the Jesuits’ chief Catholic enemies—all but immune to positive contact with French philosophes, witness the evidence of the mutually influential interchange at the level of “capillaries” between plural Jansenisms and “lights” in Monique Cottret’s subtle treatment of this subject under this title, especially in the areas of political thought and action and religious toleration.¹⁴

Where the Enlightenment itself is concerned, recent research has tended to refract the late great bright and unitary Enlightenment as interpreted by Peter Gay and Franco Venturi into a spectrum of plural “lights” of various shades and hues, whether as distinct national Enlightenments or as cross-national varieties of lights, very few of them clashing with religion.¹⁵ Among national Enlightenments, “the Enlightenment in England” as portrayed by the late Roy Porter in 1981 became “the British Enlightenment” by the end of the millennium, this latter Enlightenment being a heretofore “untold story” according to the subtitle of his latest and,

Constitution, 1560–1791 (New Haven, Conn., 1996). Peter Hersche, *Der Spätjansenismus in Österreich* (Vienna, 1977); and Joel Sagnieux, *Le jansénisme espagnol du XVIII^e siècle: Ses composants et ses sources* (Oviedo, 1975); and *Un prélat éclairé: Don Antonio Tavira y Almazán (1737–1807); Contribution à l’étude du Jansénisme espagnol* (Toulouse, 1970).

¹¹ On the historiography of the preceding period, see John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985).

¹² James Van Horn Melton, *Politics, Culture, and the Public Sphere in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2001); and “Pietism, Politics and the Public Sphere in Germany,” in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind., 2001), 293–333; Mario Rosa, *Settecento religioso: Politica della Ragione e religione del cuore* (Venice, 1999); and Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*, 5 vols. (Turin, 1969–87). For an arresting example of the appropriation of Lockian empirical epistemology for religious apologetics, see Frederick Dreyer, “Faith and Experience in the Thought of John Wesley,” *AHR* 88 (February 1983): 25–26; and *The Genesis of Methodism* (Bethlehem, N.J., 1999).

¹³ Robert R. Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France* (Princeton, N.J., 1939).

¹⁴ Cottret, *Jansénismes et lumières*.

¹⁵ Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich, eds., *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge, 1981).

alas, final book on the subject.¹⁶ And although few have gone so far as Clark, who challenges the very validity of the term in the English context, historians of eighteenth-century England seem almost too readily to insist that “their” Enlightenment preceded and influenced that of France while remaining more moderate than its Gallic counterpart, especially in matters religious.¹⁷ Viewed from the perspective of the late sixteenth century—to take the Germanic examples—the very tame Dutch Enlightenment looks like nothing quite so much as the revenge of Arminianism plus the new science of the late seventeenth century; while the German *Aufklärung*, according to W. R. Ward, “devoted itself to improving Christianity and the church rather than to disposing of them.”¹⁸

Religion would seem to be even less incompatible with most of the Enlightenments recently refracted through a cross-national lens, seeing that two of them, the Catholic and Protestant Enlightenments, bear explicitly confessional labels.¹⁹ It is Plongeron himself who has taken the lead in putting the concept of a Catholic *Aufklärung* on the map, a map that encompasses all of Catholic Europe with outposts in Latin and North America, while J. G. A. Pocock has more recently made a persuasive case for the existence of a distinguishable Protestant Enlightenment, which, personified in England by Edward Gibbon, stretches from England to the Netherlands and from there on down to the Swiss Reformed city-states such as Geneva and Lausanne.²⁰ However these Enlightenments might be characterized, they are a far cry from the “rise of modern paganism” that is the subtitle of Peter Gay’s first volume.²¹ Nor is an anti-religious animus the chief characteristic of other distinguishable kinds of Enlightenment—certainly not the austere proto-republican civic humanist Enlightenment, which overlapped substantially with the cause of Protestant Dissent; much less the fin de siècle’s Rousseauian religion of innocent intentions and a virtuous heart, which borrowed selectively from all varieties of Christianity. Thus the only strain of Enlightenment that was frankly hostile to Christianity was the “radical” or militantly materialistic one distilled by Margaret C. Jacob and, most recently, Jonathan Israel; and the only place in Europe where this Enlightenment came close to setting the national tone was in the France of Denis

¹⁶ Roy Porter, “The Enlightenment in England,” in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment in National Context*, 1–18; and Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment* (New York, 2000).

¹⁷ J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion* (Cambridge, 1985), 110, and in general, 104–11. On the relation of religion to the Enlightenment in the English and Scottish context, see James E. Bradley, “The Role of Religion in the Question of an English Enlightenment,” a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, 1993; and David Spadafora, “Re-imagining the Enlightenment in Britain.” I thank both Bradley and Spadafora for allowing me to read and cite these (unfortunately) still manuscript papers.

¹⁸ Margaret C. Jacob and Wijnand Mijnhardt, eds., *The Dutch Republic in the Eighteenth Century: Decline, Enlightenment, and Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992). See also Simon Schama, “The Enlightenment in the Netherlands,” in Porter and Teich, *Enlightenment in National Context*, 54–71; and R. W. Ward, *Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648–1789* (Cambridge, 1999), 171.

¹⁹ For an attempted typology of these enlightenments, see the “Introduction” in Van Kley and Bradley, *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, 14–16.

²⁰ Bernard Plongeron, “Recherches sur l’*Aufklärung* catholique en Europe occidentale, 1770–1830,” *Revue de l’histoire moderne et contemporaine* 16 (1969): 555–605; and J. G. A. Pocock, *Barbarism and Religion* (Cambridge, 1999–), Vol. 1: *The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764*; and Vol. 2: *Narratives of Civil Government*.

²¹ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation*, 2 vols. (New York, 1966–69), Vol. 1: *The Rise of Modern Paganism*; and Vol. 2: *The Science of Freedom*.

Diderot and the *Encyclopédie*.²² Yet even eighteenth-century atheism in France had religious progenitors and cannot be accounted for without them, if Alan Kors' provocative and persuasive thesis about the theological origins of atheism is accepted.²³

But the more that consensus between the Enlightenment and Christianity is emphasized and conflict minimized—assuming of course some connection between the Enlightenment and the French Revolution—the less easy it becomes to explain the sudden falling out between Christianity and the revolution as the foregone conclusion of a multi-secular parting of the paths between religion and modern thought. It is thus no coincidence that alongside studies that have diminished the distance between the Enlightenment and Christianity, numbers of others have appeared arguing, in Nigel Aston's words, that "the break between the Revolution and Christianity—especially the Catholic Church—was essentially contingent, unintelligible without reference to the specific events and vicissitudes of the Revolution itself."²⁴ And if the rupture of relations between Christianity and especially Catholicism was not the logical inevitability it has long been thought to have been, then neither perhaps was the Terror, seeing that the revolution's campaign against Christianity known as "dechristianization" that began in the fall of 1793 was part and parcel of the Terror even if it outlasted the Terror by virtue of being kept on life support by the government of the Directory from 1795 to 1799. Indeed, if any single factor was capable of making the Terror an unavoidable development, it would seem to be the rupture between the Catholic Church and the revolution beginning in 1791, adding the ideologically empowering cause of persecuted religion to the motley collection of seigniorial complaints and courtly grievances that had gone into the making of the counter-revolution until that point.

The current historiographical emphasis on consensus between Christianity and the Enlightenment thus renders the break between Christianity and the French Revolution yet more problematic. And this problem takes its place in turn as part of a classic debate about the inevitability or contingency of the Terror that, recently renewed by the demise of the Marxian interpretation of the revolution and its own materialistic species of historical inevitability, has produced a burgeoning literature pitting Lynn Hunt and Timothy Tackett against Keith Baker and the late François Furet, recently seconded to some degree by Patrice Gueniffey.²⁵

²² Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001); and Margaret C. Jacob, *The Radical Enlightenment: Pantheists, Freemasons and Republicans* (London, 1981); and Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1991). See also her more recent coauthored book with Betty Jo Teeter Dobbs, *Newton and the Culture of Newtonianism* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1999).

²³ Alan Kors, *Atheism in France, 1650–1729* (Princeton, N.J., 1990).

²⁴ Nigel Aston, *Revolution and Religion in France, 1780–1804* (Washington, D.C., 2000), xii. This is also the general orientation of Timothy Tackett in just about all of his utterances on the subject of the Catholic Church and the French Revolution, most notably in *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France: The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); and Claude Langlois, most notably in "La rupture entre l'Eglise catholique et la Révolution," in *The Transformation of the Political Culture, 1789–1848*, François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., vol. 3 of *The French Revolution and the Creation of Modern Political Culture* (Oxford, 1989), 375–90. See also Suzanne Desan, *Reclaiming the Sacred: Lay Religion and Popular Politics in Revolutionary France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990).

²⁵ Timothy Tackett, "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789–1792," *AHR* 105 (June 2001): 691–714; and Lynn Hunt, "Forgetting and

It is therefore the “fall” of the French Revolution from the pivotal place assigned to it by Marxian teleology that forms one of the chief historiographical contexts of this whole literature, including McManners and Plongeron’s syntheses. For this “fall,” as T. W. C. Blanning has called it, carried with it—a concomitant if not necessary casualty—the notion of the revolution as the only possible outcome of the European and particularly the French eighteenth century, whether considered as a social or intellectual event.²⁶ The “fall” at issue is, moreover, only a particularly poignant instance—the final and largest context, this—of the modern and postmodern loss of confidence in the universal and transcultural “reason” of the Enlightenment, with its transparent access to the objective world of “nature” and the metanarrative of “progress” that these categories once sustained.²⁷ What this development has tended to undo is any hard-and-fast opposition between secular “reason” and varieties of religious logic, especially if, as Marcel Gauchet and Gianni Vattimo have diversely argued, Christianity itself turns out to be the essential catalyst in Western secularization, the exit from religion via religion itself.²⁸

As it happens, McManners and Plongeron are in accord with recent historiography in their emphases on consensus between the Enlightenment and Christianity and proceed as though there had never been a Marxian paradigm for the French Revolution. Indeed, however long these volumes may have been in gestation, they could not have fallen upon a historiographical field in a more timely fashion if it had been consciously cultivated with their arrival in mind. But it remains to be seen whether the emphasis on consensus is altogether up to the explanatory “challenge” of *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* and the “conflict” culminating in the Terror—the title and subtitles, of course, of Robert R. Palmer’s enduring synthesis of nearly forty years ago.²⁹

OF THE TWO BOOKS, McManners’ is the one that most resolutely refuses to interpret the prerevolutionary French Catholic Church and its experience in the shadow of the conflict between religion and revolution that ended the century. In part, this choice is dictated by the chronological span. For the book stops short with a chapter on the role of the curés in the beginnings of the revolution in 1789, perhaps in order not to tread on the terrain of Owen Chadwick’s volume *Popes and the European*

Remembering: The French Revolution Then and Now,” *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1119–36; Keith M. Baker, “Fixing the French Revolution,” in *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1990), 252–305; and his essay in *The Old Regime and the Declaration of Rights of 1789*, Dale K. Van Kley, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 154–96; François Furet, “La Révolution est terminée,” in *Penser la Révolution française* (Paris, 1978), 14–109; and Patrice Gueniffey, *La politique de la Terreur: Essai sur la violence révolutionnaire* (Paris, 2000). Most recently, see the forum on Arno Mayer’s *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions* (Princeton, N.J., 2000) entitled “Comparing Revolutions,” in *French Historical Studies* 24 (Fall 2001), particularly David A. Bell, “Violence, Terror, and War: A Comment on Arno Mayer’s *The Furies*,” 559–67; and Timothy Tackett, “Interpreting the Terror,” 569–78.

²⁶ T. W. C. Blanning, *The Rise and Fall of the French Revolution* (Chicago, 1996).

²⁷ For example, Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995).

²⁸ Marcel Gauchet, *Le désenchantement du monde: Une histoire politique de la religion* (Paris, 1985); and Gianni Vattimo, *After Christianity*, Luca D’Isanto, trans. (New York, 2002).

²⁹ Robert R. Palmer, *The Age of the Democratic Revolution*, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1959–64).

Revolution published earlier in the same series or his own *French Revolution and the Church* published thirty some years ago.³⁰ But there is clearly more to it than that. McManners wants the eighteenth-century Gallican Church and Christianity to be understood and savored for their own sakes, not simply for their roles or lack of them in the origins of the French Revolution. The perspective taken by the book is therefore from the Catholic Reformation looking forwards rather than from the French Revolution looking backwards. And since the implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent tended to take place later in France than elsewhere in Catholic Europe—indeed, these decrees were never officially accepted as such in Gallican France—eighteenth-century French Catholicism from this point of view looks more like the harvest of the goals and ideals of reform Catholicism than a decline announcing a revolution that turned anti-Catholic. The Tridentine fathers had wanted a reformed and morally edifying clergy; by the end of the eighteenth century, clerical misconduct had been reduced to pardonable foibles and eccentricities. The Council of Trent had called for seminaries in view of an educated clergy; by the late eighteenth century, curés were universally literate and most boasted personal libraries of over a hundred books. Although by the end of the century attendance at Mass and the performance of Easter communion had begun to taper off in the major urban centers, it had never been higher in the countryside, where villagers showed up for their first communion better catechized and more familiar with Scripture than ever before. And although the special commission established by the government to investigate the regular clergy in 1766 uncovered plenty of evidence of decline in both zeal and membership in the monastic orders of medieval origin such as the Benedictines and Cistercians, the trend was at least partly offset by the subsequent layer of charitable and educational orders and congregations laid down by the Catholic Reformation, especially those not requiring perpetual vows and even more especially the women's orders such as Vincent de Paul's Daughters of Charity, which ran many of the realm's hospitals.

If, as the Romantic apologist René de Chateaubriand was later to argue, Christianity was true because it was beautiful, then even this "proof" lost little of its validity in the course of the eighteenth century.³¹ McManners' metaphor for Gallican Christendom's last season in the sun is autumn—an appropriate metaphor, not least in its evocation of Johan Huizinga's classic about an earlier colorful culture on the eve of its dissolution.³² But while a good part of the flamboyant fifteenth-century Christian culture described by Huizinga fell victim to the wintry rigor of a Calvinistic revolution in the Netherlands, Gallican culture as depicted by McManners survived the Reformation with little iconoclastic loss of foliage, adding baroque, rococo, and neo-classical layers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most magnificent of all was church music sustained by the recruitment and endowment of organists, music masters, and choirboys by the great cathedral chapters, a subject to which McManners devotes some splendid pages. Church architecture fared less well, its baroque and classical altarpieces hardly compen-

³⁰ Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and the European Revolution* (Oxford, 1981); and John McManners, *The French Revolution and the Church* (London, 1969).

³¹ François-Auguste-René, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, *Génie du christianisme; ou, Beautés de la religion chrétienne*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1802), 1: 8–13, 27–28, 164.

³² Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (Chicago, 1996).

sating for the destruction of gothic sculpture and stained glass. What is perhaps most remarkable is that the church and churchmen continued to spend and build as though theirs was still the "century of saints" and not that of "lights," and that the French eighteenth century's own candidates for sainthood were not to be produced by the September Massacres and the *sainte guillotine*.

But the strategy of looking at the eighteenth century from the perspective of the sixteenth century forward also throws light on some of the more worldly and material features of the Gallican Church and its implantation in the social hierarchy. Although, at the apex, the elaboration of royal absolutism in alliance with the high nobility and the Gallican Church in the wake of the civil wars of religion produced the aesthetic grandeur of the religious ritual and the courtier culture at the royal court in Versailles, at the level of the village parish it soiled itself in unedifying competition between threadbare priests and their poor parishioners for funds too scarce to maintain clerical livings and church edifices. The terms that made court civility and country misery parts of the same contract is what McManners calls the post-Reformation "church-state alliance" whereby the church preached obedience, loaned money to the state, and provided its most lucrative benefices to parasitic nobles; while the state enforced confessional conformity and helped the church protect its property and extract the wealth from poor parishioners who served to support the whole intricate and top-heavy edifice. It is in this part of the book, the very first, where "we clamber, as it were," in McManners' poetic language, "amidst the joists and beams of this multifarious underpinning," that we also meet "with the peasants, the vast majority of the population," whose largely inarticulate faith sustained and justified the ecclesiastical establishment but whose main "role was to pay."

Much of the book is therefore about the structure and strictures of this clerical establishment and how the Christian people of France coped and maneuvered within and around it, making the compromises they had to and maintaining their integrity as best they could. Although these material and exploitative features of the church-state alliance would seem to be related to some of the causes of the French Revolution and its anticlericalism, this connection remains muted in McManners' telling by virtue of an immense historical empathy that gives his subjects the benefit of just about every doubt. No greater gap, for example, could be imagined than that between the ideal of disinterested religious vocation as prescribed by the theologians and seminary curricula and the reality of benefice hunting as described in utterly disillusioning detail by McManners. Yet McManners charitably refuses to pit self-interest and religious calling against each other in any adversarial way. In this autumn of French Christendom, when Catholicity was still synonymous with citizenship and religion was so omnipresent as to be virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the social and institutional furniture, religious vocation and material self-interest did not exclude one another, the vocation often waiting upon the benefice. Bishops as chameleon as Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand, Napoleon's future minister of foreign affairs, or as frivolous as Cardinal Edouard de Rohan, Louis XVI's Grand Almoner and dupe of one of the Old Regime's last and most infamous judicial-political affairs, were spectacular exceptions to the rule, even within an exclusively blue-blooded episcopacy.

This indeed is the main theme of book, namely that the Gallican Church and religion were “so woven into all the affairs of ordinary life that it could hardly be regarded as an aspect of human thought and action which could be regarded in isolation.” It is, hence, to illustrating this theme that the bulk of the two volumes are devoted, entailing, in McManners’ words, a detailed and loving description of “how everything worked . . . and how everyone lived.”³³ And it must be said that to the degree that the historian’s task is, as it were, to resurrect from the archives and evocatively describe the texture of some past state of affairs, McManners has no peer in the profession. Indeed, this book exudes so much beauty and charity that it will long survive as a masterpiece of historical literature quite apart from the information it conveys or the positions it takes on particular issues. But such is the exhaustive mining of the secondary literature combined with intimate familiarity with the primary sources that have gone into its making that it is not ever likely to become outdated on any matter of importance any time very soon. No review can do anything like justice to this book. It has to be lovingly lingered over and savored, cover to cover, all sixteen hundred pages.

But this penchant for description does not prevent McManners from staking out judicious positions on the most contentious of the historiographical issues of the day along the way. Two such issues stand out by the attention devoted to them: the evidence for and degree of dechristianization that took place in France before the French Revolution, and the nature of popular religion and its difference from orthodoxy.

On the first issue—and with the historiographical bent of recent years—McManners plays down the degree of the parting of paths between lay culture and Christianity as such before the French Revolution, prudently opting for the term “laicization” to describe trends during the Old Regime while reserving the more surgical term “dechristianization” for what began to happen during the Terror and beyond. He therefore gently takes issue with Michel Vovelle’s interpretation of evidence like the slump in clerical vocations, elaborate religious invocations in the preambles of wills, the number of bequests for Masses for deceased souls, or the names of saints used for merchant ships, and such as tantamount to a real falling off in religious belief or commitment.³⁴ True, the evidence of declining attendance at Mass and Easter communion among the educated classes in the cities is harder to quarrel with, and McManners gives it its full due. But the rest in his view is susceptible of too many other interpretations—more refined and reformed religious sensibilities in the case of invocations and bequests, the effect of the persecution of Jansenists and the expulsion of the Jesuits in the case of clerical vocations, to name just two—to demonstrate an inexorable trend in the direction of the well-known geography of religious non-practice in mid-twentieth-century France, much less that of the spectacular campaign against Christianity during the French Revolution. For dechristianization to occur, “the cataclysm of the Revolution was decisive,” and that cataclysm, at least in crucial particulars, was a contingency that was neither foreseeable nor in fact foreseen.³⁵

³³ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1: 2, 643.

³⁴ Michel Vovelle, *Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIII^e siècle: Les attitudes devant la mort d’après les clauses des testaments* (Paris, 1973).

³⁵ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1: 117.

On the issue of the existence and the nature of popular religion, McManners deftly picks his way through a minefield of conflicting interpretations, including Jean Delumeau's thesis of a residual and only superficially Christianized peasant paganism and Roger Muchembled's argument for the existence of an internally coherent and fundamentally magic popular culture.³⁶ Sensibly refusing to separate elite from popular cultures or versions of Christianity into hermetically sealed categories or—what often amounts to the same distinction—into residual and passive as opposed to evolving and imperial cultures, McManners at once insists on the inclusion of everything that was felt and believed in any given characterization of popular religion along with what may have been normatively Christian from a discriminating theological perspective. To the degree that the Catholicism of the reforming post-Tridentine clergy diverged from that of the peasants, McManners argues, this parting consisted in a growing emphasis on an articulate and individual faith and in an ever more punctilious distinction between things regarded as sacred and profane. Hence the gradual blurring of the once licit medieval distinction between the “explicit” faith of the theologians and the “implicit” faith of the “faithful,” entailing a clerical campaign against the perceivably profane admixtures in religious processions, the celebration of saints' feast days, and confraternal sociability, and the like that popular religion was unable to distinguish.

Whence also the “contradiction” (or conflict?) that McManners perceives at the center of this “golden age” of the Gallican Church and its Christianity: namely, the growing refusal of a reform-minded clergy to accept mere mass conformity and the many compromises with the world or the “profane” that the whole imposing edifice of the church and its alliance with the state presupposed. If it does not exactly figure into an account of the origins of the French Revolution, this “contradiction” helps all the same to explain some of the forms it later assumed, in particular the violent campaign of anticlerical dechristianization, which, radically secularized mutation though it was, came across to many of the peasants who endured it as an extension by more surgical means of the kind of clerical—in its most extreme form, Jansenist—Christianization that had preceded it.

Despite being written from the perspective of the Catholic Reformation looking forward, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France* is thus neither unmindful of the revolution that would end church and society as France had hitherto known them in the eighteenth century nor entirely innocent of a causal account of the origins and character of that revolution, even though thus to extract such an analytical skeleton from McManners' text is to do violence to the flesh of its thick description. Were such an explanation to be abstracted, it would stress, in addition to the growing “contradiction” already introduced, the siphoning off of so much of the church's wealth to support the social elites in high style as a function of the triangular relation between monarchy, church, and nobility; and the growing rift within the clergy itself, with priests speaking for their parishioners as well as themselves against their wealthy bishops, cathedral clergy, and much of the monastic establishment. To which mix of “causes” might be added the conceptual

³⁶ Jean Delumeau and Monique Cottret, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*, 6th edn. (Paris, 1996), 338–50; Robert Muchembled, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (XVI–XVIII^e siècles): Essai* (Paris, 1978).

imprisonment in precedents, the pervasiveness of hoary and inviolable rights cum privileges, and the structural inability of church and state to reform themselves, each other, or any of these injustices due to the interlocking relationship between them. This deadlocked state of affairs is characteristically illustrated by McManners when two of these injustices—the church’s excommunication of actors and the monarchy’s infamous excise tax on salt—curiously intersected and reinforced each other in the case of a troupe of actors in Le Havre who, stung by the local curé’s refusal to give one of their deceased members a sacred burial, kept his corpse pickled in brine in an attempt to preserve it long enough to appeal this judgment at Versailles, only to incur a fine from the local administrators of the royal salt monopoly for using untaxed salt.

Two other such “causes” relating to the church-state nexus belong in a category of their own in McManners’ analysis by virtue of the space allotted them and the recognition of religious conflict at variance with the general emphasis on consensus. Legacies of Louis XIV’s religious policies that his successors felt obliged to uphold, they are the church-state alliance’s persistence in persecuting Protestants from well before the formal revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes until the eve of the revolution, and the equally relentless attempt to suppress the Jansenist “heresy” within the Catholic Church during the same span of time. In the case of the Huguenots, the monarchy and church’s attempt to maintain the Revocation’s fiction that there were no more Protestants in France and to realize the ideal of “one faith, one law, one king” succeeded only in discrediting both church and state in enlightened opinion, in providing a compelling case for the separation of citizenship from Catholicity, and in creating religious skeptics or at best quite indifferent Catholics. The concurrent persecution of Jansenists was different in that it was far less pitiless and arose from a religious conflict that was intra-Catholic in character. That conflict nonetheless originated, as had Protestantism, in a Reformation-era controversy about divine grace, while Jansenists never ceased to be criminalized as crypto-Calvinists by reason of certain doctrinal similarities. But that only made the Jansenist conflict even more damaging to the alliance between Bourbon throne and Gallican altar because it strained that alliance from within and to the breaking point. Although “orthodoxy” as vindicated by the episcopacy and the monarchy got the better of the Jansenist “heresy” narrowly defined and in the longer run, it did not do so before transforming Jansenism’s metastasis into a politically contestatory movement, and a religious controversy into a general issue of intellectual honesty, as well as of the extent of both royal and ecclesiastical authority.³⁷

If one adds all these “causes” together, do they amount to a formula for a revolution such as the one that actually occurred? Probably not, at least in McManners’ opinion. That holds even if one factors in the “influence” of the Enlightenment, which, anti-Catholic—even anti-Christian—though in some moods it was in France, strikes McManners only as “a spectacular firework display on the horizon” of little immediate danger for the church.³⁸ For at this point, McManners discountenances conflict and, consistent with the current consensus on consensus, chooses, rather, to underscore the extent to which relations between the Gallican

³⁷ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1: 352, 397.

³⁸ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 1: 3.

Church and the Enlightenment were reciprocally porous, making for the possibility of a good deal of mutual civility and intellectual exchange, even for something Bernard Plongeron might call a “Christian *Aufklärung*” in France. “The idea that there was a formal battle between the Church and the Enlightenment,” writes McManners, “is derived from selective reading, as from the pastoral letters of fulminating prelates and the conspiratorial correspondence of philosophes,” adding that, even if there had been such an “organized battle,” there were also “frequent truces, a wide area of no man’s land, and numerous double agents.”³⁹ Much common ground was found in the gradual moralization of the Catholic message in the hands of its apologists and preachers, bringing it into closer proximity to philosophical “beneficence” as well as in the widespread recognition by philosophes of the social need for a revealed religion, and with it the indispensable virtues of the *bon curé*. The chief double agents were undoubtedly the century’s many abbé-philosophes, some of whom such as Etienne Bonnot, Abbé de Condillac, made important contributions to the literature and philosophy of the Enlightenment without perceiving any incompatibility with their faith. Toward the end of the century, the two sides also found common ground in the sentimental Rousseauian religion of the virtuous and sincere heart.

Yet there were at least two sides, most especially in France, where, as Plongeron and others’ survey of Europe and the Americas makes clear, the lines between Christianity and “reason” were more sharply drawn than anywhere else in the century of lights. These lines stand out yet more boldly in the light of Didier Massieu and Darrin McMahon’s recent and simultaneous insistence on the formation of a largely French Catholic “counter-Enlightenment”—the term is McMahon’s—after the expulsion of the Jesuits that tended to efface without eliminating the intra-Catholic Jansenist-Jesuit conflict and to become a counter-revolutionary religious Right before the fact.⁴⁰ But Massieu and McMahon’s work should not be allowed to obscure the existence of three sides in France: the party of philosophical “reason,” as the philosophe Jean Le Rond d’Alembert called it; the party of “devout” Catholics closely associated with the cause of the Jesuits or that of the *zelanti*, as the Italians called them; and the party of Jansenist Catholics. That triangular pattern of conflict was also much more salient in France in comparison to the rest of Catholic Europe, where the cause of “lights” shaded much more imperceptibly into what was called “Jansenism” and where the worst polarizing effects of the Jansenist controversy for Catholicism were not felt until the late 1760s or early 1770s, just when they had begun to recede in France.

The price paid by McManners for emphasizing the degree of consensus rather than of division between the Gallican Church and its philosophic opponents is not a heavy one because the book stops in 1789. For the battle between French Catholics and philosophical unbelievers does little by way of explaining the origins and outbreak of the French Revolution, even though McMahon’s anti-Enlightenment is peopled with Catholic publicists who repeatedly prophesy an event like the

³⁹ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2: 230.

⁴⁰ Didier Massieu, *Les ennemis des philosophes: L’antiphilosophie au siècle des Lumières* (Paris, 2000); and Darrin McMahon, *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity* (New York, 2001).

French Revolution, including its anti-Catholic character. As for the immediate causes of the revolution and its initial conflict with the church, these remain for McManners the usual suspects: the monarchy's fiscal crisis and disastrous bankruptcy, the revolutionary Constituent Assembly's wholesale nationalization and sale of church property, but above all the deputies' single-minded "zeal for national sovereignty and the conviction of their own rectitude," leading them to elaborate and enforce an ecclesiastical reform (the Civil Constitution of the Clergy) "without respect for the canonical means by which ecclesiastical decisions are made."⁴¹ But this analysis stops short of explaining some of the later aspects of the revolution, in particular why anticlericalism had to assume the form of an all-out attack on Christianity beginning in 1793 and lasting until Napoleon put an end to it in 1799.

THE PHENOMENON OF REVOLUTIONARY DECHRISTIANIZATION might conceivably have remained peripheral to Plongeron's vision as well because, while his *Défis de la modernité*'s chronological span of 1750 to 1840 obliges it to deal more directly with the French Revolution, its worldwide purview might also have minimized it. Although Western Europe incontestably occupies the core of this volume's concerns, its ecumenical coverage takes in Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Uniate, and Maronite varieties of Christianity and reaches just about every corner of the globe. The volume's topical and thematic range is equally encompassing. Although the toleration of high intellectual history is greater than McManners', this, too, is a history of Christian cultures as displayed by the practices of ordinary people as well as in the thought of theologians; indeed, one of the major themes of Plongeron's synthesis is the Christian laity's coming of age and into its spiritual heritage. And it is on the strength of the distinction between the very often sclerotic ecclesiastical establishments and Christians with or without their churches that Plongeron is able to sustain the book's principal thesis that Christianity was as much the chrysalis as the casualty of "modernity," that Christianity not only reacted to the "challenges" of modernity but was in many instances one of the forms that the challenge of modernity took. By "modernity," Plongeron means mainly the laicization of thought as expressed in the Enlightenment and the advent of democracy and the national state as the final forms of political legitimacy. For despite the book's final section dealing with the midwifery of Christianity in the genesis of early socialist thought, neither science nor the industrial revolution receives very much attention as such.

Yet the problem of explaining dechristianization looms much larger for Plongeron than for McManners because his *Défis de la modernité* allows itself to be overwhelmed by the French Revolution. The coverage of the rest of the world thus highlights rather than minimizes French exceptionalism, while the thesis that Christianity was no necessary enemy to political modernity demands that the apparent antithesis of its spectacular clash with the French Revolution be explained. The closing of the churches, the profanation of the paraphernalia of worship, the iconoclastic destruction of Christian iconography, the cultural assault on Christian time and space in the form of the revolutionary calendar and changes

⁴¹ McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-Century France*, 2: 744.

in place names, and the active persecution of the clergy ranging from massacre to forced marriages and abdications of the priesthood—all of this counter-evidence to the volume's principal thesis did indeed materialize in the course of the revolution and perforce lies at the heart of Plongeron's problematic. While McManners could safely keep the "spectacular firework display" of enlightened skepticism on his "horizon," Plongeron's volume must deal much more directly with the lethal firestorm of dechristianization at its center.

Nor is the problem made any easier by the fact that Plongeron shares so much of McManners' basic perspective, despite a very different style and historiographical approach. Plongeron maintains McManners' orientation from the Protestant and Tridentine reformations looking forward in the face of his emphasis on the revolution while also going along with the recent tendency to stress the degree of consensus rather than conflict. But in contrast to McManners, whose emphasis on consensus between French Catholicism and the philosophes is balanced by a full account of the conflicts within French Christianity, Plongeron's consensus embraces the relations not only between Catholicism and the Enlightenment—collaborators, in his view, in the making of "modernity"—but also between Jansenists and their "devout" enemies. Plongeron even extends McManners' skepticism about the reliability of the external indices of dechristianization into the very eye of the revolutionary hurricane, provocatively comparing the French Catholic laity's often clandestine assumption of the functions of Christian worship and instruction in the absence of their persecuted priests to the often clergy-less and lay character of the incontestably vital revivalistic Christianity on the American frontier. Like the alterations in religious practice imposed by that frontier, the experience of dechristianization in France may have signified a mutation in the forms and experience of the Christian message but not the beginning of its end. Why, then, did Christianity so obviously come to blows with modernity in the political form of democracy and nationalism during the French Revolution, culminating, in Plongeron's words, in "the persecution of Christianity in the dechristianizing follies" of the fall of 1793, whereby the revolution presented a "counter-image to the one which [it] wished to project?"⁴² Taking a position against "prophets in the past tense" and the kind of political-cultural determinism toward which François Furet's last publications point, Plongeron's answers to this question perforce place a heavy burden on its analysis of the contingencies of the "revolutionary event" itself.

With McManners, the first contingency that Plongeron singles out is the revolution's surgical and unilateral "reform" of the Gallican Church in the form of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy while giving equal if not more emphasis to the singularly unfortunate form of the papal brief of condemnation, *Cum Aliquantum*. By concentrating its anathemas on the "unbridled equality and liberty" proclaimed in the tenth and eleventh articles of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, Pius VI needlessly condemned the French Revolution root and branch and cemented the schism between constitutional and refractory clergies. And "by precisely reversing the intentions of the writers of the Declaration of 1789," Pius VI deemed that the upshot of the new constitution was "to destroy the Catholic religion and, with it, the

⁴² Plongeron, *Les défis de la modernité*, 8.

obedience to kings,” thereby making these into self-confirming assumptions.⁴³ Other crucial contingencies pointed to by Plongeron along the way are the shock of the sudden “transfer of sacrality” from the king to the “fatherland in danger” and the fatal “politicization of the faith” in the wake of the dethronement of the king in the summer of 1792, to which he adds the total breakdown of politics in the form of a “lawful State” under the impact of war in combination with the “internal crisis” of the National Convention’s two chief committees, those of General Security and Public Safety. All of these contingencies Plongeron esteems more important than any dechristianizing “philosophy.”⁴⁴ The effect of the religious terror was reinforced by the ongoing schism between constitutional and refractory clergies and in particular the refractory clergy’s refusal to accept the validity of sacraments administered by the constitutional rivals, a schism that Plongeron provocatively argues did more permanent damage to religious practice in France than the whole Terror put together.

One welcome implication of Plongeron’s choice of circumstances is the crucial importance of the religious conflict in the making of the Terror. Although the book does not explicitly make this connection, it is there for the taking. And taking it helps to recover the neglected insights of a much older and classic historiography best embodied by nineteenth-century historian Edgar Quinet in reaction to the French Second Empire and Albert Mathiez during the Third Republic.⁴⁵ Without the religious schism, no popular blockade of the king’s attempt to go to Saint-Cloud in order to take Easter communion from a non-constitutional priest in 1791; without this incident, no religious motive for the king and queen to flee Paris and get arrested at Varennes; without Varennes, no obvious complicity between the royal couple and the queen’s brother, the Austrian emperor; without Austrian complicity, one less *casus belli* between Austria and France; and without the war beginning with Austria, no excuse for the declaration of “revolutionary,” that is unconstitutional, government, and a far less obvious field for a possible Terror. But neither this “circumstance” nor any of the others goes very far to explain the particular form that the Terror took where religion was concerned, that of dechristianization, or “de-fanaticization,” a term Plongeron considers less anachronistic and closer to contemporary usage. But by whatever name it goes, this religious Terror spared neither Catholic constitutional nor Protestant clergies, nor even Jewish synagogues and rabbis, making its target difficult to construe as anything less than revealed religion as such. What is not clear, in other words, and what remains unexplained by any set of uniquely revolutionary “circumstances,” is why “de-fanaticization” had to take this drastic and total cultural form in France rather than, say, an anticlericalism directed exclusively against the Catholic clergy or that portion of it that had defined itself against the revolution, as in the hanging of bishops who had collaborated with the Russians in the Polish independence uprising led by Tadeusz Kościuszko in 1794.

Nor is the “circumstance” of the Civil Constitution purely circumstantial, seeing

⁴³ Plongeron, *Les défis de la modernité*, 336.

⁴⁴ Plongeron, *Les défis de la modernité*, 348, 303–04.

⁴⁵ Albert Mathiez, *Rome et le clergé français sous la Constituante* (Paris, 1911), 1; and Edgar Quinet, *La Révolution*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (Paris, 1865), 2: 132–80.

that behind its provisions lay the structural inability of all parties to its making to conceive of a state unsupported by some kind of "national religion," which in the case of France could only be a version of Catholicism. Indeed, no one has more convincingly demonstrated this point than Plongeron himself, not only in this book but also in his magisterial and still authoritative *Théologie et politique au siècle des lumières*.⁴⁶ As Edgar Quinet already observed as early as 1860, the idea of separating church from state was apparently all but a conceptual impossibility in France in 1789.⁴⁷ Whence the Constituent Assembly's attempt to refashion Catholicism into a national church and religion, which, when condemned by the papacy, rent the new nation apart and culminated in schism, intolerance, and religious terror. Whence, too, the Directorial republic's inability to leave well enough alone when, after the state formally and finally cut its losses with what remained of the constitutional church in 1795, this church tried to take advantage of the government's brief experiment with separation to try to reconstitute itself as a free and independent "Gallican" Church. In a particularly lucid chapter entitled "The Impossible Secularity [*laïcité*] of the Republican State," Plongeron underscores the "French exception": namely, the continuing incapacity of the successive revolutionary governments to put their "reflexes of Christendom" behind them and to think themselves out of the box of an "amalgamation between State, religion, worship and 'opinions.'" ⁴⁸ By the end of the revolution, the result was a supposedly lay state with a strongly negative but still unmistakably religious charge that successively sponsored moralistic and deistic theophilanthropy and then civic celebrations as antidotes to Catholicism, giving rise in so doing to a two-centuries-long militantly lay republican tradition and a state that, as Marcel Gauchet has recently observed, has all but lost its reason for existence now that virtually nobody in France goes to church anymore.⁴⁹

"The French exception"—the phrase is that of Abbé Henri Grégoire in his speech of December 21, 1794, before the National Convention calling for the liberty of religious observance and an end to the state's persecution of Catholicism. But does this French exceptionalism consist solely in the incapacity to conceive of a genuinely lay and religiously plural state or rather in the peculiarly anti-Christian form that this incapacity took in revolutionary France? Surely the latter, since, as this volume as a whole amply testifies, the convictions that all civil order perforce rested on religious foundations and that these foundations ought to find expression in a formally privileged church were common to all European states, whether empires, national monarchies, or republics, Catholic, Protestant, or Orthodox. Together with the deep-seated fear that religious division spelled civil disunity, these assumptions may be regarded as a principal legacy of Europe's post-Reformation confessional states behind which lurked the nostalgia for a once supposedly seamless Christendom.

Yet nowhere else in the prerevolutionary Europe surveyed in this volume did a similar consensus stand in the way of a good deal of de facto religious toleration, even

⁴⁶ Bernard Plongeron, *Théologie et politique au siècle des lumières, 1770–1820* (Geneva, 1973).

⁴⁷ Quinet, *La Révolution*, 1: 125–26.

⁴⁸ Plongeron, *Les défis de la modernité*, 432.

⁴⁹ Marcel Gauchet, *La religion dans la démocratie: Parcours de la laïcité* (Paris, 1998).

in enlightened Catholic absolutisms like Habsburg Austria or Tuscany, where de facto turned into de jure toleration much sooner than in France, where Protestants in contrast had to wait for a begrudging recognition of their civil existence until 1788. Plongeron's chief counter-evidence is of course the incontestably cruel expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, France, Spain, Parma, and Naples followed by papal dissolution of the Society of Jesus under Bourbon dynastic pressure in 1773.⁵⁰ Yet this dynastically conducted expulsion of the Jesuits is problematic as evidence of religious intolerance. Religious passions played a decisive role only in France, where Jansenists based in the law courts were able to seize the initiative against a reluctant monarchy, while elsewhere Jansenists could at best advise and consent to the initiative of monarchies that proceeded against the Jesuits perceived as agents of the papacy's rival temporal power and, justly or unjustly, as symbols of religious intolerance in their own right. When, even after the Terror, Catholicism itself remained an object of sporadic persecution in France, the expansionist Directory's peculiarly intolerant version of separation of church and state found very few indigenous adepts outside of France, where it represented at most a temporary if lastingly traumatic episode when imposed on the Italian and Genevan "sister republics" and those parts of Western Europe later annexed to France such as the Rhineland, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Nowhere else, despite would-be Jacobins like Baron Jarlsberg in Denmark, a Georg Forster in Mainz or a Sebastiano Biagini in Genoa, does it seem imaginable that a revolution would have culminated in anything resembling French revolutionary "dechristianization."

Plongeron is no doubt right to stress the limitations of the enlightened concept of "toleration" in the eighteenth century as understood everywhere and not just in France, even as articulated by one of the most generous prerevolutionary Catholic treatises on the subject, which began with the dictum that "one approves only what is good, one tolerates what is bad."⁵¹ This limited notion of toleration, argues Plongeron, constitutes an area of consensus uniting all parties to the eighteenth-century conversation, Protestants, Catholics, and philosophes alike, who also concurred on the "social utility" of religion and hence the need for a dominant confession within each state. The notion of "social utility" thus represents another area of consensus between enlightened critics and orthodox defenders of Christianity as well as between different confessional claimants to orthodoxy, all of whom unwisely, in Plongeron's opinion, walked into a philosophical trap, choosing to defend Christianity on perilously flat and this-worldly ground. This consensus perforce includes the otherwise diverse tendencies within Catholicism itself and French Catholicism in particular, tendencies Plongeron labels the "devout model" on the one side and that of the "Christian *Aufklärung*" on the other.

Under the label of Christian *Aufklärung*, Plongeron tends to group those currents including both Catholic Jansenism and Protestant Pietism that called for a reform of "despotic" hierarchical and clerical ecclesiastical structures, often in the

⁵⁰ Treated in the third chapter entitled "La modernité affrontée aux appareils d'églises," esp. 179–81.

⁵¹ [Pietro Tamburini and Giuseppe Zola], *De la tolérance ecclésiastique et civile, ouvrage composé en Latin; Par Thadée de Trautmansdorff, compte du Saint Empire Romain, chanoine de l'église métropolitaine d'Olmütz, et élève du Collège Germanique Hongrois de Pavie; Traduit par le citoyen P. S. S.* (Paris, 1796), 1.

name of an image of the early church, and also stood for the legitimate use of "reason" as opposed to "blind obedience" on the assumption of the progressive maturation of humanity in alliance with a continuing faith in revelation. It is a little less clear what currents or groups Plongeron wishes to designate by the "devout model" except that, closer to Catholic orthodoxy and at home with papal infallibility, they include the Jesuits and their lay devotional confraternities along with what remained of the previous century's mystical and missionary impulses as institutionalized in new devotions like that to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and in domestic missions like those of Alfonso de' Liguori in the Kingdom of Naples. What is clear, however, is that Plongeron sinks both Jansenists and Jesuits into a larger pool of Catholic consensus, drawing as both groups did from common theological and spiritual springs and aspiring alike to complete the Tridentine project of the moralization of the many. Equally clear is his opinion that neither group was blind to the century's secular lights despite Plongeron's decision to reserve the term *Aufklärung* for only one of the two tendencies, a term he is reluctant to translate because of the connotations of incredulity carried by most of the translations.

Whatever the merits of the analysis of the elements of consensus at issue, the decision to stress the substratum of consensus that made debate possible is entirely legitimate in general. It is probably also the right one, at least for the Catholic Europe outside France and until 1770 personified by such irenic and enlightened ecclesiastical scholars and publicists as Ludovico Muratori in Parma and Feyjoo y Montenegro in Spain. But in view of the book's overall emphasis on the French Revolution and the problem of French exceptionalism, the decision taken in the prerevolutionary chapters to dissolve the acrimonious and until 1770 mainly French Jansenist controversy into a European-wide difference between a Christian *Aufklärung* and devout Catholicity and then further to diffuse this tension into the Europe of diverse "lights" is perhaps not the most strategic one. Because one of the things that most stands out about Enlightenment France in comparison to the rest of Catholic Europe—indeed, to Protestant Europe as well—is precisely the persistence and bitterness of Reformation-vintage religious controversies in the form of both persecution of Protestants and the Jansenist conflict as well as the pointedly anti-Christian bent of French *lumières*. These French religious divisions resurface clearly and often enough during the revolution in Plongeron's own analyses to have warranted more sustained attention to what divided Catholics from each other as well as from the encyclopedic Enlightenment, and to how and to what extent the revolution inherited these Old Regime divisions while refracting them in new and unpredictable ways.⁵² It is not as though either the Old Regime's state-perpetrated inter and intra-confessional conflicts or the anti-Christian strain in the French Enlightenment or even the two of them together suffice to "explain" the religious divisions of the revolution or the dechristianizing phase of the Terror without the intervening "circumstances" that Plongeron invokes. But they would seem to be necessary conditions in any such explanation and therefore in the resolution of the problem of French exceptionalism that lies at the heart of this volume. Dechris-

⁵² For example, the "doctrinal front" and "spiritual affinities" that Plongeron discerns among Mulotin missionaries and Sulpiciens in the counter-revolutionary Vendée against "Jansenists . . . libertines [and] Huguenots"; *Les défis de la modernité*, 407.

tianization had to be latent as a possibility in French culture in order to occupy the space opened up for it by the extraordinary “circumstances” of the year II. Of crucial importance because unique to France in the eighteenth century are the chronic and poignantly polarizing controversies over access to and the validity of the sacraments that not only defined citizenship before the revolution but also constituted the sole authorized channels of grace and salvation after the Council of Trent. The “politicization of the faith” in the summer of 1792 and the refusal of the refractory clergy to recognize the validity of baptisms and marriages solemnized by the constitutional clergy throughout the revolution had full dress rehearsals in the controversy over the refusal of sacraments to Jansenists in the 1750s and the refusal of the church-state alliance to recognize the legitimacy of Protestant baptisms and marriages throughout much of the Old Regime in France.

The relation between the persecution of Protestants, the intensity and longevity of the Jansenist controversy in France, and the anti-Christian “lights” there was not merely negative—although it was no doubt at least that—but also both positive and dialectical. For Jansenism’s tendency to restrict grace to the few and far between and Augustinian critique of “despotic” usurpations of divine sovereignty in church and state ironically opened up space for the “philosophical” proponents of a militantly lay morality and an even more overtly desacralized state, who were able briefly to preempt the public space when the “circumstances” of the revolution permitted it. But, whatever this relation, it is hard to formulate it with so little attention to the chief components. Aside from the brief description of the refusal of sacraments controversy in the first chapter, the book contains no sustained treatment of the Jansenist quarrel, the confrontation between Catholicism and enlightened unbelief in France, or for that matter the persecution of Protestants, who remain as invisible in this volume as in Old Regime law. As individuals, Jansenists people Plongeron’s France from beginning to the end, sometimes for the better but mainly for the worse. But Jansenism tends to fall between the chapters, appearing as such only outside its natural habitat, as in Claude Michaud’s *Austria* and Mario Rosa’s *Italy*s.

It is, alas, the lot of thesis-oriented books to stimulate the formulation of antitheses. But this quarrel aside—and it is strictly a family quarrel—Plongeron’s spirited synthesis has the immense merit of formulating the conflict between Christianity and the French Revolution as a thorny problem to be resolved rather than as the foregone conclusion of a century of “enlightenment,” thereby taking on the still-influential metanarrative of the “progress” of reason and modernity at the expense of the faith and tradition in one of its original and still most formidable redoubts.

The book also effectively relativizes the French Revolution and its conflictual pattern between Christianity and political modernity by posing alternative models available to the same generations that made or endured it. The most salient such alternative presented in this volume is undoubtedly that of the American Revolution in which the legacy of Puritan Dissent combined with Scottish “common-sense” empiricism provided fertile ground in which a Catholicism at once Roman and committed to democracy might take root. Decisive participation by Catholics alongside “liberals” in the revolts and independence movements of Mexico, Central

and South America, and Belgium in 1830 resulted in a second Catholic alternative to the French conflictual model: that of an established Catholic Church together with the institutionalization of religious toleration. The arresting role of established Greek Orthodox churches in competition with various Enlightenments in the forging of national identities in the Greek and Slavic Balkans provides yet a third alternative model. Along the way, Plongeron and his collaborators have ample leisure to savor the cornucopia of Christianities and linger over the variety of national "lights," *lumi*, *luc*, *lumières*, and *verlichten*, no one of which was entirely the equivalent of the other but all of which seem equally alien to the anti-Christian strain in French encyclopedism.

A fourth and final alternative is suggested by the conspicuous participation of patriotic Catholic curés in the French Revolution—not the real revolution, this alternative model, but one that might have occurred and came close to realization in the brief experiment with a free and collegially structured constitutional Catholic Church in a (in principle) religiously neutral republic between 1795 and 1801, only to be extinguished by Bonaparte's concordat with the papacy in 1801. This is a possibility embodied by Abbé Grégoire, who, elected constitutional bishop of Blois and a deputy in three of the revolution's four legislative assemblies, combined an audacious and often pioneering involvement in just about all of the aspects of the revolution with an intrepid fidelity to his Catholicism and calling as a constitutional bishop. Plongeron's alter ego and key to many of his interpretive strategies, Grégoire incarnates most of the political and intellectual "transactions with modernity" adumbrated in this volume and would seem to be a real enough rebuke to all narrative versions of Catholicism's "inevitable" falling out with the French Revolution. After the revolution was clearly over and his *patrie* had clearly failed him, he further universalized his concerns, interesting himself in the cause of faith and liberty in just about all of the parts of Christendom surveyed in this volume.⁵³

BUT, AS RITA HERMON-BELOT HAS RECENTLY REMINDED US, the revolution that occurred is not—the understatement of two centuries—the revolution that Grégoire and his fellow patriot priests had hoped for.⁵⁴ By so precipitously radicalizing a gradual and European-wide secular emancipation of areas of thought and activity from churchly tutelage and control, it imposed its own polarities on France and then the rest of Europe until the present day. Although the Fifth Republic belatedly pantheonized Grégoire as one of the great men of the revolution on the occasion of the bicentennial celebration in 1989—most specifically for his role in the enfranchisement of African slaves and Jews—no amount of rewriting history is going to replace Robespierre with Grégoire as the standard personification of the French Revolution. Nor, despite being ethnically Jewish, was the archbishop of Paris willing to participate in a civic ceremony that honored a Catholic clergyman

⁵³ On Grégoire's "universalism" in a Haitian context, see Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall, "Exporting the Revolution: Grégoire, Haiti and the Colonial Laboratory, 1815–1827," in *The Abbé Grégoire and His World*, Jeremy D. and H. Richard Popkin, eds. (Dordrecht, 2000), 41–69. On the same subject, look also for Sepinwall, *Regenerating the World: The Abbé Grégoire, the French Revolution, and the Making of Modern Universalism* (Berkeley, Calif., forthcoming).

⁵⁴ Rita Hermon-Belot, *L'abbé Grégoire: La politique de la vérité* (Paris, 2000).

who remained unwilling to disavow his oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, the memory of which replaced the anti-Jansenist papal bull *Unigenitus* as the chief symbol of division among the French Catholic clergy in the first half of the nineteenth century. In imposing its polarities on the future of Christendom, the French Revolution also recast the past in its own image, obscuring religious divisions in which it did not wish to recognize itself, underscoring the line between enlightenment and religious "obscurity," and minimizing the degree of agreement except among those whom it identified as the future counter-revolutionaries. It is the legitimate goal of the historian's craft to rectify this record, restoring contingency and consensus where the revolution and many of its historians have wanted to see inevitability and progress by way of conflict. But even consensus has its limits, being only the necessary context for meaningful controversy. And unless the conflicts of the revolution are altogether *sui generis*, they will have their way at the end of the day, even if the emphasis on contingency makes the question of origins more intriguing and the accent on consensus recasts the question of what antecedent conflicts are most pertinent and worthy of attention.

McManners and Plongeron's *summae* therefore complement each other not only in style, historiographical approach, and chronological and geographical coverage but also in their emphases and silences, with the continuity of the conflicts described by McManners providing a context for the revolutionary ruptures at the core of Plongeron's volume. Considered together, these volumes suggest the conclusion that neither the Terror nor its dechristianizing phase can be entirely understood without reference to the multi-secular conflicts within French Christianity as well as those between Christianity and eighteenth-century lights. Nor for that matter is the French Enlightenment entirely intelligible except in relation to the prerevolutionary conflicts within the Gallican Church. Although the late Robert Palmer may well not have agreed, the conflicts of *The Age of the Democratic Revolution* still cannot be fully understood without reference to those between *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth-Century France*.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

JAMES C. SCOTT and NINA BHATT, editors. *Agrarian Studies: Synthetic Work at the Cutting Edge*. (Yale Agrarian Studies Series; Yale ISPS Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 310. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$14.00.

James C. Scott and Nina Bhatt's selection of papers from the proceedings of the Yale Program in Agrarian Studies since its 1991 inauguration presents a fascinating miscellany of reflections on the study of rural society and its problems. The chosen authors range across South Asia and Europe between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, joining theoretical discussion to finely judged empirical illustrations in the best of crossdisciplinary ways. Of course, Scott is one of the few genuinely pandisciplinary voices in this area. Originally a political scientist working on Malaysian elites, he has authored an enviable succession of field-defining books during the past quarter-century, beginning with *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (1976), continuing through the closely related *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985) and *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (1990), and culminating most recently in *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (1998), not to speak of his wider influence exercised through conferences, edited volumes, and repeatedly cited essays.

Scott first entered this area in the heyday of "peasant studies" signaled by the launching of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* in Britain (1973) and the *Peasant Studies Newsletter* in the United States (1972), and it is instructive to measure the current volume against that earlier moment of interdisciplinary innovation. Most obviously, peasant studies belonged firmly to a materialist context of critical social science, driven by angry dissatisfaction with modernization theory and development economics, by affinities with Marxist political economy, by political sympathy for peasant-based guerrilla insurgencies in the Third World, and with a strong accent on twentieth-century Latin America, Africa, and South and Southeast Asia rather than Europe. Such work was inspired by a variety of approaches subsequently shedding much of their pres-

tige, including world systems theory, historical sociologies of backwardness, anthropological work centered on political economy (citing Eric R. Wolf rather than Clifford C. Geertz), sociologies of rural protest emphasizing land occupations and food riots, and studies of landholding systems, rural markets, and household economics.

The intervening trajectories of scholarship on agrarian societies, while immensely ramified and diverse, reflect the general transition during the later 1980s and early 1990s from materialist epistemologies to "culturalist" ones stressing the contingencies and constructedness of subjectivity, meaning, and perception. One of the most fascinating such trajectories, with continuing impact on studies of the peasantry in various parts of the world, has been that of the South Asian *Subaltern Studies* collective, which in its eleven volumes and wider repertoire of publication since 1982 reflects the movement from social history into forms of cultural studies in an especially challenging way. The third of the four sections in the volume under review, presenting South Asian samples of "Agrarian and Environmental Histories" by Paul Greenough, David Arnold, and David Ludden, connects directly with that body of work, although Ludden's essay is less a case study than a sometimes oversimplifying general critique. With their reconstructions of the complex ecologies of colonial India, Greenough and Arnold show the importance of continuing to integrate the social into the ascendant forms of cultural analysis, while Ludden addresses the same argument to *Subaltern Studies* in general.

The two essays in the first section of the book on the relationship between the social relations of peasant household economics and the exigencies of state formation in early modern Central Europe, by Peter Taylor and Hermann Rebel, show a similar commitment. If the larger ambition of these two authors remains hugely problematic, seeking a causal relationship between the sociocultural consequences of peasant families' dispossession of their younger sons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the deadly disposal of unwanted lives during the Holocaust, the richness of the immediate analysis still remains. Each unites sophisticated command of demography, law, the

fiscal and military needs of the state, and the dynamics of peasant economics with creative cultural readings.

For many historians formed in the glory days of social history, the later turns to cultural analysis have involved fewer conversions and epiphanies than careful syntheses, which deepen and diversify an accumulating body of knowledge rather than striking out in radically distinct directions. Each of the two essays in the volume's second section on "Agricultural Production and the Peasant Experience" exemplify this. Peter Jones deploys his unsurpassed knowledge of the peasantry during the French Revolution to reaffirm the importance of a "social" interpretation, lucidly reminding the admirers of François Furet and other revisionists that public languages and Parisian decrees had a complicated and uncertain fate in the countryside. Liana Vardi's essay on the social images of rural life in early modern painting and poetry excellently illustrates how much social historians have learned from literary critics and historians of art.

The last section, on "Economic Histories, Local Markets, and Sustainable Development," completes the circle, looping back to some of peasant studies' founding concerns. Using an analysis of market struggles in 1970s Kerala, classically reminiscent of those pioneering debates, Ronald J. Herring builds a sympathetic critique of Karl Polanyi's *The Great Transformation* (1944), one of the field's foundational texts. Herman E. Daly mounts a compelling critique of neoclassical methods in the name of sustainable development. Finally, Hans Medick succinctly affirms the theoretical advantages of "micro-history," decisively refuting earlier accusations by social science historians that the approach entailed a retreat from theory and the "big questions" into a trivializing fascination with the particular. By drawing astutely on his own intensive account of the southwest German village of Laichingen between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, Medick shows "that concentrating on limited fields of investigation—whether villages, urban quarters, social groups, or one or several individuals—enables a qualitative enlargement of historical reconstructions and interpretations" (p. 287). Given the origins of his own research in the prevailing methodological and epistemological trends of the 1970s, Medick's essay beautifully marks the distance from the Chayanovian problematic of "proto-industrialization" where he began. Culture is given its due, in this case via the Pietist habitus and outlook of the Laichingen peasants. If the final analytic becomes "culturalist," then the earlier materialism remains hardwired into its practice.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

RICHARD H. STECKEL and JEROME C. ROSE, editors. *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the West-*

ern Hemisphere. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xx, 633. \$75.00.

The origins of this long-awaited study can be traced back to the late 1980s, when a group of anthropologists concluded that much could be learned from combining the research methodologies of economic historians and physical anthropologists in order to measure health trends among Native American, European-American, and African-American populations living in the New World before the twentieth century. During the 1990s, scholars convened at three major conferences where they shared the findings of their individual research projects. This book, edited by anthropologists Richard H. Steckel and Jerome C. Rose, includes twenty-two essays that analyze long-term trends in human health throughout the Western Hemisphere from 5,000 B.C. to the late nineteenth century. Of the 12,520 individuals from sixty-five sites whose skeletal remains were analyzed in these studies, eighty percent derived from Native Americans, while the rest were from individuals of African and European descent. The geographic origins of the samples varied widely: two-thirds came from North America, twelve percent from Mesoamerica, and twenty-two percent from South America; slightly over half of the remains dated from the period before 1492.

This volume is particularly important for several reasons: first, all of the data were uniformly coded, enabling scholars to make valuable comparisons between populations; second, the size and diversity of the data by region, time, and ethnic groups is unequalled; third, the project was designed to facilitate interdisciplinary collaboration; and fourth, the questions posed by these researchers are broader in scope than those raised in the past.

All of this work has culminated in the creation of a health index for the Americas that reveals differences and similarities across time and space and between ethnic groups. From the skeletal and dental remains available, researchers identified seven types of lesions that revealed much about the health of the individuals under examination. Changes in the length of long bones indicate differences in nutrition and general health and serve as a nonspecific indicator of stress. Linear enamel hypoplasias signal disruption in growth during infancy and childhood and indicate stress. Porotic hyperstosis, lesions of the skull and long bones, are associated with iron deficiency and anemia related to a poor diet, which in the Americas usually meant a diet largely reliant on corn. Bony responses indicate bacterial infections. Patterns of healed fractures often indicate warfare, interpersonal violence, or occupational hazards. Evidence of osteoarthritis often indicates repetitive strenuous activity, in many cases associated with hard physical exertion. Dental decay and tooth loss are often indicative of high carbohydrate consumption and poor nutrition. Taken together, these factors have enabled scholars to measure both

the quality and average length of life of populations in the Americas before the nineteenth century.

Following an introductory overview and a discussion of methodology, the body of the book is comprised of fourteen essays, divided into four sections, organized by ethnic group and geographic location (European Americans and African Americans in North America, Native Americans in Central America, Native Americans and European Americans in South America, and Native Americans in North America). In a masterfully written conclusion, the editors condense and refine the findings from individual contributors to conclude that while the quality and length of life varied significantly from one society to another, overall, human health declined throughout the pre-Columbian period as indigenous societies became increasingly complex. Members of hunting-gathering societies enjoyed significantly better health than those individuals who lived in more complex, densely populated communities. The research presented here also documents the continued decline of health indicators for Native Americans, as well as for European Americans and African Americans after 1492. In their concluding remarks, the editors also emphasize the need for continued skeletal research, especially in the areas of diet and nutrition and DNA analysis.

Because this book incorporates the research of many contributors, and because the materials that the authors had available varied significantly from one site to another, the essays included in this text are of necessity somewhat uneven in quality and detail. That in no way diminishes the fact that this is a significant book that will define the emerging field of macrobioarchaeology for years to come. As such, it is required reading for all scholars interested in the study of long-term trends in human health, not only in the Americas but in the rest of the world as well.

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KENNETH J. BANKS. *Chasing Empire across the Sea: Communications and the State in the French Atlantic, 1713–1763*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 319. \$65.00.

The history of French colonies in the Americas, especially that of the era prior to 1763, is terra incognita to most scholars. True, some progress has been made in the last two decades, in part because of the growing interest in the Haitian Revolution. Scholars interested in comparative colonialism will find that Kenneth J. Banks's work complements historiographical trends in British North American and Latin American studies. Students of the French colonies in the Americas will thank him for his honest and unprecedented effort to examine France's relations with the settlements at Quebec, New Orleans, and Saint Pierre, Martinique, the commercial capital of the French Windward Islands.

The central thrust of the book is that although Louis

XIV was able to impose on paper "a genuinely absolutist power structure in the French Americas" (p. 22), he and his successors faced difficulties that inhibited their authority. The bureaucracy at Versailles and the hierarchy of the sword and robe establishments in the colonies looked impressive. Louis XIV and especially Jean-Baptiste Colbert demanded that officials produce an ever-increasing volume of information by which the center could govern far-flung and diverse colonial peripheries. Banks gives the impression that the process occurred more quickly than in fact it did.

Chapters two and thereafter are the meat of the book. They trace the patterns of communication from Paris to the Atlantic ports and from there to various colonial destinations and then trace flows of information within and between the colonies. Chapter two, for example, discusses how the news of the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 reached the Atlantic settlements. Information reached Martinique very quickly, whereas remote Louisiana did not hear of the peace until early 1714. The king's ship to Quebec never arrived. A subsequent chapter describes the different celebrations that the birth of the dauphin in 1729 occasioned in the colonial capitals, from quite impressive ones at fortress Quebec to none in crisis-ridden New Orleans.

Banks details the warp and woof of weaving together an early modern "empire." Accounts of the average times it took to get letters from Paris to the great naval arsenal of Rochefort and from there to the various colonies consume many pages. Dispatches to and from the Caribbean could be completed in six to eight months, but they took far longer elsewhere, leading Banks to conclude that "The state could be only as strong as its recent dispatches" (p. 64).

In chapter three, Banks emulates Ian Steele in undermining the notion that oceans provided serious barriers to royal or private mercantile communications with the colonies. Royal orders were far less effective in difficult-to-approach riverine continental North American capitals than in islands easily reached by sailing ships. Banks describes the usual routes taken to the Caribbean, Louisiana, and New France and explains the hazards encountered in each. Table 3.1 gives the sailing times for a variety of eighteenth-century expeditions to these destinations. Despite many such tables stocked with useful if potentially tedious information, Banks's imaginative and anecdotal style carries the reader along.

Once royal orders reached the major colonial ports, their diffusion depended on "colonial traditions, economics, technology, African slave labor and even the cooperation of the colonists themselves increasingly dictated how, when and under what circumstances" (p. 87). Banks devotes pages to understanding communications within the different colonies. For example, in the 1730s royal officials were able to count on *corvées* to construct a road from Quebec to Montreal, because of colonists' fear of the English colonies nearby and of the British navy. In contrast, island officials met with much resistance to road building because big planters

had access to markets by sea and previous foreign naval attacks had been rebuffed.

Banks explains the problems colonial officials faced in keeping order in colonies inhabited primarily by young males, both free and indentured servants, living in and among alien groups of Native Americans and free and enslaved Africans. These officials did not have the traditional institutions that helped to maintain order in France. Royal soldiers in the colonies were more a part of the problem than a solution. *Coueurs de bois* and buccaneers were just the most mobile and difficult to control. In these circumstances, only when colonial authorities acted in unison was order reasonably maintained. "Colonial hierarchies might be thought of as representing a musical chord with four descending strings: governors, intendants, superior councils and the clergy. When tuned properly, the four worked harmoniously; but disagreement created shrill dissonance" (p. 190).

In chapter six, Banks discusses the interconnections between mercantile connections and imperial government. He examines the roles of kinship and religion in lubricating cross-Atlantic trade ties. Banks provides valuable tables (6.3, 6.4) related to legitimate shipping to and from Martinique from 1715 to 1765. In the latter year, the minister allowed foreign shipping in order to understand the volume of smuggling ordinarily occurring 100 ships came from Dutch Curaçao, ninety-six came from the Spanish Main, and 109 "other" ships arrived, including ninety-two from New York, Rhode Island, Barbados, and Bermuda (p. 170). Banks concludes that the state gradually allowed de facto free trade with the Caribbean because it was obliged to do so.

Banks examines the critical role of colonial officials as cultural brokers between the central administration in France and colonies so socially different. The primary function of colonial governors was to report on local elites needed to maintain order and security. But they needed the overt support of Versailles to make their authority obeyed. When colonial officials did not speak as one voice, which often occurred in wartime, but instead represented the different points of view of rival colonial factions, then Versailles had to act blindly. In short, in the gathering of information about the colonies "the hierarchical reporting structure of absolutism vanished." Banks describes the relationship between the naval ministry and colonial officials as an "information-patronage network" that was fragile and "subject to cracking under stress" (p. 197). He attributes the loss of Canada and the lack of resistance in Martinique to British invasion during the Seven Years' War to a breakdown in communications and to resultant schisms within colonial bureaucracies. The "dilemma of determining truth in transatlantic information" was "the key weakness in the administration of the French Atlantic in the Eighteenth Century" (p. 216). This is a useful complement to traditional arguments emphasizing the naval strength of Britain and France's overwhelmingly continental priorities.

Unfortunately, a score of factual and stylistic errors tarnish this important book. For example, Banks has Charles II of Spain dying in 1702 instead of 1700 (p. 29). Rastadt (p. 144) and Louosbourg (p. 280) are examples of misspellings. On at least three occasions, he cites references that do not in fact support his claims. The second edition of this important book will, I trust, take care of these annoyances.

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J. C. S. MASON. *The Moravian Church and the Missionary Awakening in England 1760–1800*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series, number 21.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, for the Royal Historical Society, London. 2001. Pp. xv, 229. \$75.00.

One of the significant stories of modern history is the growth of Western religion in the non-Western world. Christianity was initially spread by Roman Catholic religious orders making use of the coercive power of the imperial regimes of Spain, Portugal, and France. The European Protestant churches largely ignored the non-Western world until the eighteenth century, when German pietists and British evangelicals developed an administrative equivalent to the Roman Catholic religious order: the voluntary, privately funded missionary society. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, evangelical Protestantism grew rapidly in the non-Western world, where it was introduced initially by voluntarily funded Western missionaries before taking on a life of its own.

J. C. S. Mason documents the important role of an obscure denomination in promoting evangelical Protestant expansion. The Moravians were a small but cohesive transnational denomination dominated in the early eighteenth century by a colorful religious entrepreneur, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf. Moravian congregations were scattered across the German and English-speaking worlds of the eighteenth century. They remained isolated from mainstream Protestants, who were repelled by the extravagant blood imagery in Moravian hymns and scandalized by the financial mismanagement of Moravian funds by Zinzendorf. Mason is interested in how the Moravians used their missionary endeavors to gain status as a respected religious denomination.

Zinzendorf and other early leaders created an administrative structure that had as one of its fundamental purposes the sending of missionaries, an activity that required the cooperation of one or more of the Protestant imperial powers. In the early eighteenth century, Moravians exploited pietist connections at the Danish court in order to send missions to the Danish West Indies and Greenland. Later English Moravians persuaded the British government and Parliament that Moravian missions were not only safe but potentially beneficial to the imperial enterprise, and Moravians were authorized to enter Labrador and the North

American frontier. With official approval, and the support of some Moravian slave-owning families, Moravians became the first Protestants to evangelize slaves systematically in the British West Indies. Mason's industrious research leaves very little doubt that the Moravians had a major influence on the decisions made by major British Protestant denominations to create voluntary missionary societies in the 1790s.

Mason's book belongs to the genre of the heroic, celebratory history of missions. The impact of Moravian missions on non-Western converts is treated as self-evidently beneficial, and the relationship between missionaries and agents of imperial power as unproblematic. The Moravians were involved in a major land and fishing-rights grab in Labrador in cooperation with the Royal Navy, a connection acknowledged by Mason only insofar as it helped the Moravians bring the benefits of Christianity to the natives of Labrador.

The Moravians were subservient to slave owners and supported slavery even after other evangelical Christians turned against it. Their first two missionaries to the West Indies attempted to become slaves themselves, in order to submit themselves more fully to lawful authority. Moravian missionaries later became slave owners and trained their slave converts on other plantations to submit to cruel masters instead of running away. Mason notes the theological peculiarities of the denomination's doctrine of slavery but is more interested in the ways that the Moravian Church exploited its success in the West Indies to ingratiate itself with slave owners and abolitionists alike. He has missed an important opportunity to talk about the relationship between religion and racism in the eighteenth century.

He misses another opportunity in his discussion of the Moravian relationship with the bishops of the Church of England, who throughout the eighteenth century neglected the most elementary of their episcopal obligations by failing to make any provision for the baptism of slave children who fell under their pastoral care in the West Indies. Mason pays close attention to the public statements of one or two bishops who used the Moravian mission experiment as evidence that slaves could indeed be baptized, leaving the misleading impression that the bishops were awakening from their racist slumber in the eighteenth century.

The English Moravians were successful at influencing people in positions of power, influence, and authority who could help them in their missionary enterprises, and Mason's documentation of their success is a valuable contribution to the history of Western religious expansion. His book would be far more interesting, however, if Mason were to address directly issues of race and imperial power that he raises in passing but then neglects in a search for evidence of Moravian influence.

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JÜRGEN HEIDEKING and JAMES A. HENRETTA, editors. *Republicanism and Liberalism in America and the German States, 1750–1850*. Assisted by PETER BECKER. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 309. \$65.00.

The once heated scholarly controversy over the transition from "classical republicanism" to "liberalism" and its impact on the American founding no longer throws off many bright sparks. These debates, skeptical contributor A. G. Roeber remarks, "have become increasingly sterile" (p. 89). Jürgen Heideking and James A. Henretta gamely resist such skepticism, suggesting that the "task" confronting contemporary scholarship is "to assess the proportional share or the specific 'mixture' of ideas, concepts, and values from republican and liberal sources" (p. 4). Happily, their contributors pay little heed to this editorial injunction. Far from calibrating the precise "mixture" of intellectual influences in different historical circumstances, the essays in this rich collection fly off in various interesting and eccentric directions.

Willi Paul Adams impatiently dismisses the fine distinctions that republican revisionists discovered (or projected) into the American revolutionaries' Whig ideology, emphasizing instead the divergent trajectories of political development in North America—simultaneously and indistinguishably "free, democratic, republican, liberal"—and the successive "failures," beginning with the French Revolution, that marked "the painful growth of liberalism in Europe" (p. 146). Roeber's fine comparative essay on the development of charity law, civil society, and attitudes toward the state in Weinigerode and Pennsylvania juxtaposes republicanism and liberalism altogether.

Robert E. Shalhope's essay on political development in Bennington, Vermont, and Henretta's on the "birth of American liberalism" in New York state both proceed from the problematic premise that the revolution established a republican regime that then became liberal in the decades leading up to the American Civil War. But their understandings of republicanism and liberalism differ radically. Shalhope's republicanism persists as a form of false consciousness: by appealing "to popular virtue—the reification of an independent yeomanry—Bennington's Whig and Democratic leaders helped produce a society of capitalists oblivious to the spirit of their own enterprise" (p. 164). Henretta, by contrast, eschews ideological mystification: Martin Van Buren and his fellow liberals knew exactly what they were up to when they mobilized against the gentry to overthrow the "neomercantilist policies" of the "republican 'commonwealth'" (p. 165).

Paul Nolte's ambitious comparative essay adds to the terminological and interpretative confusion, arguing that the market revolution in the two countries led to "the last revival of notions of classical republicanism" in Germany and the United States in the 1830s and 1840s, explaining "the particular partisan dynam-

ics of that time in both countries" (p. 205). Yet Nolte recognizes that the American Second Party System did not simply pit "republicans" against "liberals," thus complicating—and obscuring—these "dynamics." The situation is still further muddled in the German states, where the "identity of a liberal consisted of a political rather than an economic confession" and where "one single, liberal party" embraced a development-oriented "'market' wing" and a "petty-commercial 'community' wing . . . more skeptical of rapid economic development and market integration" (pp. 204, 203).

Nolte has been a leading exponent of the view that "classical republicanism" in Germany played a crucial role in the development of liberalism, a position vigorously contested here by Otto Dann. Dann insists that the turn to "modern republicanism" did not have to await the "middle-class revolution" of 1848 but was instead initiated by Immanuel Kant in 1795: "Kant conceived republicanism as an evolutionary political development program and emphasized that it could be achieved even within monarchies" (pp. 71, 63). Hans Erich Bödeker traces the linkage of "constitutional consciousness and patriotism" to the mid-eighteenth century, arguing that this "constitutional patriotism . . . formed the foundation" of nineteenth-century liberalism (p. 52). After the French Revolution, Rudolf Vierhaus adds, the nonmonarchical "free state" was discredited throughout Europe, leading "constitutional liberals" to promote a patriotic, "republican" spirit *within* the framework of constitutional monarchy (p. 24).

"Constitutional patriotism" may have avoided radical challenges to the existing political order, but it also gave a powerful impetus to an emergent national identity. The "German nation was imagined as a harmonious community of rulers and people," Heideking writes in one of the volume's most compelling essays, "and 'liberty' came to mean 'first of all the absence of foreign oppression'" (p. 218). Paradoxically, the resistance of entrenched ruling elites who equated "nationalism with revolutionary subversion" gave the national idea increasing salience (p. 220). Festive culture worked in the opposite direction in America, giving way to an increasingly unstable "diversity of cultural styles and ceremonial practices" (p. 224). Edmund Spivack's essay on the transatlantic career of German exile Charles Follen illuminates these differences: a radical republican nationalist in Germany, in Massachusetts Follen embraced an equally radical antislavery position that pointed toward the ultimate destruction of the union.

Vera Nünning and Rosemarie Zagari also portray their subjects, Catharine Macaulay and Mercy Otis Warren, respectively, as "republicans," focusing on their roles as mediators with emergent liberalism through their emphases on "sentiment" and "manners." Mediation works two ways, of course, and Macaulay's and Warren's feminism can be seen as precocious adumbrations of the bourgeois-liberal "self." Zagari recognizes that the putative tension

"between the individualistic thrust of liberalism and the communal impulse of classical republicanism" may be an historiographical artifact: "eighteenth-century Americans did not reify liberalism and republicanism the way contemporary historians have" (pp. 114, 116). In a provocative essay on the obsession with the abuse of female slaves' bodies in the "eroticized symbolism of antislavery," Amy Dru Stanley suggests that liberalism, not republicanism, gave rise to an "emancipatory" feminism: the fundamental liberal premise of self-possession "provided a language for black women's aspirations to freedom" (pp. 267, 279). At the same time, she adds, the liberal theory of "possessive individualism . . . disguised the existing coercions of free society" (p. 279).

Stanley and Robert Steinfeld offer exciting new perspectives on what the latter calls "fundamental dilemmas within liberalism itself" (p. 282). The modern conception of free labor was not a premise of liberalism, Steinfeld argues, but rather the belated product of developments *within* liberalism. "Liberal ideas provided no objective, value-neutral means for distinguishing coerced from voluntary decisions" (p. 297). Only by imposing "restraints . . . on freedom of contract" could the U.S. Supreme Court in *Robertson v. Baldwin* (1897) secure "liberty of person" (p. 298).

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WENDY PARKINS, editor. *Fashioning the Body Politics: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*. New York: Berg. 2002. Pp. xi, 260. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$22.50.

These days, the body and fashioning are receiving a great deal of scholarly attention in the fields of literary criticism, sociology, and psychology as well as history, but while the titles of some studies may play with sartorial puns, most have little to do with clothing. In contrast, editor Wendy Parkins's carefully worded title means what it says: the eleven essays (including the introduction and afterthoughts) look at clothing and the human body (usually female)/body politic (usually male) and their roles in nationalism. Much of the introduction is spent defining vocabulary and establishing the importance of clothing/body as a site of national identity, imperial expansion, and gender difference within the shifting political and economic configurations of a variety of times and places. Several of the contributors make it clear that women have often been used as a metaphor to represent countries and thus are bound to definitions of national identity in ways that differ significantly from men.

Grounded in history, art history, sociology, and media and communications, this collection of essays provides a crossdisciplinary exploration of fashion's political, historical, and theoretical fabric. This comparative approach is one of the strengths of the book. Whether the topic under consideration is *sans-culottes*, scouts, suffragists, or citizens, each author imagines the nation (be it Russia, Argentina, Italy, or some

other) as a human body and examines the idea that the clothing used to define national communities affects those communities. Christine Ruane considers the impact on the social and political transformation of Russia when Peter the Great introduced European dress in 1701. Assessing the meaning of the black shirt in Benito Mussolini's Italy, Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi argues that the uniform ensured uniformity of behavior. Regina A. Root asserts that "fashion writing proved a most effective tool in the tailoring of the nation"; fashion writing brought European ideas into Latin America, in this case Argentina.

Each essay in this fascinating anthology captures the power of clothes to make and unmake a person and to make and unmake a nation. With its in-depth case studies, its sweeping interdisciplinary scope, and its paltry seventeen black-and-white illustrations, the book is a serious scholarly study and not a coffee-table compilation of pretty pictures. A warning of sorts: if you do not like scholarly jargon and theoretical constructions, you may find several of the essays rather dense, but most are worth the effort. Although interdisciplinary work continues to be celebrated, this volume demonstrates that sometimes it is difficult to talk between disciplines that use different vocabularies. The collection makes an important contribution to the historiography of nation building as it examines the relationship between dress and nationalism as well as the connections among gender, national politics, and clothing. Eleven essays are not nearly enough to develop the many ways that dress reveals the makeup, nature, and character of individual societies or how what people wear affects their customs, economics, politics, and physical environment. However, the collection does show how the story of clothing reflects the politics of gender and reveals the numerous tensions and struggles of nationalism, colonization, and Westernization.

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ROBERT H. TAYLOR, editor. *The Idea of Freedom in Asia and Africa*. (The Making of Modern Freedom.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 329. \$60.00.

In this highly readable and intelligent book, Africa and Asia are united by the ideas of freedom, both local and "universal." The book is neither an intellectual history nor a history of ideas. Rather, it is essentially about how ideas of freedom have shaped histories in different parts of Africa and Asia. The strength of the book is its analysis of freedom as a universal idea. Since the nineteenth century, many European universalist ideas have influenced the political and intellectual traditions of Africa and Asia. Most of the essays deal with the translation of foreign ideas into local concepts and languages, adapting them to new social and political contexts. The ideas are not homogenous, and each

author chooses a different set, while applying varying notions of freedom.

In analyzing the broad changes in the last two hundred years, the book is successful in presenting the reasons for the spread of ideas and their overall consequences. Focusing on Japan, Sheldon Garon analyzes the end of "unfree" prostitutes and the evolution of freedom of religion, press, and political association. An essay on China by Andrew J. Nathan identifies the similarities and differences between its ideas of political freedom and those of the West.

One clear objective of editor Robert H. Taylor is to demonstrate that Asians and Africans, like Westerners, had established indigenous ideas about state authority and individual autonomy. Two essays devoted to Africa explore the ideas of freedom over a long period of time: Crawford Young focuses on the period from the slave trade to the 1950s, and William J. Foltz pushes the analysis further to the current era. In Burma and Thailand, the history of the ideas of freedom reflects various phases, delineated by Taylor.

In spite of the richness of the essays, the overall analysis of local ideas is weaker and less focused than the analysis of universalist ideas. The antithesis of freedom is partly treated as words and actions used to oppose feudalism and slavery. While the language of obligations and rights is important, these are pointers to deeper values and institutions of communities that were far more democratic than those that exist in the modern era. It is true that many African and Asian societies lack written documents to explain their theories, but one has to look at the ideas embedded in local and oral traditions, and at how these have also been transformed over the years.

Ambiguities and tensions characterize the history of the acceptance of ideas of freedom. One essay reveals the tendency to accept certain ideas and reject others, as in the case of Iraq, Egypt, and Syria, analyzed by James L. Gelvin. In India, ideas of freedom can vary between social groups and individuals, a point made by Sudipta Kaviraj. Whether in Africa or Asia, the struggles for freedom can entail violence and conflicts. An essay on Vietnam and the Philippines by Benedict J. Tria Kerkvliet reveals the complicated nature of political struggles.

While the essays are different, a number of common points come across. Many of the authors examine issues around political upheavals and the resultant gains. Freedom is defined by some of the authors in the same way as liberty, and occasionally interchangeable with democracy, nationalism, and human rights. Irrespective of the word or the terminology employed by each of the authors, it is clear that these ideas evolved over time, with the result that the meanings of freedom have not always been the same. As the authors examine the modern period, the emphasis is on the freedom of speech, religion, and assembly, the need to participate freely in the political process, and the right to produce and exchange goods and services.

While recognizing previous ideas of freedom in

Africa and Asia, the critical emphasis of the book centers on the impact of European and American ideas on these two diverse and huge continents. Many of the essays deal with the histories of how Western ideas were adapted through different means and methods. The book avoids the old cliché that Europe sold ideas of freedom to unenlightened Africans and Asians, who had no choice but to accept them. Rather, it offers a challenging analysis of the simultaneous development and evolution of ideas in different parts of the world. Even when ideas travel, the authors clearly recognize the ability of people to consider them in the context of their own needs and milieux.

It is hard to challenge the two conclusions emanating from all the essays: the spread of European ideas to Africa and Asia changed their politics and histories, but those ideas have been interpreted to suit local cultures and local circumstances. Where imperialism has been the agency for diffusing the ideas, it is clear that the concept of freedom that emerged also included a strategy for overcoming foreign domination. Thus, nationalism and anticolonialism feature prominently in the book. However, as Africans and Asians acquired the power to govern themselves, they also had to consider freedom in relation to human rights, democracy, and social justice.

The book does not pretend to do more than its initial claim of analyzing the impact of ideas on history. While there is a celebratory tone in relation to the concept of freedom defined in Western terms, the book does not see one idea as more important than others, or see Africans and Asians as docile recipients of foreign influences. Irrespective of how one defines freedom, it is clear that peoples in all cultures and societies have given a lot of thought to it. This book may not challenge basic assumptions around the idea of freedom, but its beautifully written chapters reveal rich evidence of political and social thought and action in Africa and Asia.

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RUTH COMPTON BROUWER. *Modern Women Modernizing Men: The Changing Missions of Three Professional Women in Asia and Africa, 1902–69*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 198. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

Ruth Compton Brouwer's thoroughly researched book is unique in its attention to three Western Christian mission women whose professional careers during the decades between the world wars were not confined to the gendered sphere of "women's work for women." During this interwar era of modernity, a "liminal" phase in Western Christian mission history (p. 120), mission goals became more materialistic and secular and less emphatically evangelistic; missionaries became more professionalized and less ethnocentric. Within this context, Brouwer analyzes the careers of

medical missionaries Belle Choné Oliver (1875–1947) and Florence Murray (1894–1975) and secretary for the International Missionary Council's International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa Margaret Wrong (1898–1949) as "case studies of a missionary world in transition" (p. 5). Focusing on selected episodes in their lives, Brouwer foregrounds the extension of the "modern feminist" gender-integrated professional woman's work world described by Nancy Cott (*The Grounding of Modern Feminism* [1987]) into the mission fields of central India (where Oliver served as administrator for the Christian Medical Association of India after practicing medicine and training men and women at mission hospitals), colonial Korea (where Murray practiced medicine among male and female patients, trained male interns and female nurses, and did hospital administration work), and sub-Saharan Africa (where Wrong traveled extensively to determine the literature needs of mission educators and the educational and professional development needs of primarily male African readers and writers). In their professional experiences, Brouwer examines the "implications of changes in the interwar era for gender roles and relationships . . . both in the new ecumenical bureaucracies and on the ground" (p. 30). Not surprisingly, she finds that while mission fields remained gendered spaces (males still controlled senior positions in mission bureaucracies while females filled less glamorous staff positions), more expansive, gender-integrated professional opportunities opened for women in mission careers because they were paid lower salaries than men and mission agencies could better afford them, and because, as missions strove to be both "modern and efficient," gender-segregated education and facilities seemed passé.

Brouwer also aims to contribute to the growing body of scholarship that informs mission history with post-colonial studies, but her focus on the theme of transformation in women's professional careers during the interwar decades narrows these three women's stories in too many instances to fulfill her secondary goal. For example, in telling Murray's story as a Canadian doctor in the Japanese colony of Korea 1921–1942, Brouwer refers to the "tense" political situation of the times but does not address in substantive ways Murray's relationship to Japanese (or Western) imperialism, or to Korean nationalism (pp. 70, 81, 85–86). Brouwer asserts that Murray shared "the broad goals and strategies of [her fellow] 'imperial' missionaries, [yet] she was, at the same time, free of their problematic relationship to empire" (p. 131) because she worked within a Japanese colony, and, after her death, Murray's former Korean medical students honored her contributions to their professional training (p. 95). But does that mean that Murray, a white, privileged Christian woman who brought the "salvation" of Western medicine with her to their "undeveloped" society, had no colonial relationship with Koreans?

None of these women was critical of the mission enterprise, and so it is left to Brouwer to provide that

critique. She does raise critical questions in her conclusion. Did Western medicine introduced by the Christian missions serve the health needs of the colonized societies or did it serve the economic and social control needs of Western capitalism and imperialism? Because their professional careers did not target specifically the needs of women in colonized societies, did Oliver, Murray, and Wrong contribute to the pattern of "neglect of women" in development planning and implementation schemes that researchers and international aid agencies "discovered" in the 1970s? Brouwer's response to both these critical challenges is to approve the overarching goals and record of the interwar mission project in general and the career choices made by Oliver, Murray, and Wrong in particular. She notes that medical practitioners in Korea, India, and other Asian countries have embraced "the practices and assumptions of scientific medicine that began in the west" and have "made [them] their own, notwithstanding the continuing importance of indigenous medicine to large segments of Asian societies" (p. 127). And Brouwer argues that these women all "believed that their respective goals and approaches would yield long-term benefits for communities of men and women" (p. 128). To be sure, there is much to hold the interest in the professional experiences of Oliver, Murray, and Wrong, but do these lives illuminate the chosen theme, or does the chosen theme illuminate these lives?

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BRUCE A. ELLEMAN. *Wilson and China: A Revised History of the Shantung Question*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 2002. Pp. xviii, 227. Cloth \$62.95, paper \$28.95.

At the Paris Peace Conference in May 1919, President Woodrow Wilson, Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and Premier Georges Clemenceau accommodated their Japanese ally's demand that imperial Germany's economic and political concessions in China's Shandong province be formally transferred to Japan—which had seized them by force in November 1914—rather than returned to China as the Chinese delegation requested. News of this decision unleashed a tsunami of patriotic fury in Peking that engulfed China, precipitated the rise of modern Chinese nationalism, and helped turn Chinese intellectuals away from Western liberalism, which they thought had betrayed them, and toward Bolshevism. The thesis of Bruce A. Elleman's provocative monograph is that these weighty consequences of the Shandong decision were the result of an unfortunate misunderstanding that he has finally cleared up. The Chinese themselves were to blame, not Wilson, who tried his best to defend China's interests under difficult circumstances and was then made the scapegoat. Elleman asks us to believe that if only the Versailles decision on Shandong had been correctly understood at the time, China might

have been spared the ravages of communism, "a road ultimately paved with the corpses of tens if not hundreds of millions of Chinese" (pp. 1–2). In reality, although the Shandong decision was certainly important in its time, it was hardly the only factor that gave rise to the Chinese Communist Party and the communist revolution. Elleman's assertions are extravagant, and his little book is made to bear an impossible burden.

The author correctly reminds us that in September 1918 the weak and venal Peking government signed an agreement with Tokyo that in essence forfeited its sovereignty in Shandong for a substantial Japanese loan it badly needed. By this time, Tokyo had signed secret treaties with its allies, excepting the United States, obligating them to support Japanese claims vis-à-vis China. Although the Japanese delegation made verbal promises to restore the concessions in Shandong to China, they refused to put this in writing, and Wilson, afraid that Japan might refuse to join the League of Nations, did not press the case. Elleman's main sources of information are the Woodrow Wilson papers; the papers of Stanley J. Hornbeck, a State Department East Asia hand; Japanese Foreign Ministry archives; and contemporary newspapers. He makes very little reference to Chinese documents.

Elleman succeeds in removing much of the tarnish from Wilson's reputation on the Shandong issue. Had he stopped there we would be in his intellectual debt. But his presentation is more a sustained and repetitive polemic than a historical argument and is cloaked in a crazy quilt of unsupported assertions, misreading of documents, apologiae for Japanese imperialism, splotic attacks against Bolshevism, and anti-Chinese canards. To cite one example among many, Elleman claims that a Hornbeck memo of April 24, 1919, "suggested that Germany transfer title over Shandong to Japan" (p. 65), but a reading of the memo itself, reproduced two pages later, reveals no such suggestion. Elleman's invention, however, serves his far-fetched assertion that the whole dispute over Shandong was a matter of "face." Rather than trying to defend Chinese sovereignty against a rapacious Japanese imperial power, Chinese diplomats supposedly strove for the direct return of Shandong to China's control so as to avoid a "loss of face" that would come from accepting the concessions indirectly from Japan, a country that China had historically viewed as inferior. Elleman invokes the authority of contemporary Western diplomats whose understanding of Asian international politics was also filtered through the Orientalist lens of "face" and other odd notions. The author also believes that Japan's military seizure of Shandong from Germany in 1914 conferred a right that could not be denied because the Japanese government was accountable to public opinion. Nowhere does he bother to provide evidence that Japanese imperial policy was swayed by such considerations (which it was not).

Elleman fails to provide the larger historical context

for Wilson's policy toward China, for the domestic political context of China's diplomacy, and for the complex issues of peacemaking after World War I. His is a narrowly focused diplomatic history that is insensitive to politics, particularly the politics of Chinese nationalism. The last two chapters, asserting that Soviet Russia manipulated Chinese public opinion while reasserting tsarist imperial Russian prerogatives, reprises his argument in *Diplomacy and Deception: The Secret History of Sino-Soviet Diplomatic Relations, 1917-1927* (1997), a similarly flawed work, and doesn't really belong in the book under review.

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GREG KENNEDY. *Anglo-American Strategic Relations and the Far East 1933-1939*. (Cass Series: Strategy and History, number 5.) Portland, Oreg.: Frank Cass. 2002. Pp. xiii, 313. \$57.50.

Greg Kennedy has produced an interesting monograph on Anglo-American relations with regard to the Far East during the 1930s. Kennedy is by no means the first scholar to focus on Anglo-American relations before and during World War II. B. J. C. McKercher has written *Transition of Power: Britain's Loss of Global Preeminence to the United States, 1930-1945* (1999), and other authors—for example, Wm. Roger Louis and Christopher G. Thorne—have focused on Anglo-American wartime relations. Kennedy's contribution is to focus on Far Eastern issues in the run-up to World War II.

Anglo-American relations were scarcely cordial during the interwar years, particularly on naval and economic issues. Differences led to ire and mistrust, wreathed sometimes in false smiles and diplomatic politesse. It is well known, for example, that Chancellor of the Exchequer and then Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain intensely disliked the United States, an animosity shared by influential civil servants, like Sir Warren Fisher, secretary to the treasury. Even the stalwart "realist," Sir Robert Vansittart (permanent under secretary at the Foreign Office), who wished to negotiate with fascist Italy, the Soviet Union, and the United States in the name of British interests, had a difficult time suffering the Americans. They were no more charitable toward Britain, regarded as an imperialist power shamelessly pursuing its sordid, colonial interests. Yankee hypocrites, the British rejoined, who were unreliable, untrustworthy, and smug, and no less determined to pursue their vested national interests.

Mutual distrust is the context in which Kennedy takes up his examination of Anglo-American Far Eastern policy. He wants to show that the stereotypes of Anglo-American animosity were not as accurate as one might suppose. There were politicians and civil servants on both sides of the Atlantic who saw the need for cooperation, in the face of an increasingly aggressive Japan. This cooperation was particularly notice-

able at U.S. and British diplomatic posts in Japan and China. Cooperation and mutual esteem worked their way up the chain of command as the Japanese danger grew.

To illustrate his point of view, Kennedy focuses on Anglo-American assessments of the Soviet Union in the Far East, Anglo-American policy regarding the London naval conference in 1935, and an assessment of Foreign Office-State Department relations in 1937-1939. British and American policies toward the Soviet Union in the Far East were similar though not coordinated: the Soviet Union was a counterweight to Japan and therefore not to be disregarded or entirely alienated. As long as the Red Army represented a credible force against Japan, the U.S. and British governments had less to fear for their own interests in China.

Despite differences, the United States and Britain both recognized the danger of growing Japanese naval power. To cope, Chamberlain and Fisher proposed a non-aggression pact with Japan, willing in effect to sacrifice relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. Fisher railed against the United States, which sought to keep Britain in "thralldom" while holding the Royal Navy close by "to pick the Asiatic chestnuts of the USA out of the fire" (p. 123). Fisher's position did not carry the day, any more than did American opposition to British naval building to increase its cruiser strength against Japan. Old rivalries clashed with new realities. By 1939, however, the United States and Britain feared Japan more than they disliked and mistrusted each other. The trouble was that Fisher's fear of "thralldom" came to pass after 1945, even if the British government had no other practical alternative.

All this Kennedy presents in somewhat disjointed fashion, for his monograph resembles a collection of barely connected articles rather than a tightly organized narrative. The focus is too narrow, the context is sketchy, and the detail overpowering. In fact, the text resembles an unrevised doctoral dissertation, laden with quotations and overlong endnotes. Some critics would certainly say this is stereotypical "one clerk writing to another" diplomatic history. Kennedy's monograph will nevertheless be of interest to specialists, who will enjoy and find useful the extensive quotations by British ministers and civil servants. The American side appears somewhat neglected in this regard. Kennedy has done extensive research in British and American archives, although the emphasis appears tilted to the British side. Some historians will disagree with the author about how good Anglo-American relations were at the end of the 1930s, but Kennedy makes a strong argument in presenting his views.

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JON V. KOFAS. *The Sword of Damocles: U.S. Financial Hegemony in Colombia and Chile, 1950-1970*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. xix, 238. \$64.95.

Jon V. Kofas analyzes the impact of the "austere monetary, fiscal, and trade policies that the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the U.S. government" imposed on Colombia and Chile between 1950 and 1970. His case studies substantiate the general conclusion that, despite claims that free-market reforms and austerity measures would promote economic development and improve the general standard of living, "the record of the past fifty years clearly indicates that has not been the case for the underdeveloped countries" (p. xi).

Kofas conducted impressive research in British and American archives. In addition to the standard diplomatic sources in State Department files and the British Public Records Office, he also mined the archives of the World Bank, the IMF, and the Eisenhower and Truman presidential libraries. Kofas certainly can not be cited for a failure to consult all the relevant documents in the most important archives. Unfortunately, he does not cite Colombian or Chilean archival sources, but the relevant government archives are probably off limits to historians. In any case, the extensive bibliographical listings of published works on Chile and Colombia reveal that Kofas did not neglect the secondary literature on either country.

The result is a meticulously documented and persuasive analysis of the relations between two developing countries and the foreign powers that financed their development projects and shaped their monetary and fiscal policies. In two separate parts divided into four chapters each, Kofas analyzes the efforts of Colombians and Chileans to promote economic development within the strict free-market guidelines administered by the World Bank and the IMF. While the Latin Americans struggled with mounting political, economic, and social pressures for reform and development, they confronted an intransigent U.S. government and the international financial institutions that it controlled, all of which insisted on the implementation of austerity programs as a condition for receiving development assistance.

If the story sounds familiar, it is only because it has happened so often in developing countries that scholars have learned to expect it. Yet the story has rarely been told so persuasively and documented so well by an economic historian. Chapter five details the efforts of Colombian President Carlos Lleras Restrepo to balance external pressures to stabilize the economy, control wages and prices, and attract foreign investment with domestic pressures for higher wages, better working conditions, and the overarching goal of social justice. The hammer came down on Lleras Restrepo in 1968 in the traditional way, with the Johnson administration holding back development loans to compel the Colombian government to agree to terms on exchange rate unification and trade liberalization (p. 81). Having adopted most of the policies forced on him by foreign powers, Lleras Restrepo then faced mounting social pressures and political unrest, leading him to impose a state of siege in 1970. The subsequent

election of General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla, according to Kofas, represented a Colombian vote "against the politics of austerity and an affirmation of social justice." The development policies of the United States and the international institutions left Colombia "more in debt, less democratic, and more polarized in every respect" (p. 87).

Although Kofas rarely makes direct comparisons between Chile and Colombia, the separate case study of Chile leads Kofas to similar conclusions. As President Eduardo Frei attempted a "Revolution in Liberty" to promote Chile's social and economic development, the "sword of Damocles" hung over his head. Just two years after taking office, the World Bank and the multinational corporations called for "the suspension of the Revolution in Liberty and for a policy shift favoring investment and away from stimulating increased consumption" (p. 163). Frei responded by shelving some economic reforms and cutting expenditures in social programs. Given the impressive documentary evidence on which the argument is based, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the "IMF, the IBRD, and Washington were in effect responsible for undercutting the Christian Democrats' modest reforms" (p. 164).

Although one might fault Kofas for not extending the chronological scope of his study to include an analysis of how the United States used the sword of Damocles to destabilize the administration of Chilean President Salvador Allende (1970–1973), he has undoubtedly made a substantial contribution to our understanding of Latin America political and economic history. His impeccable archival research should lead other scholars of Latin American economic development into the archives of the World Bank, the IMF, and the State Department.

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LOUIS GALAMBOS and ERIC JOHN ABRAHAMSON. *Anytime, Anywhere: Entrepreneurship and the Creation of a Wireless World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 310. \$29.00.

This compact volume by Louis Galambos and Eric John Abrahamson relates the brief and turbulent story of AirTouch Communications. Spun off as a cellular telephone "pure play" from Pacific Telesis (PacTel) in late 1993, the company was swallowed up just over five years later by the British firm Vodafone. With its origins in the staid Bell Telephone system and its end in the restless global market for corporate control, AirTouch symbolizes for Galambos and Abrahamson a "decisive shift in global political economy" (p. 254), a Third Industrial Revolution in the making.

The world being made by Vodafone and other survivors of the whirlwind that has swept through the world's telecommunications sector was hardly imaginable to the "Bell-heads" who populate the early chapters of the book. Hemmed in by regulators, labor

unions, the famed "widows and orphans" who owned its stock, and the cautious engineering and management culture that evolved in response to these constraints, American Telephone and Telegraph (AT&T) was unable even to recognize the explosive demand waiting to be tapped by wireless phones. That market was unlocked through the relentless prodding of entrepreneurial upstarts like Motorola, MCI, and McCaw and by bold policy makers. Both groups more than made up in chutzpah what they sometimes lacked in expertise.

The breakup of AT&T in 1982 and comparable deregulatory processes around the world created a new set of actors and conditions. Among the most powerful were (and are) the so-called Baby Bells, the former regional Bell operating companies that continued to hold near monopolies in local wireline markets even as they diversified into new services like cellular telephony and into new locations at home and abroad. The heart of Galambos and Abrahamson's story is the effort of one of these elephants, PacTel, to learn to dance, to become agile enough to navigate swiftly changing economic, political, and technological currents. The authors argue that the firm nearly succeeded.

The evidence for this claim is not entirely convincing. To be sure, Sam Ginn, the chief executive officer first of PacTel and then of AirTouch, smelled the huge opportunity that wireless would become and worked hard to free his firm of the constraints (regulators, unions, widows and orphans, and all) under which it labored. He pursued that opportunity across the United States and in Europe and Asia, with a bewildering range of partners. (Some charts of the dramatis personae would have helped the reader.) That the firm grew and its stock price rose are undeniable. Yet, hints of trouble seep into the story, foreshadowing the final denouement in which the AirTouch name was retired along with Ginn himself. The cliché that history is told by the winners is contradicted here. Ginn gave the authors much cooperation and assistance, but his name will not be read along with Bill Gates of Microsoft, Andrew Grove of Intel, and Christopher Gent of Vodafone when the honor roll of Third Industrial Revolutionaries reaches that part of the alphabet.

That it is in many ways a failure makes AirTouch's story more, not less, valuable. History told only by the winners might slight Galambos and Abrahamson's theme of "creative transformation" of formerly regulated firms and industries in favor of the "creative destruction" wrought by successful start-ups. Yet, "creative transformation" is a profoundly important process, even more so outside the United States. The challenges that faced Ginn and his executive team in remaking PacTel's business processes, financial structure, and corporate culture are magnified for heavily regulated Western European firms like Deutsche Telekom and Mannesmann that make cameo appearances in the book. Further abroad, in postcommunist Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union, and China, the

"creative transformation" of state-owned enterprises may well be a central element of the Third Industrial Revolution.

Galambos and Abrahamson's brilliant concluding interpretation sets the stage for such an extension of their argument. They synthesize key theoretical contributions from thinkers like Joseph A. Schumpeter, Alfred D. Chandler, and Richard Nelson. They add to this synthesis ideas introduced by Galambos in earlier work and amplified here, particularly about the permeability of organizational boundaries and the importance of the political environment in shaping business history. Although the AirTouch case alone may not warrant such a grand treatment, this book is probably best read as an early draft of an early chapter of a master narrative that will live up to the authors' aspirations.

In fact, even the AirTouch story ends a little too soon. Ginn sold out at an opportune moment. Vodafone lost nearly \$20 billion in the year ending March 2002, the largest annual loss in British history and the latest in a ten-year run of losses totaling, according to the calculations of one pundit, "more than the entire gross national product of Ireland." Saddled with immense debt and facing continued uncertainty, the company has seen its share price fall dramatically since the peak of the boom. Vodafone may yet need to undergo a creative transformation of its own.

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ASIA

NICOLA DI COSMO. *Ancient China and Its Enemies: The Rise of Nomadic Power in East Asian History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 369. \$70.00.

China's centuries-old historiographical tradition, cultural continuity, and long-term political, economic, and demographic domination of much of eastern Asia have tended to impose a Sinocentric bias on studies of Chinese history. Consciously or not, historians have tended to accept China's claim to be the "Middle Kingdom" ruling "All Under Heaven," an island of civilization surrounded on its far-flung and thinly populated margins by benighted and uncultivated barbarians. Implicit in this view is the idea that China's cultural centrality held sway from the very beginning of historical time.

In the past two decades or so, this Sinocentric perspective has increasingly been rejected by historians in the West, and latterly by some Chinese historians as well, in favor of a richer and more complex view of ancient history. It is now understood that ancient East Asia was ethnically, linguistically, and culturally very diverse; that the Neolithic revolution took place independently (or interdependently but not unifocally) in many parts of what is now China; that the East Asian

Bronze Age, too, was distributed over a number of separate cultures and polities; and, in short, that Chinese civilization came into being over a long period of time and from many different sources. It is also unquestionably true that the peoples of Inner Asia made important contributions to the emerging culture of China throughout the ancient period.

Nicola Di Cosmo's book is an indication of the maturity of this new historical understanding. The book's subject is relations between early China and the pastoral nomadic peoples beyond its northern frontier. Di Cosmo rejects the old "Chinese vs. barbarians" paradigm (with its implicit message that the nomads were people who could not or would not accept the benefits of Chinese civilization, and so deserved to be defeated) in favor of a nuanced view that privileges neither cultural form.

The book is in four parts. In the first, Di Cosmo depicts the Inner Asian steppe belt, from the Volga to Manchuria, as home to ancient, complex, and sophisticated cultures that challenged the agrarian cultures of Eurasia in ways that went far beyond mere border raiding. In part two, he narrows his focus to the northern frontier of China and looks at the history of Chinese perceptions of the northern peoples; Chinese responses ranged from curiosity and an interest in trade to distaste and fear. In part three, he illuminates the history of the Hsiung-nu (or Xiongnu), a people of obscure but ethnically diverse origins who came together to form the first historically attested great empire of the steppelands, and who posed a serious, often deadly challenge to China for most of the last two centuries B.C.E. Crucially, the Hsiung-nu confederation included farmers as well as pastoralists, administrators as well as horsemen; its government was stable and its economy strong, all quite contrary to Chinese expectations of "barbarian" behavior. In the book's final part, Di Cosmo analyzes, to fascinating effect, the ways in which the challenge of the Hsiung-nu influenced Chinese political and historical thinking, at the time and in subsequent periods.

As Di Cosmo shows, the great Han Dynasty historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien (Sima Qian) tried to describe as fully as possible the culture of the Hsiung-nu and the history of Chinese relations with them: a failed policy of appeasement followed by decades of bitter warfare. But Ssu-ma Ch'ien also found it necessary to couch his account in a familiar normative framework in which China monopolized all the desirable characteristics of centrality while the Hsiung-nu necessarily displayed the cosmological qualities of a northern people. Di Cosmo both celebrates Ssu-ma Ch'ien's conscientiousness in dealing with Hsiung-nu history and emphasizes the importance of reading that history with full critical awareness of its limitations and in the light of other (especially archaeological) evidence.

This is an excellent book. It opens pathways toward a new understanding of relations between ancient China and Inner Asia. Many unresolved questions remain, and new questions are likely to proliferate for

the foreseeable future. Yet by summarizing what is now known and placing it in a rich and complex analytical framework, the author has already accomplished much. His book is full of new information and surprising insights. This is, moreover, not simply a book for specialists, but one that can be read with genuine pleasure by anyone with a serious interest in ancient history. It deserves to be widely known and will surely serve as an important part of the foundation of much future research.

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MICHAEL J. PUETT. *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*. (Harvard Yenching Institute Monograph Series, number 57.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University East Asia Center, for the Harvard-Yenching Institute; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 2002. Pp. xv, 358. \$49.50.

This book aims to explore early theories of the "theomorphic potential" of humans, outlining the "crucial claims concerning the ability of humans to divinize themselves and thus gain control over natural phenomena" (p. 3). In Michael J. Puett's view, divinization and sacrifice designed "to manipulate . . . propitiate or placate" the divine powers gradually gave way to actions through which the "adept becomes a spirit directly and appropriates . . . [divine] powers" (pp. 3-4). State suppression naturally followed.

Puett's version of the millennium-long historical process unfolds in eight chapters. In late Shang (ca. 1300-1050 B.C.), "the overriding concern" was to "anthropomorphize the divine . . . to make spirits into ancestors who can then be arranged into a hierarchy and directed to work on behalf of the living" (p. 26). By the fourth and third centuries, great thinkers advocating self-cultivation began to try to "bypass" or "dispense with" divination and sacrifice, the "dominant modes of orientation" toward the divine, although they still acknowledged the need to bow to the "commands of a potentially capricious Heaven" (pp. 26-27). Within this "highly agonistic" context of ever-stronger theomorphic claims, there arose a movement toward correlative cosmological systems that Puett labels "counter-intuitive," since those systems came together at a relatively late date and in opposition to the sacrificial practices of the time (p. 28). Meanwhile, bureaucratic objections to self-divinization practices intensified until they produced, by the reign of Emperor Wu in the mid-second century, a new sacrificial system that supposedly rejected *any* claims to self-divinization, theomorphism, or divine kingship (pp. 28-29). Thus, an early world thought to be organized and administered by spirits came finally to be seen as "a purely spontaneous cosmos," in which natural phenomena were "not under the power of spirits" (p. 3). Proponents of this spontaneous cosmos were necessarily, according to Puett, opponents of what he calls the

"sacrificial and divinization specialists of the day." Although Puett does not consider what it meant for a human to become godlike, if the gods' powers have been stripped away, he contends that any talk of an "interlinked world continuum" (p. 16) between gods and humans, the living and the dead, impedes understanding of the distant past.

Puett describes himself as engaged in a "lengthy and ongoing conversation" with the historian David Keightley (p. x) and other sinologists in various disciplines. He characterizes (caricatures?) many of his predecessor's contributions of faculty cultural-essentialist or evolutionary theories, even as he fails to break free of an excluded-middle approach to history. However important the subjects reviewed by Puett, the sheer muddle of human experience casts doubt on his own sharply defined dichotomies, and at points, Puett's language travels beyond his evidence. Let me give two instances. Emperor Wu did not "set aside" the notion of divine kingship. His court simply decreed it treasonous for princes to invoke that concept to extend their own authority. And Ode 245 never mentions an act of treachery, despite Puett's lengthy analysis of the ode (pp. 67–78) in such terms. In general, Puett's analysis of the state of the field is oddly backward looking. His introduction gives a lengthy analysis of Max Weber's *Religions of China* (1920) and then turns to the works of Marciel Granet and Fung Yu-lan, scholars who came to prominence before World War II.

In the end, Puett's book is perhaps best read along with Dominick Declercq's *Writing Against the State: Political Rhetorics in Third and Fourth Century China* (1998), as Declercq shows some of the same authors striking a different pose: that of mingled defiance and dejection in the face of life's vicissitudes. From the very start, it seems, the trope of "man, no longer living *qua* man, insofar as there is something divine about him" circulated at courts with a set of equally compelling, if less Olympian revelations recording the frustrations of the once-powerful in defeat.

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JOHN W. DARDESS. *Blood and History in China: The Donglin Faction and Its Repression, 1620–1627*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i. 2002. Pp. vii, 207. \$24.95.

The fall of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) must be comprehended in at least three principal theaters: the rise of Manchu power and defeat of Ming defenses in the far northeastern Liao region; the ravishing of the central and upper Yangzi regions and the North China Plain by ineradicable roving rebel armies; and the extremely trenchant factional conflicts that rent the court even in its rump assemblages after the loss of Beijing. Beginning with Franz Michael's *The Origin of Manchu Rule in China* (1941), Western scholars have provided monographic, English-language narratives of

two of those theaters (see Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China*, vol. 1 [1985], and James Bunyan Parsons, *Peasant Rebellions of the Late Ming Dynasty* [1970]). With this book, John W. Dardess gives Western readers the central acts of the third theater: a thorough narration, adhering closely to an admirable array of contemporaneous sources, of the most horrendous phase in the late Ming "factional catastrophes," which were exacerbated by the worst case of power abuse by an individual eunuch in Chinese history.

Although Dardess focuses mainly on the reign of the incompetent Tianqi emperor (1621–1627), whereas the dynamics of Donglin and anti-Donglin factional politics extend from the 1580s through even the Southern Ming regimes of the 1640s–1650s, it was the extremes of political behavior in the Tianqi period that irreconcilably divided and embittered officialdom and the politically engaged elite. While readers of Chinese and Japanese may wish to consult Xie Guozhen's *Ming-Qing zhi ji dangshe yundong kao* (1934) and Ono Kazuko's *Minki tōshako* (1996), which place Tianqi-period developments in wider contexts of late Ming factional activity, for students of the Ming-Qing dynastic transition who may not have fully understood the politics behind ineffectual Ming military responses in both Liaodong and the heartland of China, or who may have wondered at the inability of officialdom to pull together when the dynasty was in its direst straits, Dardess's book vividly provides the needed perspective.

Yet the book is not honed to serve any readership to full satisfaction. In the introduction, Dardess explains that his interest in the Tianqi-period Donglin martyrdom, and his choice of book title, derive from his observation of the Tiananmen Square incident of 1989—in particular, of the Chinese protesters' lack of any clear, realistic political agenda but surfeit of self-righteousness, of a seeming determination to elicit repression and thereby make an emphatic moral statement against corrupt governance. Dardess's sense that "it is through the periodic reenactment of [such a] compelling public drama that China seems to reaffirm its moral and spiritual oneness as a civilization and as a nation" (p. 4) led him to look back at the Donglin debacle of the seventeenth century. This hypothesis makes a stimulating point of entry, but it is scarcely pursued as a theme in the body of the work, nor are the numerous questions about the history of Chinese political culture, to which such a hypothesis quickly leads, addressed in any systematic, sustained way. Readers who take such questions seriously and might be intrigued by the Tiananmen analogy will be disappointed by the lack of follow through.

Though the "gripping drama" forecast on the first page of the author's introduction would make ideal material for the sort of historico-fictional treatment enjoyed by the enthralled readers of Ray Huang's *1587, A Year of No Significance: The Ming Dynasty in*

Decline (1981) or Jonathan Spence's *Death of Woman Wang* (1978), Dardess eschews such an approach and lets his sources do most of the talking. This, in some instances, provides degrees of suspense, pathos, and blood-curdling detail that factoids would be hard pressed to rival, yet it mostly results in a drawn-out, blow-by-blow, episodic (although climactic) account, laden with personal and place names, official titles, and transliterated Chinese terms in such profusion as to daunt the nonspecialist. Specialists, for their part, will find no Chinese character glossary to all those names and terms, only a three-page index to the romanized names of the most important figures in the book.

The book's intense focus on the court and its outrages often deprives the reader of wider understandings. Most serious in this regard is the failure to explain the roving-rebel problem, which renders enigmatic various indirect references to the rebels in quoted passages (e.g. "We have alarms east and west, we have war north and south," p. 163). Further, while the book is about the Donglin as a political faction, adequate explanation of the movement's wider dimensions is reserved for the very end.

In sum, this work gives us a valuable narration, from astutely parsed primary sources, of one of the most disturbing and consequential political tragedies in China's long history. That it was not better crafted to serve either a general or specialist audience is regrettable.

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JAMES H. CARTER. *Creating a Chinese Harbin: Nationalism in an International City, 1916-1932*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 217. \$39.95.

This book focuses on the attempt by Chinese nationalists to "forge a Chinese identity for this multiethnic city" (p. 3). James H. Carter starts with the Russian Revolution, which ended Russian administration of the city, and continues through the Manchurian Incident in 1931, which signaled the resumption of foreign control, this time by Japan. The book is intended to be "a case study in the development of modern nationalism" (p. 5), with lessons applicable elsewhere. In a nutshell, Carter argues that "Chinese nationalism in Harbin grew out of simultaneous opposition to and cooperation with the large foreign presence" (p. 3), but, in the end, "conflicting versions of nationalism undermined the nationalist movement" (p. 9).

Carter divides his book into six chapters. Chapter one provides a discussion, organized by city district and ethnic group, of Harbin before the Russian Revolution. Chapter two describes the activities between 1916 and 1918 of the Donghua School, founded by nationalistic Chinese Christians, gentry, and merchants in the hopes of strengthening China by educating Harbin's youth. Chapter three focuses on the

impact, from 1918 to 1920, of the May Fourth Movement on the Donghua School, arguing that the nationalist movement became split between government officials focused on national sovereignty and elites focused on local issues. Chapter four describes the Chinese attempts, from 1920 to 1926, to take advantage of the Russian Civil War and the 1922 Washington Conference in order to reassert Chinese sovereignty over the city. Carter shows how this led not only to the end of extraterritoriality in Harbin but also to growing tensions with foreigners. Chapter five focuses on the expression of Chinese nationalism in the architecture of city buildings constructed between 1921 and 1929. Chapter six discusses the failure of Chinese nationalism in Harbin starting in 1927, when the movement became increasingly split among factions focused on confronting warlordism, resisting Japan, or fomenting a proletarian revolution. Carter concludes that the virtually unopposed Japanese occupation in 1931 marked the failure of the nationalist movement in Harbin.

Carter uses an impressive list of Chinese archives and Chinese sources. In particular, he relies on the Harbin Municipal Archives, two local newspapers (*Binjiang shibao* and *Yuandong bao*), a published document collection on the Heilongjiang student movement, as well as the papers of two Americans living in Harbin (the director of the YMCA and the consul). However, he actually cites less than half the materials listed in his "selected bibliography." To Carter's credit, he relies heavily on the archives he lists.

As the title indicates, Carter's focus is on nationalism, particularly student nationalism, and on the activities of the Donghua School (enrollment about fifty). Carter covers student demonstrations in detail yet neglects other groups, such as the shopkeepers, government employees, and Chinese railway workers who dominated the economic life of the city. In particular, the Chinese Eastern Railway and its employees deserve more attention, since without them, there never would have been a Harbin. Their activities should be covered to some extent by the local newspapers. If, by contrast, the nationalist movement was largely confined to students and a handful of educators at the Donghua School, this would explain why it was so easily crushed in 1931. That same year, Shanghai nationalists bitterly resisted the Japanese attempt to occupy their city. Why the difference? The so-called Shanghai Incident is not mentioned.

Carter devotes just one page to the undeclared war in 1929 when Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops tried unsuccessfully to wrest control of the railway from the Soviet Union. Harbin must have been a crucial location in this war since it provided the vital southward railway junction to the rest of China. The war repeatedly brought railway service to a halt, affecting the economic life of the city and probably the development of Chinese nationalism as well. Again, the local press should shed light on this issue.

Finally, to complete the story of Chinese national-

ism in Harbin, it would be useful to pursue the topic through the Chinese Civil War, when Manchuria became the crucial military theater. Presumably there is a connection between the long Japanese occupation and the resurgence of Chinese nationalism there in the 1940s.

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DONALD A. JORDAN. *China's Trial by Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. pp. xvi, 309. \$65.00.

Anger over a massacre of Chinese living in Japanese-controlled Korea during the summer of 1931 resulted in an anti-Japanese boycott throughout China but particularly in Shanghai, where the largest concentration of Japanese civilians lived. The boycott spread to Manchuria, where it incited the Japanese military to implement its plan to occupy the province. On the night of September 18, Japanese soldiers set off explosives along the Southern Manchurian Railroad near the city of Mukden. A skirmish between Chinese and Japanese soldiers followed, resulting in the order for a full-scale attack by Japanese military commanders. Chinese forces retreated south of the Great Wall and, by year's end, Manchuria was under Japanese control. These events caused tensions to mount between Japanese residing in Shanghai and Chinese citizens of the city. The crisis deepened as the Japanese angrily reacted to the boycott, which they claimed threatened not only their economic interests but their lives as well. The situation deteriorated, and on the night of January 28, 1932, Japanese marines went ashore and raided the Chinese-controlled Zhabei district of the city—ostensibly to rescue Japanese citizens but really to punish the Chinese for the boycott. What followed were thirty-three days of fighting known as the Shanghai War of 1932.

It is these thirty-three days that form the core of Donald A. Jordan's ground-breaking case study. Working from an impressive collection of Chinese, Japanese, and English-language sources, Jordan meticulously relates the events of what—until this work—has been seen as a minor incident in the road to the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945). He concludes that this small, localized war was more than just a preview of what was to come; it irrevocably changed China, Japan, and modern warfare.

Jordan argues that supporters of Japan's military in Manchuria incited the Shanghai war in order to create a diversion so that the military could cement its control over the province. No one believed that the raid on Shanghai would be anything but a swift lesson taught by a superior military force. The Japanese could not have been more mistaken; not only did the Chinese armies fight effectively against the Japanese, but the fighting caused a surge of nationalism among Chinese that united the country. In addition, the boycott had hurt Japanese economic interests in Shanghai, causing

managers of Japanese-owned mills to support the military incursion into the city. It was no surprise, according to the author, that Japanese marines chose to land in Zhabei, home to many Japanese residents and the site of modern machine-making plants. The destruction of those plants ended China's chances to compete successfully with Japanese zaibatsu.

Most people remember the war because it included the first aerial bombing of civilians. Equally important, however, the conflict showed traditional trench warfare to be ineffective against a mechanized enemy. Unable to withstand a superior Japanese military machine, Chinese forces retreated to a less exposed defense, employing a strategy later used effectively by the Chinese Communists against both the Japanese and the Nationalists.

The impact of the war was widespread. Impressed by Chinese persistence, Westerners overestimated China's military might and incorrectly concluded that it was the best deterrent against Japan in Asia. Japanese acts of aggression and its disregard for postwar peace covenants made it an international pariah. Moreover, its propaganda about "liberating" oppressed Chinese lost all credibility following the bombings and a massacre of civilians in February 1932. In the end, China's military defeat turned into a diplomatic victory, allowing Chiang Kai-shek's government to become a major international player.

Perhaps most important, the war affected China's sense of itself. Despite Japanese claims that China could not act as a unified state and therefore could not protect foreign nationals, the Chinese united to save their nation. The surge of patriotism that swept the country was utilized not only by the Nationalist regime to cement its power in Nanjing but by its opponents, who rode the tide of nationalism by claiming that the government did not sufficiently stand up to the aggressors.

This is an important and enlightening work. By carefully reconstructing events that led to, occurred during, and followed the Japanese incursion into Shanghai, Jordan has created a first-rate history of a volatile city, an out-of-control military machine, an emerging national government, and a resourceful people. For military historians and those with an interest in Shanghai and in the Chinese Revolution, this book is a must. It does have its flaws, however: its extraordinary detail and use of the Wade-Giles system of romanization make it difficult for use in undergraduate classes. Nevertheless, its superb conclusion could stand alone as an essay. Finally, although the table of contents promises illustrations following page 110, none are there. The author or the editor should have noticed.

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FRANK DIKÖTTER. *Crime, Punishment and the Prison in Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 441. \$38.00.

After studying race, eugenics, and sexuality, Frank Dikötter offers an account of the birth of the prison in late imperial and republican China. This is a field into which very few researchers have ventured, generally by focusing on law and regulation rather than on real practice. Thanks to painstaking work in the archives, Dikötter is able to usher his readers into the Chinese prison. He follows individual inmates and provides many details on their daily life, social and educational backgrounds, health, and sanitary conditions. He also analyzes the introduction of new corpus of knowledge as the sciences of crime (criminology) and punishment (penology) developed from the 1920s on.

Dikötter's challenge was to connect this detailed picture with the antecedent imperial system and with the subsequent Maoist gulag. Although the author endeavored to evidence "continuities"—one oft-repeated word in the volume—the book lacks real historical profundity. Strangely enough, the infamous punishments of the Chinese Empire are still a dark continent for the historian who does not stand on the solid ground of knowledge from which Michel Foucault traced new paths of understanding. Statements like "The introduction of prison in China was both radically new and remarkably traditional" (p. 7) are misleading: prison was "radically new," and only that, as it gave opportunities for reeducating the prisoner. "Continuities" with the tradition that Dikötter seeks in the Confucian stress on education (*jiao*) are unconvincing: *mingxing bijiao*, a cliché used by Qing officials in their memorials or in legal treatises, is accurately rendered "the law was an instrument of education" (p. 8) but misinterpreted as evidence of a concern for reeducating the prisoners, while Qing officials meant to "educate" people by deterring them with punishments, including death. Texts and debates among the late Qing reformers show that China lacked experience in this field. The "reeducation," as later illustrated by Peoples' Republic camps, started from scratch after the importation of the Western prison model.

The book touches on sounder continuities, but some are insufficiently documented. If the evolution of the county jails is well described from the last days of the empire, there is no mention of the central prisons of the Board of Punishments (*tilao*). With their thousands of prisoners and their profuse regulation, these central prisons conveyed much more experience to the prison managers, and they offer examples of continuities that would have allowed Dikötter to present the prison administration as more than a mere graft of foreign systems. The same is true of the introduction of modern criminal sciences in the 1920s. Chinese efforts to accommodate Western theories (Cesare Lombroso's famous "born killer," among many others) or new plans for penitentiary houses (among which Jeremy Bentham's panopticon stands out) are certainly a part of Chinese modernity. But did the emulation of Western theories deserve more attention than original attempts of synthesis between Western science and Chinese skills? In forensic medicine, China had one of

the world's longest traditions: the *Xiyuan lu* (a treatise for washing wrongs away) that originated in the thirteenth century. Attempts to combine Chinese techniques with Western anatomy are discussed in a few lines and two footnotes (p. 214, n. 94 and n. 96). They could have been more insightfully developed with regard to their influence on criminology.

Although stressing continuities in the personnel between the imperial and republican periods, the book is biased in favor of Westernized modernists trained abroad. An outstanding figure like Dong Kang, who was trained at the old Board of Punishment, is ignored, even though he was one of the first Chinese sent to study the Japanese prison system and played a major role in its introduction in China under the late empire and the republic. A major "continuity" was the development of an alternative model to the prison, from the "great deportation" in Xinjiang under the Qing to the Maoist labor camps. The section on convict colonies used to reclaim wasteland is instructive but too short.

This book contains a lot of vivid information, and the forty-two iconographic documents are treated as historical sources in the full sense of the term. A glossary of Chinese terms completes this useful work for specialists of the penal systems of Asia.

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IAN NISH. *Japanese Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period*. (Praeger Studies of Foreign Policies of the Great Powers.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2002. Pp. x, 212. \$64.95.

Numerous scholars have written about Japanese foreign policy in the interwar period, and one is tempted to wonder if yet another account is genuinely needed, but when it comes from the pen of such a senior historian as Ian Nish, the answer is a resounding "yes." Nish has produced an archetypical study through his careful collection of evidence, through his judicious assessments, and through his lucid presentation: in short, this study is a hallmark of professional maturity and sophistication.

Although technically the coverage of this work is from 1919 to midway through World War II, Nish makes a strong case that the "interwar" period for Japan is more appropriately defined as starting from the Russo-Japanese War, 1904–1905, and continuing to the early 1940s. This initial observation is symptomatic of Nish's careful scholarship "to avoid seeing Japanese foreign policy of the 1920s and 1930s as an accumulation of stepping stones on the road to war" (p. 11). Historians have long known that Japan experienced a meteoric rise in status in the international community of nations during the early part of the twentieth century, and Nish explains this rise with unfailing insight. For example, within a discussion of the overarching issues of the 1930s, including "the role of party politics and the need for reining in the

military" (p. 85), Nish artfully delineates the Manchurian crisis, Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations, and the second London Naval Conference. This is done against the backdrop of financial constraints and struggles over national direction between various cabinets and the professional armed services. Nor is the flavor of key personalities missed in Nish's rendering. In the case of appointing a special plenipotentiary to the League Council, Matsuoka Yosuke was deliberately chosen because of his linguistic skills: "he was to prove an intrepid debater and eloquent (but lengthy) speech-maker in Geneva" (p. 87). Elsewhere, the chief Japanese representative to Adolf Hitler's government, Oshima Hiroshi, is described as a Germanophile and as being "especially well-connected in Berlin" (p. 125). These are but a few apt examples of the richness of this study.

Japan had achieved preeminence on the international scene when imperialist values still prevailed, Nish points out. After World War I, however, those values became increasingly outmoded, and Japan was unable to modify its stance thoroughly enough to avoid colliding with the interests of the key international players, especially Great Britain and the United States. Japan managed very well in the 1920s, but the pivotal Manchurian crisis in the early 1930s "was an important turning point in Japan's fortunes, both domestically and internationally" (p. 177). Moreover, these fortunes were exacerbated by Japan's full-scale war against China starting in 1937. By the summer of 1940, the war had spread to Southeast Asia, and soon military arguments demanded a preemptive strike at Pearl Harbor to preclude American interference with Japanese southward expansion.

Nish's assessments are keen and sensible throughout this notable volume, a contribution in the Praeger series, "Studies of Foreign Policies of the Great Powers." One final assessment is particularly telling: it concerns the role of Hirohito, crown prince and regent from 1921 to 1926 and emperor thereafter until his death in January 1989. Nish is convinced that Hirohito was diligent, persevering, and well informed about military planning. Most significantly, however, Nish concludes that "it is probably true that there was no question of . . . [Hirohito] carrying enough weight to arrest the war in China or to veto the outbreak of war with the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands" (p. 182).

In sum, this is an extremely valuable work. It is a distinctive contribution to the extensive literature on Japan's foreign policy in the interwar years.

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YUKI TANAKA. *Japan's Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery and Prostitution during World War II and the U.S. Occupation*. (Asia's Transformations.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xix, 212. \$23.95.

There is now a substantial body of historical and contemporary scholarly work that has made Japan's comfort women the subject of intellectual inquiry. This material includes testimonies and memoirs by the women themselves, investigations into U.S. and Japanese responses (or nonresponses) to an issue that will not disappear from war narratives, and the feminist writing and agitation that was among the first voices of protest and insistence that legal action be taken.

Rarely have we been given such a meticulous, exhaustive, and compelling narrative as the one Yuki Tanaka presents in this detailed account of organized sexual violence by the Japanese Imperial Forces against women. Tanaka examines mass rape under military control between 1931 and 1945 and analyzes the use of sex to sustain military discipline. He considers both the stories of those who administered this abuse and the women who endured the violence and brutality of organized sexual violence. Tanaka explores the ways in which the Japanese military structure and the ideology that emerged from it created a propensity for soldiers to violate women. In his view, racism and nationalism were interrelated within the ideology of masculinity; sexual abuse of women symbolized the dominance of the conquerors. It is no surprise that it was Korean, Dutch, and Indonesian women who were primarily victimized. The relationship between sex and colonization can only be understood, argues Tanaka, within the wider historical context of the Japanese colonization of Korea. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the comfort women system expanded to include the entire Asia-Pacific area. Further groups of Asian women were then included, such as Taiwanese, Chinese, and Filipinas. According to Tanaka, nothing was done because U.S. forces upheld policies of military-controlled prostitution, as did their British and Australian counterparts. Tanaka considers how specific and particular these crimes were to Japan, and how distinctive they were to the Japanese military. The connection between war and sexuality is forcefully argued and explored in this lucid, powerful account.

Systematic rape was also prevalent during the Pacific War, and testimonies of Okinawan women who were gang raped by American soldiers during and after the Battle of Okinawa are documented. In this instance, U.S. soldiers viewed local women as "belonging" to the enemy. During the occupation of Japan, American troops were as guilty as any of the soldiers of committing rape. Investigations of these crimes were dismissed. Members of the military police, who were supposed to be investigating rape cases and arresting rapist soldiers, often themselves raped Japanese women. Nor did the Americans prosecute Japanese officers for sexual violence against women. Tanaka explores this aspect of the history of comfort women by arguing that the majority of women who were forced into prostitution were Asian and therefore neither "white" nor civilians of the Allied nations. He concludes that it took almost half a century for the

enslavement of the comfort women to be considered one of the most serious war crimes in history.

One of the major achievements of this book is Tanaka's use of material from both military and social history. The ways in which he provides detailed accounts through military records and analyzes these through cultural and social paradigms represent an important contribution to the newly emerging scholarship that brings together different fields of endeavor. Tanaka scrutinizes military history through the lens of feminist paradigms and draws on military archives to provide a more complex and layered account of the relationship between militarism and masculinity.

Further consideration could have been given to considering shifts over time. It is indisputable that political and sexual domination are interlinked; at what point, and under what circumstances, did these issues begin to be contested, challenged, brought into question? What impetus gave rise to these critiques? Given the nature of war, sexuality, and power, will such behavior ever change? Or is sexual violence an essential part of the strategy of war? As former "comfort women" continue their compensation claims against opposition from the Japanese courts, this erudite book is a timely reminder that history remains on their side.

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MICHAEL FINCH. *Min Yŏng-Hwan: A Political Biography*. (Hawai'i Studies on Korea.) Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press and Center for Korean Studies, University of Hawai'i. 2002. Pp. xii, 256. \$45.00.

Few incidents in the history of early twentieth-century Korea have garnered as much attention as the suicide of the official, Min Yŏng-Hwan. Recounted in textbooks and represented in national history museums, Min's suicide has been publicly canonized as the all-too-rare sacrifice of a patriot who acted the way the custodians of the Korean national past wish others had behaved. Yet memory of Min as an exception among an officialdom none too eager to risk opposing Japanese colonization has had the consequence of rendering Min's life all but colorless. Little has been known about this figure whose story has been reduced to the singularity of a dramatic end, an end that in serving as a metonym for the death of a nation has all but erased from public memory what came before. It is to infuse color into Min's life story that Michael Finch has written this biography, using the life of this prominent official "to put across a small part of the Korean side of the story in that nation's painful transition from the nineteenth to twentieth century" (p. 179). The result is a chronological account of Min's life that veers clear of most historiographical debates to give a number of insights into an under-researched period of Korean history.

Min would seem to be well chosen for a biographical approach to this momentous period in Korean history. With deep ties to the royal family, he had access to the

highest levels of power in the kingdom. He was also well connected to various parts of the reform movement, both inside and outside the state. Such relations with divergent groups ensured that Min either participated in or was an observer of key events in the demise of the Chosŏn dynasty. In government, Min served in diverse roles: as the head envoy to the coronation of Tsar Nicholas II, from which he returned without guarantees for Korean sovereignty (but with a purchased windmill in hand); attending Queen Victoria's silver jubilee celebration (he diligently practiced his horse riding for the procession in Hyde Park); and as minister of war among a variety of other upper level posts. Outside government, he wrote about the need for reform, launched new schools that sought to train students to survey land, and supported the start of emigration to Hawaii. As Finch clearly shows, Min energetically threw himself into many of the most popular reform endeavors of his day.

Yet it is also clear that writing a biography of Min was not an easy task. Finch has produced what he calls a political biography, for this is not the type of richly detailed biography that has come into vogue in recent years, delving into the minutiae of an individual's life as a means of reflecting back on a historical period. Sources simply do not offer such access to Min's personal thoughts and relations. Instead, Finch is forced to cleave to a few slim volumes of Min's own writings, supplementing them with the observations of various Korean contemporaries and a number of Western diplomats. The result is a work that in its own narrative adheres closely to the content and organization of Min's work.

Given the paucity of sources on Min's life, Finch is often left with little recourse when Min, whether neglectfully or willfully, evades certain topics. This must have been most frustrating for the author. But it is also frustrating for the reader. Too often, we are left stranded with phrases such as "unfortunately, Min makes no mention in his diary of what those telegrams contained" (p. 137). At times, these lacunae relate to some of the most important issues of Min's efforts, as is the case with his meeting with Lord Salisbury, the British foreign minister, during his trip to London. "Although there is no record of what may have been discussed at these meetings, in all likelihood nothing more significant occurred than an exchange of courtesies" (p. 153). Such gaps reflect less on the efforts of the author than on the terse nature of Min's diaries.

Finch has a tendency to infuse his narrative with a wistful disappointment that the subject of his study did not gain sufficient opportunity to implement his ideas. Writing of Min's moderate reform package, he says: "if it had been more widely practiced, [it] might have enabled Korea to face more effectively the twin challenges of internal reform and the external threat of posed to its sovereignty" (p. 23). Speaking of Min's diplomatic efforts in Russia, he conjectures, "had such steps been taken thirty years earliest . . . the history of the Far East might have looked very different" (p.

114). This is perhaps the hazard of writing the biography of a failed political aspirant. Yet, without contextualizing Min's efforts within the socioeconomic and institutional history against which Finch offers his "study of personality" (p. 8), the author's arguments are at times unable to move beyond this style of wistfulness to explain fully the context for Min's frustrated ambitions.

Despite these quibbles, this book will be helpful to anyone interested in learning more about Min or this exciting period in the history of Korea.

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SCOT BARMÉ. *Woman, Man, Bangkok: Love, Sex, and Popular Culture in Thailand*. (Asian Voices.) Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield. 2002. Pp. vii, 273. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$27.95.

Scot Barmé reads the middle-class discourse around gender in early twentieth-century Siam (Thailand) as evidence of a widespread dissatisfaction with absolutist rule and elite prerogatives, dissatisfaction that culminated in the bloodless coup of 1932 and ushered in the modern polity. Unlike other countries in Southeast Asia, where nationalism emerged in response to domination by Western powers, Siam was never a European colony. Still, increasing literacy and mass media effected a similar engagement with the idea of modernity and an emergent sense of nationhood on a world stage. Anxiety about how Thailand appeared to foreigners was intense. Gender relations—specifically touchstones such as female education and polygamy—were used rhetorically in this era as a measure of the modern, and as indexes of the need for state reform.

The monarchy survives in Thailand, albeit not in its absolutist form, and histories of the country are too often royalist in their focus, Barmé claims. Progressive kings, fascinated by cinema and other modern wonders, appear as the primary motor of social change. Royals' writings have been reprinted, disseminated, and preserved such that crafting histories from a royalist perspective is all too easy. Barmé concentrates instead on sources more ephemeral and scattered, such as early films, most of which were not preserved, and magazines and newspapers, many of which were short-lived and are now difficult to find. He also examines novels and stories, including cheap film booklets written to explain and translate the foreign movies that captivated Thai audiences. Many of Barmé's sources are graphic: didactic and political cartoons, photographs, films, advertisements, and posters. In these artifacts and sources, often produced by "a crowd of nobodies" (p. 49), irreverent images and scathing critiques of the monarch and the elite sometimes went well beyond what would be tolerated in today's Thailand.

The subject of polygamy best illustrates how a women's issue became a means of criticizing the social and political order. Marriage laws were in many cases

merely customary rather than coded, and they permitted men to have multiple wives while affording women no protection from divorce or abandonment. New women's magazines took up a legal campaign for equality in marriage, frequently depicting the men who victimized women as elite Lotharios. In fact, having multiple wives was increasingly a middle-class practice, but the visual rhetoric fused the idea of rapacious sexuality with elite prerogatives.

Women were vulnerable to abandonment because they were not able to support themselves, at least in middle-class occupations. The debate was whether women should receive the same education as men or follow a parallel program to prepare them for motherhood and middle-class domesticity. Women writers and magazine publishers were at the forefront of the call for legal and education reforms. They did not speak with one voice in this debate, but everyone agreed that monogamy and educating women were hallmarks of a modern, progressive nation.

Sometimes abandoned women resorted to prostitution, or poor parents sold daughters into the trade. Barmé demonstrates that public concern about prostitution surfaced decades before GIs flocked to Bangkok on their leaves, and that immigrant Chinese laborers comprised a large part of the new market for sex. Reformists charged that the old political system was not capable of dealing with these new social ills: widespread prostitution and the epidemic of venereal diseases that came with it.

The modern ideal that persons choose their own marriage partners through mutual attraction was a favorite theme of cinematic and literary narratives in this period. Marriages among the elite had generally been arranged, carefully matching couples within class parameters. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia at this time, fictional romances, especially those that crossed class and racial boundaries, were a common trope of a new individualism. These "modern" Thai lovers were often ill fated, however, or else the stories ended happily but still proved conformist when, for example, someone presumed to be of lowly birth was discovered to have noble origins after all. Just as these "modern" romances often confirmed the naturalness of traditional statuses, they also reinforced the sexual double standard, in that men's dalliances were forgiven while women's were not.

Thanks to his sources, Barmé's history provides a fresh look at the last decades of absolutist rule. Skeptical about kingly leadership in the process of modernization, this off-center history shows that royal reformers were riding a large wave of populism and middle-class discontent. Barmé's prose is very accessible, and with its attractive graphics, this paperback version will be a useful addition to courses on modern Southeast Asia.

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KIM N. B. NINH. *A World Transformed: The Politics of Culture in Revolutionary Vietnam, 1945–1965*. (South-east Asia: Politics, Meaning, Memory.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 317. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

For decades the postcolonial history of Vietnam has been understudied and poorly understood. Despite the outpouring of work on the French and American wars in Vietnam, remarkably little attention has been directed at the political, social, and cultural history of the North Vietnamese state. The vitality and depth that have long characterized the historiography on Vietnam under French colonial rule in the interwar period stand in sharp contrast to a prevailing static conception of the post-1945 period, one that has often emphasized purported continuities between Vietnamese Marxism and Confucianism and elided the contingent and contested processes of revolution and state building in the postcolonial era.

The recent opening to Western scholars of Vietnamese state archives, as well as a broader turn in Vietnamese studies to interrogate more critically homogenizing narratives of the Vietnamese past, have begun to produce a richer and fuller account of postcolonial Vietnam. Along with Patricia M. Pelley's *Postcolonial Vietnam: New Histories of the National Past* (2002) and Shaun Kingsley Malarney's *Culture, Ritual and Revolution in Vietnam* (2002), Kim N. B. Ninh's excellent study of Vietnamese revolutionary politics from 1945 to 1965 makes an important contribution to these salutary shifts in our understanding of modern Vietnamese history. Ninh's work is centrally concerned with the contested construction of cultural policies by the socialist state in northern Vietnam. It combines an analysis of top-down institutional efforts aimed at radical reforms of art, literature, and education with a nuanced examination of the complex societal reactions to the state's revolutionary cultural vision.

The first part of Ninh's study examines the period from the August Revolution of 1945, which brought the Vietnamese Communists to power, to their victory in the French war in 1954. It concentrates on efforts by the Vietnamese state to define the ways in which culture could serve as a weapon in the struggle for national liberation and socialist revolution. It also explores the ambivalent reactions of intellectuals, many of whom were eager to contribute to the national struggle but were suspicious of the increasingly narrow, utilitarian, and class-based conceptions of art and literature endorsed by the state. Ninh's efforts to recover a number of key literary works from this period, and her discussion of the ways in which they shaped emerging differences in the meanings accorded to revolutionary culture, are particularly valuable, as is her exploration of the critical 1949 Conference of Debates. She persuasively demonstrates how the conference, although virtually ignored in the existing Western literature, brought artists, writers, and agents of the state together in ways that reflected the state's

increasing embrace of hierarchical and class-based conceptions of culture and nationalism and the deepening anxieties of many intellectuals who had been committed to the revolutionary cause.

In the second half of her book, Ninh examines the period from 1954 to the beginning of the American war in Vietnam. In part, Ninh's focus here is a more familiar one. She directs significant attention to the Nhan Van Giai Pham affair, which is generally seen as the most important open expression of intellectual dissent against the North Vietnamese state in the postcolonial period. It has received extensive scholarly treatment, notably by Georges Boudarel in his *Cent fleurs écloses dans la nuit du Vietnam: Communisme et dissidence, 1954–1956* (1991). Ninh's contribution, however, is to help us see the affair in a broader context as one of a number of examples of the contestation between the state and civil society in the immediate postrevolutionary period and of the progressive institutionalization of state efforts to shape and control culture. The latter issues receive brilliant treatment in the final chapters of her study. Here Ninh analyzes state projects to introduce socialist culture at the village level and to establish a reformed educational system designed to produce new socialist men and women. These rich chapters draw most fully on Ninh's pioneering work in the archives of the Ministries of Culture and Education in Hanoi. Her analysis of how state actors at the national and local levels initiated and eventually acknowledged the failure of the "cultural house" project, designed to provide a focus for the florescence of class-based socialist culture in individual villages, is one example of the fine-grained texture of her archivally informed account. Similarly, her discussion of education reform is deeply revealing of the contestations within the state itself between a desire to create a new class of politically pure intellectuals and the problematics of maintaining the professional standards necessary for economic and social development.

In carefully analyzing the radical break that new modernist conceptions of state and society posed for the Vietnamese after 1945 and in her remarkable use of new Vietnamese archival sources, Ninh's important book opens up the revolutionary history of postcolonial Vietnam in penetrating and transformative ways.

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PHILIP E. CATTON. *Diem's Final Failure: Prelude to America's War in Vietnam*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. x, 298. \$34.95.

Murdered after surrendering to a cabal of U.S.-supported military officers in the fall of 1963, President Ngo Dinh Diem and his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu, paid the ultimate price for being out of step with America's interests in South Vietnam. After nine years of Wash-

ington and Saigon talking past one another, and Diem's escalating repression of the country's Buddhists and other regime opponents, the Kennedy administration was eager for change. And, although President John F. Kennedy was reported to have been truly shocked by the assassinations, the successful coup brought about rejoicing in the American Embassy in Saigon. Kennedy's own death, just weeks later, has engendered a host of speculative histories. Similarly, had Diem remained in power, Indochina might well have evolved in a very different manner. What we do know is that within two years of his death, America was taking over the war and establishing a domineering foreign presence antithetical to Diem's avowed vision for Vietnam. Philip E. Catton's engaging study is, therefore, especially helpful in assessing the nature of nearly a decade (1954–1963) of critical U.S.–South Vietnamese relations.

These were the years when officials in Washington and Saigon were equally uncomfortable at the prospect of an expanded American presence in South Vietnam. Diem's haughty and obdurate behavior, however, raised U.S. fears that his policies would lead the country into the arms of the communists. Using an impressive range of U.S. and Vietnamese primary materials, Catton skillfully documents the deep differences between the two administrations. From the beginning, Diem was clearly on probation with many senior U.S. decision makers. After Diem's first year in office, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles could only manage the observation that "we don't see any particular reason to throw him out" (p. 11).

Diem was a difficult man with no small ego. But Catton argues he was not, as often portrayed in general histories of the Vietnam War, a one-dimensional "Mandarin" of limited imagination. In an effort to develop a "third way" to economic development, the Ngo brothers promoted a modified, European-based political philosophy called personalism. According to Catton, the doctrine "spoke directly not only to their hatred of communism but also to their distrust of capitalism; its emphasis on the value of community, rather than individualism, complemented the traditional focus of Vietnamese culture on social relationships as well as the concerns of modern nationalism with group solidarity." A "Personalist Republic," Diem believed, "could serve as a framework for the modernization of South Vietnam" (p. 42) and defend against the threat of American neocolonialism.

Catton presents detailed evidence of Diem's efforts to institute a wide range of projects, including his own version of land reform: a resettlement program called "Land Development," an "Agroville" program designed to create model villages of peace and security, and a follow-up scheme known as the "Strategic Hamlet Program." Not surprisingly, many Vietnamese peasants were reluctant to embrace forced relocation and the disruption of their lives and traditional villages. Meanwhile, in 1959 Hanoi decided to begin sending armed forces and supplies into South Vietnam

in pursuit of a reunified Vietnam. Diem, hoping the population would embrace personalism and his "self-help" programs, instead found his government facing a serious and growing communist insurgency. Moreover, since most of Diem's efforts were undertaken with limited regard for American advice, the threat of a communist victory convinced many U.S. officials that he should be replaced. Ultimately, Diem's insistence on autonomy and "Vietnamese" solutions caused his American patrons to seek a more obedient client. The practical result of America's actions for South Vietnam, however, was a series of military coups and dysfunctional governments.

Apart from providing much-needed understanding of the early years of U.S. involvement in the second Indochina conflict, Catton's analysis draws necessary attention to present day international security concerns. Coalition military success in Afghanistan and Iraq is merely a starting point for nation building. As the U.S. embarks on the reconstruction of these countries, senior policy makers would do well to reflect on the dilemma America faced in supporting the "right" leadership in Vietnam. If such leadership means subservience to American interests and direction, expect trouble. Like Diem, local leaders can only retain legitimacy with their people by maintaining an arm's length from Washington. Diem refused to be an American stooge and was destroyed for his defiance. Having the U.S. as a patron, it seems clear, is a mixed blessing. Thoughtful, thoroughly researched, and filling an important niche in our understanding of this early period of the Vietnam War, Catton's work is highly recommended.

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KUNAL CHAKRABARTI. *Religious Process: The Purāṇas and the Making of a Regional Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 368. \$39.95.

This book focuses on the Bengal Purāṇas, a set of scriptures composed largely in the Bengali region during the medieval period. Kunal Chakrabarti sets out to explore what the Bengal Purāṇas reveal about Bengali regional identity, especially as this identity, like other regional identities in India, involves interaction between pan-Indian and local levels. To this end, he argues that the Bengal Purāṇas helped create and propagate a Bengali regional identity that accommodated and absorbed local beliefs and practices while preserving hegemonic *brāhmaṇa* privilege. The process by which this occurred, which Chakrabarti terms "the Puranic process," involved both strong affirmation of local customs and practices as well as the preservation and repeated assertion of Vedic authority (the traditional domain of *brāhmaṇa* privilege), with the Bengal Purāṇas attempting "to make the two appear consistent" (p. 32).

Chakrabarti focuses on three arenas in which significant processes of negotiation took place: the interac-

tion between Brahmanism and Buddhism, goddess cults, and *vrata* traditions. With respect to the first arena, Chakrabarti notes that when Brahmanism came to Bengal, it had to contend with Buddhism, which enjoyed strong support both from the state and on a popular level. In this environment, Tantra—which crossed the Hindu-Buddhist divide—and royal patronage helped promote Brahmanical values. But the Bengal Purāṇas played a crucial role in the process, denigrating Buddhism while promoting an image of Brahmanism and *brāhmaṇas* that would “justify the many rights and privileges the Purāṇas claim for them” (p. 122). With respect to goddess cults, Chakrabarti notes that goddess veneration was so firmly established in Bengal that “it demanded recognition by *brāhmaṇas*.” The Bengal Purāṇas absorbed goddess worship into a Brahmanical framework, creating a regional goddess tradition by adopting local goddesses and, with suitable modifications, transforming them into Brahmanical deities “by means of a carefully constructed Śākta theology” (p. 171). Chakrabarti contends that goddess religion was in fact “the most important medium of assimilation of local cultural forms” (p. 33).

With respect to *vratas* (votive religious practices), Chakrabarti argues that Brahmanism tapped into indigenous Bengali *vrata* traditions, inventing new, more broad-ranging *vrata* traditions that accommodated Brahmanical values. Puranic *vratas* did not erase local *vrata* traditions but borrowed their structure from the local rite, paving the way for broad acceptance. Puranic *vratas* then came to serve as a “vehicle for propagation of the Purāṇas” (p. 250), which became essential to their performance. They did this both by serving as repositories of *vrata* lore and by advocating public recitation of the Purāṇas by a *brāhmaṇa* as part of the *vrata* performance. The retention of Sanskrit as a Puranic language served to “safeguard the prestige of the language of the dominant group” by excluding the local population from learning it (p. 276).

This work succeeds very well in grounding Puranic trends in broad historical movements and processes. Yet the book’s relentless evocation of Brahmanical hegemony as the most adequate frame for understanding the Bengal Purāṇas and Bengali regional identity is somewhat heavy handed. Lower-caste groups surely exercised some agency in processes of religious transformation and accommodation, but Chakrabarti does not engage such issues in any depth. The book’s focus on broad trends means that there is much less actual citation of Puranic passages than one might expect in a book about the Purāṇas, and I found myself yearning for more examples and more concrete evidence to buttress the author’s arguments. Chakrabarti highlights the role of goddess traditions in Bengal, which he highlights as the primary vehicle of integration of Brahmanical values, but he gives scant attention to Vaiṣṇava traditions, which probably merit more attention than he warrants. He correctly notes the role of Sāṃkhya thought in creating a Brahmanical Śākta

theology through its understanding of a foundational principle of materiality, *prakṛti*, which is feminized in the Purāṇas and turned into a goddess. But he incorrectly claims that the idea of a principle of *mūlaprakṛti*, “root *prakṛti*,” is a Puranic invention not found in earlier Sāṃkhya thought; this is simply not true. He repeats the often-noted observation that goddess veneration is primarily non-Vedic, but he overlooks ways that Vedic materials describe foundational cosmological principles as inherently feminine, paving the way for later homologization of the goddess with the principles *prakṛti* and *mūlaprakṛti*. Despite such concerns, however, the book provides a very valuable perspective on the Purāṇas as historically contingent works that are shaped by social forces and the material interests of human groups.

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PRASANNAN PARTHASARATHI. *The Transition to a Colonial Economy: Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720–1800*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 7.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 165. \$55.00.

This book argues that, during the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, weavers in south India were relatively well off compared to their European counterparts, as also were agricultural laborers. However, during the last fifty years of the eighteenth century (the late precolonial period), the power of the English East India Company state greatly increased, enabling it to control these producers with increasing effectiveness, limit their mobility, and curtail their earnings. The outcome of this application of state power was a decline in weaver wages and well being that preceded by several decades the negative competitive impact of British industrialization and full colonial rule. Consequently, argues Prasannan Parthasarathi, contrary to recent revisionist interpretations of British colonial rule that see it as rooted in indigenous forms, there was a dramatic break between indigenous rule associated with “notions of just rulership and a moral polity” (p. 130) and the company colonial state that implemented European-style policies to discipline and fix labor.

What, then, were the sources of the earlier affluence of weaver and agricultural producers? According to the author, a key factor was mobility. Weavers were able to pack up their looms and move, if they felt that their relations with a ruler or merchants were unfavorable, and neither merchants, who advanced cash to fund weaving, nor rulers could do much to prevent such resistance. Instead, merchants and rulers of necessity had to entice weavers to stay and fulfill their contracts: merchants by promises of future advances, rulers by favorable treatment of producers and state underwriting of agricultural development. The result of these policies was a productive agriculture that provided cheap subsistence, keeping the cost of pro-

duction low. To the frustration of the company, however, when textile prices were low and production costs high, weavers maintained their income by reducing the quality of the textiles they wove.

The English East India Company had long struggled with quality control, even while its policy of low prices exacerbated the problem. In the late precolonial period, to achieve control of weaver production, the company excluded competitors who offered weavers alternative markets for textiles the company rejected, and by the use of force it sought to deny weavers the option of absconding. The company became the monopolistic procurer at the same time as it also became the regional colonial state. As a result, weavers no longer could up looms and move a short distance to escape company control. As this shift happened, the nature of weaver resistance also changed from localized mobility to highly organized strikes that covered large areas. But, in the absence of alternative buyers, the company was able to wait these strikes out. The weavers had been boxed in. Similarly agricultural labor was disciplined by fixing producers to the land, fining agriculturists who employed the laborers of others, corporal punishment of laborers, and fixing wages. Gone were the incentives to invest in agriculture, and agriculture stagnated.

There is more than a little of the polemic to Parthasarathi's arguments. In the author's view, by the end of the period the company ran a highly regulatory state without any countervailing forces, leaving laborers in south India "extremely weak, vulnerable and eventually impoverished," which "may help to explain the extreme despotism of the colonial state" that followed (p. 148). By contrast, south Indian states were moral polities in which the upholding of justice was "a chief responsibility of kingship. Far from upholding justice . . . the Company engaged in egregious abuses of it" (p. 130). Such a dichotomizing of good and evil resonates with the rhetorical moral clarity of a certain present-day polity, but it is a gross oversimplification of the practices of indigenous states and of the company in the eighteenth century.

Nonetheless, despite such overdrawn contrasts, the argument about the impoverishment of weavers is interesting and worth examining. In part this argument is convincing because the author traces the evolution of weaver resistance to company control, developing from local-level weavers absconding with merchant cash advances to the organization of widespread, regional strikes in response to the company's changing control of the market. Although by making such a broad-ranging argument Parthasarathi leaves unexamined many factors that need addressing, such as the impact of the Carnatic wars, the advantage of the book's boldness is that it suggests an interpretation of the regional political economy that reveals the eighteenth century as a period of dynamic transformation

in relationships between the state and labor producers.

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JEFFREY COX. *Imperial Fault Lines: Christianity and Colonial Power in India, 1818–1940*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 357. \$55.00.

Behind Jeffrey Cox's text one can almost see Barbie Batchelor, missionary heroine of Paul Scott's fictional *Raj Quartet* (1976). One of Cox's objectives is to rescue from "multiple levels of exclusion" the role of women missionaries, both European and Indian (by 1906, seventy percent of the United Presbyterian Mission staff in the Punjab were women), as well as the role of Indian Christians (by 1891, eighty-five percent of the Punjab mission staff were Indian. But fifty percent were non-Christian, and here is yet another constituency in need of recognition: by the end of the nineteenth century, seventy percent of all staff in mission schools were non-Christian, teaching scripture like the best of them).

Celibacy was seen as more useful for women than men, especially in zenana mission (although this was withdrawn in response to Arya Samaj and Muslim opposition, and women turned instead to orphanages, hospitals, and education). The central theme of the text is the sheer difficulty of fashioning an Indian Christian community within an imperial setting, of realizing any spiritual equality alongside such gross inequalities of status and wealth: "the genteel imperialism of professional advantage and material inequality" (p. 89). A Bengali Christian, Golak Nath, had in 1863 all but accused foreign missionaries of being "active agents in creating the gulf between Europeans and Indians" (p. 222). Could mission build the universal church that would outlast empire?

Missionaries are seen here as "compulsive, inveterate institution builders," expressing "a rhetoric of bricks and mortars," inevitably throwing up conflicts of interest and exposing all the frailties of human relationships. Cox wants to override existing paradigms—imperialist, Saidian, providentialist—in favor of getting at the evidence and letting the story of the northwest, mainly Punjab and Delhi, tell itself. The weight of the evidence is drawn from Church Missionary Society (CMS) and the American Presbyterian Mission records. A considerably sophisticated interpretation is hung around the rather fragile missionary administrative infrastructure. Unfortunately, despite master narratives being a favorite concept of the author, Cox only rarely tells a story. This is a rather dense analysis that demands the reader's closest attention.

The author divides the material into three overlapping phases, 1810–1890 ("the ecclesiastical invasion of Punjab"); 1870–1930, focusing on conversion movements from below, mainly among the Chuhra untouchable community; and 1900–1940, signaling the end of

empire. From the story of the Punjab Native Church Council set up in 1877, he demonstrates the failure of foreign missionaries to work out with Indian Christians any genuine shared control of mission. The former were all too aware of their privileged status and looked on the latter as cultural collaborators seeking material advantage. Here some reference to the push-pull paradigm in conversion might have been helpful. It is a little surprising to come across an account of the Cambridge Mission as "authoritarian, arrogant and elitist" (p. 140), less so to read a description of fulfilment preaching as equivalent to "experiments to dress Indian or design buildings in what they imagined was an Indian style" (p. 65).

In the second phase, Cox explores his theme of negotiation between Indians and mission. Here were no "rice Christians" but a search for dignity. This was a unique Christianity best expressed in Punjabi hymnody, songs accompanied on harmonium and tabla, "making nonsense of categories of East and West as well as almost every other imaginable binary opposition" (p. 151). In phase three, the most tantalizing Christianity is on display, with Christian fakirs and sadhus, both European (for example, the Salvation Army Commissioner Fakir Singh) and Indian (Sunder Singh), together with the rather strange trajectory in the career of C. K. Andrews, who initially sought out the powerful but eventually found in Mohandas Gandhi his Christian ideal.

Mission peaked by the 1930s. It had failed to turn India in a Christian direction or form a self-governing Indian church, yet it was stable enough to withstand the traumas of the 1940s. "The majority of the Christians in Indian and Pakistani Punjab remained poverty-stricken, illiterate and powerless but they also remained Christian" (p. 269). But foreign and Indian Christians had yet to become friends.

Cox is surely working along the right lines, and if we are to see Indian Christianity in its fullest context, we must draw together archival material not only from missions but also from the civilian regime and the religious reform movements. Maybe more should be made of a kind of church-state conflict under the Raj. With its distinct political culture, the Punjab lends itself well to such a theme. But narrowing the focus to the northwest overlooks the fact that many of its problems had been anticipated elsewhere (e.g. conflicts over authority in Bengal by the 1850s, conversion movements from below in the south even earlier). But this is a text rich in challenging insights.

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MARY A. PROCIDA. *Married to the Empire: Gender, Politics and Imperialism in India, 1883-1947*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 246.

At the beginning of his disturbing 1936 essay, "Shooting an Elephant," George Orwell mentions that white

European women in Burma were, in certain circumstances, likely to encounter the same anticolonial hostility that he regularly endured as an ostensibly powerful police officer. After acknowledging the presence of such women, however, Orwell reverts to the individual drama of the white man performing his lonely duty under the gaze of a subaltern crowd. Taking us well beyond Orwell, the late Mary A. Procida reconstructs the experience of the wives of British officials and officers and highlights the significant part they played in maintaining British rule in India.

Procida argues that the personal was imperial. The women of the official Anglo-Indian community were active participants in a colonial state apparatus that blurred the boundary between the public and private lives of its agents. Part one of her book, "Domesticity," explores Anglo-Indian women's engagement with the work and careers of their husbands, the extensive social world rather than privatized family life of the Anglo-Indian household, and the complex relationships between Anglo-Indian women and the Indians who worked for them. Part two, "Violence," considers Anglo-Indian women's efforts to fashion an alternative mythology of the 1857 Indian Rebellion emphasizing the resourcefulness of survivors rather than the resignation of victims. It also examines their involvement in the cycles of protest and repression between 1919 and 1947, manifested, for example, in women arming themselves. Procida insightfully contextualizes this response in terms of an already established Anglo-Indian culture of hunting and shooting shared by men and women. Part three, "Race," deals with Anglo-Indian women's alienated and antagonistic stance toward Indian women and men. By and large, they did not reach out to their counterparts among educated and elite Indian women, much less undertake social work among the supposedly downtrodden masses of Indian women. Invested in their own and their husbands' power and privilege, they repeatedly opposed the political and professional advance of Indian men, from the mobilization against the Ilbert Bill in 1883 to the defence of General Reginald Dyer's terror in Amritsar in 1919 to the more diffuse resistance to the Indianization of the civil service and officer corps during the years leading to the transfer of power in 1947.

Procida is neither an apologist for Anglo-Indian women nor a subscriber to the legend that such women upset the happy *ménage à trois* among male colonizers and male and female colonial subjects. The book's great strength is its "warts and all" portrait of Anglo-Indian women as they negotiated the possibilities opened up by colonial-racial privilege and then struggled with the challenge posed by nationalist demands. Procida uses a rich palette of sources, including many interviews, private papers, and memoirs, to paint this portrait. Given the extensive discussion about the intersection of colonial and sexual violence as it is figured in novels of the Raj, Procida offers a fresh perspective on these literary texts by analyzing them

alongside her other sources. Likewise, her long view of Anglo-Indian women's commitment to British rule illuminates the quotidian underpinnings of the events of 1883 and 1919.

The book raises issues that historians will want to investigate and debate further. I am intrigued by Procida's argument that Anglo-Indian women identified so strongly with the world they made with their husbands that their own sense of self was masculinized and that Indian women, whom they perceived as feminine, evoked a profound ambivalence in them. We need to know more about relations between Anglo-Indian and Indian women, including what Indians thought of Anglo-Indians and to what extent the encounter with this other shaped their subjectivities as well. Concerned that Anglo-Indian and British women's divergent experiences have been downplayed, Procida questions the value of placing the British metropole and colonies in a single analytic field. It may be that she makes too much of this, given the simultaneously interdependent and internally divided nature of "Anglo-Indian" and "British" identities. Perhaps we need to go even further in the direction of global interactivity, bringing together the histories of white British and colonial women with those of diasporic African and Asian women around the empire.

Procida's book makes a valuable contribution to the gendered social and political history of the British empire in India. It nicely complements E. M. Collingham's *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c. 1800–1947* (2001) and Mrinalini Sinha's *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (1995). The book should be of interest to historians of not only gender, race, and European colonialism but also the role of privileged white women in such societies as South Africa under apartheid and the United States during the era of legal segregation. Sadly, Procida's untimely death deprives imperial history of a talented scholar.

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FRANCESCA ORSINI. *The Hindi Public Sphere 1920–1940: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 486. \$39.95.

In the work under review, Francesca Orsini probes the relationship between the Hindi political and literary public spheres between 1920 and 1940. There are chapters on a history of Hindi in the interwar years, followed by chapters on publicizing Hindi, Hindi's engagement of history during this time, an analysis of the participation of women in the Hindi public sphere, and a final chapter on the Hindi political sphere. Orsini uses the terms of Jürgen Habermas's work on the public sphere without engaging in his theoretical assumptions to any great extent. This has not prevented her from writing an extended—sometimes

much too extended—treatment of the way in which Hindi became political before World War II.

To a degree, Orsini seeks to continue the fine work of Vasudha Dalmia on the nationalization of Hindi in the nineteenth century. The first chapter is really a "history of Hindi" between the wars wherein Orsini discusses publication strategies, audiences, and the creation of Hindi as a modern language. In many ways, this 100-page chapter is a reference book unto itself, with many cross references to other chapters. Although comprehensive, it is also very difficult for the nonspecialist reader.

By contrast, her chapter on the "Uses of History" was, for this reader, much more interesting and central to her theme. In this chapter, as well as the chapters on "Women in the Hindi Public Sphere" and the chapter on the "Hindi Political Sphere," Orsini looks at the way in which local Hindi ideas and those that came from the West interacted to produce what sometimes appears to be a public sphere.

One of the most interesting sections in this chapter is Orsini's discussion of the way the "Hindi vision" of Maithilisan Gupta, in his poem "Bharat Bharti," was contested by untouchables studied by Nandini Gupta. For Maithilisan Gupta, "History ought to teach Hindus that the key to progress lay not in historical circumstances but in their inner unity, purity, and strength, in returning to the ideas of the past" (p. 200). The untouchables felt that it was impossible for them to accept the Aryan past of caste order. They turned rather to "devotional sects inspired by the medieval Bhakti saints, 'who had preached an egalitarian spirituality and the absurdity of caste distinctions, as a means of self-assertion'" (p. 203).

According to Orsini, the impact of this critique and of the untouchable movement that advanced it was "local and transient." That meant it was "easy to achieve discursive consensus at the literary level" but not at the political and social levels. Orsini also considers the kind of model proposed by Jotirao Phule for Maharashtrian society. Although there was nothing like Phule's movement in the Hindi area, untouchable leaders did feel that "Aryan invaders had forcibly imposed Vedic Hinduism on the original inhabitants of India, the Adi-Hindus." Orsini also notes that these Dalit or untouchable leaders "accepted the basic categories and 'mainstream narrative'" of the history of India "but turned it on its head, with the Aryans taking the part of the foreign oppressors and untouchables [Dalits] that of the indigenous nation striving for freedom" (pp. 204–205).

Orsini's discussion of these Dalit movements and that of women trained in Arya Samaj institutions who felt that Hindus had subverted the "original Aryan ideal of gender equality" is, in a sense, the nub of her whole discussion of the development of the Hindi public sphere. She considers that this episode was "historically engrained in the colonial encounter, in the transformations of the public sphere, and in the formation of nationalist identity" and that it "took a

self-conscious effort for individuals to alter or overcome this historical discourse and generally speaking, alterations were mostly partial" (p. 206). Many of these ideas are articulated over and over again in the last two chapters. What starts out as a history of Hindi literature thus turns into a much more interesting and compelling account of the struggle for equality in north India between World War I and World War II.

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DICK KOOIMAN. *Communalism and Indian Princely States: Travancore, Baroda and Hyderabad in the 1930s*. New Delhi: Manohar. 2002. Pp. 249. Rs. 500.00.

Dick Kooiman's book explores the contentious issue of communitarian politics in the 1930s in the semi-independent kingdoms of colonial South Asia, particularly the states of Travancore, Baroda, and Hyderabad. In the context of the contemporary ascendancy of vitriolic, exclusive forms of religious nationalism in the subcontinent, Kooiman broaches a subject of considerable importance.

The first substantive chapter provides background information of various sorts, explaining briefly the history and religious makeup of, and the educational and economic developments in, the states under consideration. Travancore, a Hindu-dominated state with a large Christian minority, and Baroda, a largely Hindu state with a sizable Muslim population, were "both far ahead of Hyderabad [a Hindu-majority state with a "Muslim dominated government"] in terms of education, rates of literacy, and, to a lesser extent, economic development" (p. 65). Travancore had an export-oriented economy and was largely dominated by foreign capital, while Baroda and Hyderabad were more conducive to investments from indigenous merchants and industry.

Kooiman devotes his second chapter to additional background information, here elucidating constitutional developments in British India and princely states before the 1930s. He details the effects at the all-India level of the Morley-Minto (1909) and Montagu-Chelmsford (1919) reforms, packages that promoted democratic change and separate electorates. These reforms have long been associated with communalizing the body politic of India, with some scholars arguing that separate electorates actively atomized the populace along religiously codified lines. Kooiman lays out this debate and then explains how democratic and employment reforms were or were not carried out in his three case states. Travancore and Baroda adopted legislative councils with both elected and appointed members. In the former, this resulted in the dominance of the Nayers, a Hindu upper-caste landed elite, much to the dismay of Christians, Muslims, and "lower-caste" Eshavas. In Baroda, the reforms gave strength to the Patidars, dominant Gujarati landed peasantry, with participation to a lesser extent of

Brahmins and Baniyas, although there was overall very little resentment against other communities or against the government. Hyderabad toyed with a variety of democratic initiatives but ultimately rejected them in favor of maintaining government by monarchy.

The next two chapters represent the centerpiece of the book, wherein Kooiman examines communalism in the 1930s. He first compares the states of Travancore and Baroda and here makes some of the most interesting observations of his book, interrogating the ways in which both capitalist and democratic changes created regional convulsions and a competitive environment in which rivalries for power and position resulted in oppositional group identities. While neither state created separate electorates, Travancore suffered from communal tension and violence while Baroda remained largely free of such conflict. The reason for this, Kooiman demonstrates, is that Baroda effectively met the needs and demands of its dominant groups. Travancore, by contrast, suffered from forms of election and representative government that exacerbated caste and religious differences. Additionally, foreign capitalist enterprises soon came to dominate the commercial and financial terrain in the state, disinvesting the local entrepreneurial classes, primarily Eshavas and Christians—precisely the groups that felt excluded from the legislative process and bureaucratic positions in the public services. Given all of this, Kooiman concludes that "in the emergence of communalism separate electorates as well as the demand for them may have been an effect rather than a cause" (p. 164).

Hyderabad is treated as a very different case altogether and so is dealt with in a separate chapter. Here, Kooiman argues that pressure from both "above and below," the centralizing forces of British policies and all-Indian nationalism, and localizing forces constructed around language and religion fed one another and mutually contributed to a divisive atmosphere. The resistance of the (Muslim) Nizam, the ruler of the state, to demands from the all-India level and the (mostly Hindu) state population for "responsible government" led to more activist intervention from the Hindu revivalist Arya Samaj and the polemical Hindu Mahasabha, a group that promoted the idea of a Hindu nation. This in turn contributed to the increasing militancy of the Muslim socio-religious organization, the Majlis-i-Ittihad-ul-Muslimin, and the clearer, more aggressive juxtaposition of "Hindus" and "Muslims" in the state.

Kooiman's arguments are lucid and innovative. In his critique of democratic and capitalist institutions and in his observations about the dialectic relationship between external/global incorporative forces (such as capital or cultural nationalism) and internal/local movements based on ethnic, religious, and linguistic divisions, this book represents an important political intervention and a notable addition to scholarly debate. Yet the book suffers from a number of shortcomings. We are, for example, not given sufficient reason for the focus on Travancore, Baroda, and Hyderabad

as opposed to any other state or region. Similarly, a convincing case for focusing upon the 1930s is not made. Kooiman is also prone to using a number of terms and ideas without adequately questioning and problematizing them. The most glaring example of this is in references throughout the book to the processes taking place in Hyderabad as "globalization." While the global/local, incorporative/divisive dialectics share interesting similarities to trends that appear in the current-day process of globalization, Kooiman makes no attempt to distinguish between the particularities of Hyderabad's histories and the unique attributes of the worldwide takeover of consumerist gluttony and market fundamentalism in *fin-de-siècle* capitalism.

Finally, and perhaps most significant, Kooiman's work is undercut by research limited to official sources that "originate from those departments of the colonial government that were in charge of the state" (p. 32). Much more self-incriminating is his exaggerated and essentialized claim that "Indian" points of view are taken into account by correspondence, documents, and newspapers found within the colonial archive (p. 35). This would be a flaw in any contemporary work on South Asian history but is critical in one dealing with a crucial and politically sensitive issue involving many different regional, linguistic, religious, ethnic, cultural, and class groups. The book ultimately overreaches: Kooiman seeks to cover too big a topic in too many states in too little space, in the process leaving out discussion of numerous developments central to questions of group identity and resource distribution. The Communist Telengana uprising, for example, receives virtually no attention, although it seems to present interesting counterexamples to Kooiman's observations on democratic, capitalist reform.

All of this notwithstanding, the book challenges numerous assumptions related to communitarian conflict in South Asia and raises a number of questions that strike at the heart of contemporary dogmatic ideologies. For this, the book is a tremendous resource.

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OCEANIA AND THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

ANGELA WOOLLACOTT. *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism, and Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 298. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

Writing in 1975, Miriam Dixson argued that Australian women came close to being "the doormats of the Western world," with a "deeply crippled self image." The women who are the subject of Angela Woollacott's book could not be further from this victim stereotype. The thousands of young Australian women who made their way by steamship to London between 1870 and 1940 were audacious adventurers, buoyed by a sense of their own worth as physically strong, prac-

tical, and unconventional, captured in a turn-of-the-century poem by Ethel Castilla called "The Australian Girl": "Her frank, clear eyes bespeak a mind/Old-world traditions fail to bind/She is not shy/or bold, but simply self-possessed" (p. 157). These self-possessed individuals leap from the pages of Woollacott's book. Mostly from educated, middle-class families of British descent, they left a plethora of writings and were the subject of much contemporary journalistic interest, so we are not short of sources by and about them. Swimmers like Beatrice Kerr, whose wonderful photograph adorns the cover, clad in skimpy swimsuit with kangaroo motif, literally made a huge splash in England. Feminists like Muriel Matters were even more sensational, showering London with suffragette pamphlets distributed from a hot-air balloon, and the triumphs of singer Nellie Melba are legendary. Of course, not all were so famous or successful, but all shared a fascination with London as the center of Western culture and seat of empire: the modern metropolis writ large, a magnet for such modern women.

Although life histories feature prominently in Woollacott's account, this is not simply a thrilling adventure story. On the contrary, the author is interested in the stories as a means to illuminate her theoretical investigations. Drawing on postcolonial theories, she investigates the meanings of whiteness, the construction of identities, and the relationship between center and periphery in the British Empire. She shows how the journey to Britain was itself an important part of the way in which ideas about race were constructed and reinforced. Stopovers in Colombo, Port Said, or South Africa provided encounters with colonized peoples that were new to most of these urban Australians. Some were disturbed by what they found, but others were excited and delighted. Louise Mack's account of her first rickshaw ride reported that "You feel like a queen. You own the whole world. You have a *man*—a flesh-and-blood man—running in harness between the shafts of your tall, black perambulator . . . His rate is desperately swift. He is so thin that you fear he will break in pieces, that you will be arrested for cruelty to dumb animals. Bones stick out of his shoulders, elbows, knees and feet." But rather than distressing her, Mack found that her spirits went "up, and up, and up" (p. 37). Feminist politician Vida Goldstein was likewise struck by the subordination of the "coloured races" in the British Empire, but she deplored it. What she witnessed confirmed her view of the wisdom of the White Australia Policy, which ensured that most Australians did not have to confront the degradation and exploitation that were seemingly inevitable consequences of the coexistence of white and nonwhite people.

The women's reaction to Britain itself was similarly complex, although common themes emerge. The excitement of finally making it "Home" was balanced against the shock of discovering the condescension with which even white "colonials" were treated, and

the more visible and pervasive class inequalities. Wool-lacott explores these experiences in the context of the developing sense of Australian national and imperial identity. At another level, she charts the many networks, clubs, and political organizations in which Australian women became involved in London, suggesting that their impact on the "mother country" has been underestimated.

This book is an important contribution to a growing literature on the international dimensions of the Australian women's movement, as well as the recent interest in relationships within the British Empire/Commonwealth. In particular, while discussions of Australian identity often note the importance of mass travel associated with the male troops in World War I, Woollacott makes a convincing case for the role of women's travels in defining national culture. It is curious, however, that she does not discuss the experiences of the 2,000 or so women who served with the Australian Army during the war, most of whom signed up partly also to see London, and many of whom left diaries and letters.

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BAIN ATTWOOD and FIONA MAGOWAN, editors. *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand*. Crows Nest, New South Wales: Allen and Unwin. 2001. Pp. xvii, 269. \$29.95.

Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan have put together a collection of ten essays by eleven authors, all of whom have interest and expertise in the field of oral history. All the contributors are present or past senior members of academic institutions in Australia and New Zealand. The collection would have been strengthened by the inclusion of more views from indigenous people themselves, but the lack of such scholars working in these areas has been noted.

The cultures of both the Aborigines of Australia and the Maori of New Zealand in their pre-European contact periods included no written script, but each society had strong traditions of story, song, and speech making through which histories of people, places, and land were passed on. The essays of this collection, however, deal largely with the post-European settlement periods of each country, from the late 1700s in Australia and the early 1800s in New Zealand.

There are marked differences between the two indigenous societies, based on population characteristics, time of settlement, the lands and their resources, and their histories of colonization. The contributing essays, six on Australia and four on New Zealand, are separate in their subjects and approaches and do not aim to present any overall view or argument. Some writers present objective explanations while others offer more subjective accounts of their experiences in obtaining and working with oral history. However, because they all add to the wide picture of indigenous

history in the South Pacific, they make a reasonably cohesive volume.

In their introduction, the editors address the changing relationship between written academic history and oral history, the shift reflecting an acknowledgement of oral history as sources of academic knowledge rather than as sources for such knowledge. The Australian chapters cover an explanation of the purpose and art of singing stories and crying songs, then look at written works. Early writing often took the form of letters written to figures of colonial authority at all levels and on all manner of subjects. In these the form, affected by adherence to conventions of contemporary European address and acknowledgement of authority, makes a further statement on relationships between the correspondents.

The essays then concentrate on the more recent emergence of life narratives written by Aborigines, particularly those that reveal the injustices of "white-fella" rule.

In this genre, the autobiographical stories that tell of the "stolen generations" of children taken forcibly from their families by government order have most effected a change of attitude in wider Australian society. These are the stories that record not so much facts such as times and laws but the feelings and responses of those involved, and that reveal in their telling the eventual cost to Aboriginal society. This includes the loss of generations of transmission of knowledge, to the extent that some call the government's policy one of genocide.

Anthropologist Basil Sansom's essay, "In the Absence of Vita as Genre: The Making of the Roy Kelly Story," gives an account of his experience as a white academic learning from one who was both his informant and a "mentor who brought me to an appreciation of things Aboriginal, working all the time to see also that I did not get into trouble" (p. 104). This essay itself moves, most appropriately, among different styles of narration: those of academic analyst, observer, and colloquial Aboriginal voice.

In the four New Zealand chapters, the content is divided between the recovery and recording of specific histories of individual Maori through both written and oral methods, and the importance of oral history as a basis for land claims. On the latter topic, Ann Parsonson's "Stories for Land: Oral Narratives in the Maori Land Court" gives a good explanation of how oral histories passed down generations of family were used by the precontact society to maintain the social position of a people and state the basis of property rights. When Pakeha law on land ownership was asserted over traditional understandings, such stories became all-important history to establish legal rights under the new system.

Overall, the collection gives much food for thought and is of value to all scholars engaged in areas of gathering or interpreting oral source materials. Although the focus is on the academic disciplines of history and anthropology, scholars in other disciplines

will gain insights into methods and interpretations that are relevant to their work. This extends past the geographical area of the South Pacific in which the work is placed; the examples can be used to compare or contrast with the situations of other postcolonial societies.

Each of the chapters is referenced, with endnotes supplying further elaboration, sources, and leads to additional works. An index and a glossary of Maori terms are included, although in both the Australian and New Zealand chapters all indigenous words are explained within the text in bracketed translations.

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CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

DAVID PETERSON DEL MAR. *Beaten Down: A History of Interpersonal Violence in the West*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2002. Pp. x, 300. \$40.00.

Twenty-five years ago, a book like this would have appeared with social history's full complement of charts and graphs. David Peterson Del Mar would have used primitive punch cards but sophisticated statistical analysis to discern hidden patterns in the violence of the not-so-pacific Northwest. He would have selected model counties or towns in his chosen region and tried to show how economic development and demographic change shaped violent behavior in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. His readers in graduate seminars would have debated his variables, criticized his categories, faulted his numbers, and marveled at his facility with regression analysis. In the end, they would have said these statistics, fascinating as they are, tell us nothing about culture and power.

Culture and power are just what Peterson Del Mar is after. He wants to understand the connections between interpersonal violence—the violence of the home, the workplace, the streets, the classroom, the barroom—and the power structures of the social world. Throughout the book, he argues that “the context and meaning of a violent act cannot be understood without exploring the relations of power” (p. 174). Residents of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia experienced power as children subjected to adults, women subjected to men, workers subjected to bosses, and Native Americans, African Americans, and immigrants from Europe and Asia subjected to white Americans and Canadians. Little surprise that violence ran most easily along channels of age, gender, class, ethnicity, and race and that those deemed most marginal were the most frequent victims of white men's violence. But the author reminds us that victims of violence were not all passive, and some found means to resist oppression.

The old work of social historians, of course, stands behind this study, and Peterson Del Mar depends upon the insights of Roger Lane and others to assess long-term changes in child murder, wife battering, and

homicide. But, he tells us, he really wants his book to be read “as historical anthropology or historical sociology, in which the past is used as an analytical tool,” and not “as a traditional history concerned primarily with charting and explaining change” (p. 9).

This urge to downplay change over time turns out to be an odd claim for a book that presents itself as “a history.” Despite the disclaimer, the author constantly compares periods in his study. In fact, he can not resist charting change. In his favorite phrase, people become “more apt” to turn violent. But because the book gives us no baseline, statistical, psychological, or otherwise, it is very hard to judge the significance of tastes for violence. What does it mean to assert that violence was “less likely,” or “more likely,” or “more common,” or that violent people “commonly,” did this or that?

This is a book about patterns, not precise measurements. Despite sometimes careless logic and such puzzling findings as “According to newspaper reports, parents virtually never killed their children in the nineteenth century, aside from infanticides” (p. 119), Peterson Del Mar does have important points to make. Attitudes toward interpersonal violence did change as the economy and demography of the Pacific Northwest developed, but not always in the ways one might expect. A strong government in British Columbia kept some forms of interpersonal violence in check. South of the Canadian border, Americans lived a different and more violent history. But this may be changing. A typical passage concludes: “That growing numbers of educated men are apparently abjuring violence is certainly cause for a certain amount of celebration. Powerful people are not as inclined to employ violence as they used to be, and violence is a particularly pernicious form of domination” (p. 170).

The best parts of this book are not in its arguments, its comparisons, or its conclusions. Peterson Del Mar actually has wonderful evidence from archives in the United States and Canada. He has read widely in newspapers and court records, and he has a fine ear for the language that accompanies acts of violence. (My favorite: “If I thought you had any brains I'd crack your head open to see what they looked like,” p. 131.) I wish he had undertaken a more modest project and engaged these passages. Instead of quick moves into novels that do not illuminate his subject, he might have offered readers the thick descriptions or close readings that reveal deeper social patterns in such anecdotal evidence. As it is, the impressionistic history he has written offers tantalizing glimpses of the workings of culture and power, but no fuller understanding of power's mysteries than the elaborate charts and graphs of the old social history.

ANN FABIAN
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ADELE PERRY. *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871*. (Studies in Gender and History.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University

of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. viii. 286. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

This book is best read backward. Adele Perry argues that the project to bring white women to colonial British Columbia between 1859 and 1870—which culminated in a series of “assisted female immigration schemes”—was self-consciously designed to transform a racially diverse and largely homosocial “backwoods” culture into a heteronormative and uniformly white settler society. In chapter six, she recounts how the Columbia Emigration Society and the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, in cooperation with the colonial government and local reformers, sponsored three “brideships” to transport women from England to the colonial capital, Victoria in 1869 and the early 1870s. The vessels sailed in response to incompatible colonial desires. Miners and farmers sought wives but also dancers, bartenders, and prostitutes; feminist reformers wanted jobs for unemployed middle-class women; the bourgeoisie demanded household servants. Yet white women were expected, above all, to bring “gentility, morality, and piety” to the new colony (p. 139).

In chapter seven, Perry describes how some “assisted” migrants resisted the call to symbolize the civilizing mission (p. 178). Perry gathers a stunning collection of stories, but she has a habit of pillowing them in clichés. She recalls how, in the late 1860s, all three of the Mills sisters of Victoria, “otherwise exemplars of imperial womanhood,” succumbed in turn to schizophrenia. Their story begins the night Margaret Mills ran screaming and naked into a Victoria street and ends when colonial authorities established Victoria’s first asylum for women, but all that Perry can find to say about this remarkable episode is that “the Mills sisters . . . expose some of the profound tensions that surrounded white women in British Columbia” (p. 190). There are several other moments when a banal insight muffles otherwise superb research.

The first five chapters of the book outline two colonial dilemmas that the assisted immigration of women was supposed to solve. Perry observes in chapter one that the “overwhelmingly male” residents of pre-Confederation British Columbia set up a “vibrant” homosocial culture, improvising “new versions” of “traditionally heterosexual activities” (p. 29) and posing a threat to “hegemonic” forms of “sociability and domesticity” (p. 46): for example, by creating a masculine private sphere and devoting leisure hours to household labor. Perry argues persuasively, and ingeniously, for taking British Columbia’s “backwoods” homosociality as gender subversion. Yet at times her analysis leans toward sentimental Marxism, as if the “rough” and “easy” working-class culture of the “backwoods” were a lost utopia where readers can still find the stereotype of the long-jawed Canadian lumberjack. In chapter two, Perry examines relationships between white men and aboriginal women, which were condemned as a threat to marriage and thought to strip

white men of their racial identity. In chapter three, she details the efforts of colonial authorities “to refashion male community” through temperance movements, evangelical missions, and adult education, which was sponsored by the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), mechanics and literary institutes, and the Sailor’s Home (p. 83). In chapter four, she recounts how colonial authorities sought to regulate mixed-race relationships by reforming marriage laws and by transforming Victoria into a racially segregated, whites-only city. The account of the segregation movement, which ultimately failed, is the book’s most compelling episode.

Perry tries throughout the book, but especially in the introduction and conclusion, to justify the use of race, gender, and class as categories of historical interpretation. Does this argument still need to be made among historians? And although she says she is undertaking a critical analysis of colonial discourse, her treatment of discursive formations is strikingly crude. She affirms in chapter two that it is “impossible” to draw “a tidy division” between “experience” and “representation” (p. 49), but eight pages later she does exactly what she has forbidden: “The construction of First Nations women in colonial discourse bore little relationship to actual women’s lives” (p. 57). Drawing this impossibly “tidy division” proves to be her primary aim. Chapter seven, for example, is devoted to showing how “white women’s behavior departed significantly from representations of white women in imperial discourse” (p. 184). Perry’s analysis rests on the discredited premise that discourse (formerly “ideology”) is false consciousness, a “lens” that distorts the perception of “actual” women. Where does she find a lens capable of representing women’s experience correctly? In another discourse. It is around this paradox that Perry’s radicalism turns conservative, and Marxism reverts to Platonism.

CHRISTOPHER BRACKEN
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MYRA RUTHERDALE. *Women and the White Man’s God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 2002. Pp. xxx, 194. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$29.95.

Today, the arctic and subarctic regions of northern Canada conjure up images of sparsely populated, inhospitable environments where only the heartiest survive. This idea of the north has long captured the Western imagination and attracted scores of “manly” adventurers, among them missionaries. Historical reality, however, paints quite a different picture of a region composed of a range of climates and geographies, populated by hospitable indigenous cultures, and where the majority of missionaries who came to work were women. Myra Rutherdale’s book examines women and mission work in the Canadian north from 1860 to 1940. Focused on the dominant Protestant denomination operating in the region, the Anglican

Church (Church of England), Rutherford locates the place of women in the missionary enterprise. Almost immediately she overturns historical and contemporary assumptions that women were in the minority in northern mission fields. Counting missionary wives and their essential, yet unpaid, labor as well as numerous unmarried, salaried female workers who increasingly worked alone at their own mission stations, women outnumbered men. The book is also worthy of note because it places the material within an international body of scholarship on colonialism, particularly discourse analysis, gender and imperialism, and women and religion.

Rutherford begins her study by positioning women within Canadian Anglicanism and interpreting how the church responded to its own feminization in the nineteenth century while still remaining a patriarchal institution. Beyond the numerical dominance of women in northern Anglican missions, by 1923 Women's Auxiliaries financed forty-three percent of the Canadian Anglican Church's domestic and foreign mission work. Mission history in Rutherford's hands becomes a fruitful exploration of how gender and racial identities are maintained or challenged. Missionary discourse reflected "preconceived ideas about empire, colonialism, race and culture, travel, gender, and religions . . . often in conflict with actual experience" (p. xiv).

One of Rutherford's key questions centers around how missionary women viewed themselves in light of their time in the north. Although she examines material produced by men, her primary sources are the public and private writings of women missionaries. In both personal and professional correspondence, women missionaries framed their relationships with northern Aboriginal peoples in dichotomous terms, using the same imperial rhetoric applied to other parts of the globe: civilized, white, and Christian versus uncivilized, dark, and heathen. Preexisting gendered constructions also limited what kinds of experiences they wrote about. "Beneath the performance of womanly rituals rested an assumption that the British/Canadian woman's way was the only way, and that Aboriginal women were somehow lacking in the skills necessary to maintain households and raise children" (p. 52).

The book's fifth chapter, "Motherhood and Morality," is perhaps the most telling with regard to images of race and gender. Motherhood and maternal femininity defined female missionaries on many levels. "Women were described as mothers of the church, mothers of children in residential schools, and mothers of junior clergy" (p. 97). Dependent upon Aboriginal peoples far more frequently than they admitted (e.g. for food and provisions, clothing, or guidance during travel), missionaries went to great efforts to reconstitute physical and social space to that of southern Canada. As motherly figures they could exert their so-called "superior" influence by example and their position over child-like "Indian" charges. Rutherford also makes the important point that gender never

transcended race. Not only did women missionaries collectively fail to become adequate mothers for Aboriginal children taken from their real parents (in this regard, the shameful legacy of Anglican residential schools is acknowledged as a direct challenge to images of missionaries as mothers), but "sisterly solidarity with Aboriginal women their own age" (p. 99) was also a rarity.

Until the 1940s, the most successful Anglican institutions in the north were women's auxiliaries and the Church Army. Rutherford identifies both as key sites in which Aboriginal people contested control over Christianity. Women's auxiliaries were first dominated by non-Aboriginal women, with "Indian branches few and far between" (p. 135). Over time in some areas, however, auxiliaries fostered relationships between women that transcended racial boundaries. The Church Army was an evangelistic group akin to the Salvation Army. It had wide appeal because of its intensely emotional and celebratory forms of worship, and for the leadership roles it offered Aboriginal participants. "The transition from a remarkable intolerance for things Aboriginal to one of accommodation," comments Rutherford, "is probably the most interesting aspect of the history of Anglicanism in the north" (p. 144). With a clear example of this in the Church Army and in her description of the emergence in the 1940s of an Anglican Aboriginal ministry, it is shame that Rutherford only broaches the dramatic shift in her final chapter.

This book is the first work to examine the role of Canadian women in northern missionary fields in a serious, scholarly way, and I highly recommend it. Women missionaries neither viewed nor presented themselves as radicals or feminists. They were deemed "heroic" because they were "ordinary women performing extraordinary tasks as demanded by their circumstances" (p. 117). Here Rutherford finds the well-known discourse of true womanhood and the cult of domesticity in the most unlikely of places—the presumed masculine north. By embracing conventional roles as mothers, Anglican women extended their authority and position within the church. While serving the Anglican agenda for northern Aboriginal peoples, particularly in respect to health care and education, women were nevertheless able "to carve out careers in mission work and ministry that were both unofficial and creative" (p. 27).

SUSAN NEYLAN

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GERALD N. GROB. *The Deadly Truth: A History of Disease in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 349. \$35.00.

The deadly truth, Gerald N. Grob concludes in this aptly named book, is that disease will never be conquered completely. It is but a pleasant myth that medical science will ultimately uncover the causes and mechanisms of all the plagues of mankind. He argues

that disease is a result of the environment in which we live—biological, natural, social, and economic—and, because the world is ever changing, there will always be threats to health. The recent outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS), which occurred after this book was published, underscores his thesis.

Grob looks at American history from the pre-Columbian period to the end of the twentieth century through the lens of disease. While the particulars of disease have changed and the human life span has lengthened, especially in the last fifty years, the underlying principle remains unchanged: disease mirrors the environment.

The pre-Columbians, sparsely settled on a vast continent and biologically isolated, were spared many of the “crowd” ailments like dysentery that plagued humans elsewhere. Yet they were by no means disease free, especially after they shifted from a hunting-gathering culture to agriculture and their diet became more limited. The arrival of Europeans with a variety of strange pathogens including influenza, smallpox, and measles proved catastrophic for Indian populations. In Florida, for example, the Amerindian population was reduced by ninety-five percent in the sixteenth century.

English colonists had no easier time adjusting to a strange environment. The “seasoning” period left many of them dead, especially in Virginia, where, as John Smith observed, “God plagues us with such famine and sickness, that the living were scarce able to bury the dead” (p. 51). The arrival of African slaves only made matters worse, for they introduced *falciparum* malaria to a warm, wet area where mosquitoes already thrived. New Englanders faced different challenges in a much colder climate but on the whole were healthier than colonists in the South.

The most dramatic threats to health in the colonial period were smallpox and yellow fever epidemics, but these were a lesser threat than endemic diseases. Some cities, notably Philadelphia, insured a measure of protection by investing in such public health measures as paving streets, collecting garbage, and providing safer water. In the South, however, Grob argues that life was so fragile and the sense of impermanence so great that settlers rushed “to amass wealth as quickly as possible . . . [T]he seemingly intractable disease environment promoted the enslavement of Africans” (p. 94).

Urban growth in the nineteenth century magnified the risks from infectious diseases and gave rise to sanitary reforms, but the mortality rate remained high, particularly among infants and children. Tuberculosis flourished in crowded living and working conditions and proved to be nearly intractable. The westward movement of the mid-nineteenth century made matters worse, Grob explains in the chapter “Expanding America, Declining Health.” In the Mississippi Valley, malaria was the worst offender, while in the South malaria and two other imported African diseases, hookworm and yellow fever, posed a triple threat.

Accidents accompanied the rise of industrial America, especially among miners and railroad workers, but incipient job-related diseases were even more lethal. The medical profession was well aware of some of industry’s threats to health, but the hazard of breathing dust in the mines and in the textile mills was not recognized until well into the twentieth century. Low wages for workers often meant restricted diets, which were directly responsible for deficiency diseases like pellagra and indirectly responsible for a host of other ailments.

The discovery of bacteria proved a major advance in controlling infectious diseases, and after 1900 these declined markedly as the major cause of mortality. The introduction of antibiotics during World War II gave rise to the false hope that infectious disease would be a thing of the past, an idea underscored by the dramatic increase in life span. Bacteria and viruses, however, have proved remarkably adaptable in their own fight to live, though they have been replaced as major threats to health by the modern peril of chronic diseases—a concomitant, in part, of a longer life span.

This book is a product of a lifetime’s study. Grob’s obvious familiarity with the vast literature of disease in America is demonstrated by the hundreds of sources he cites in extensive end notes. The depth of his knowledge lends validity to his discouraging yet realistic conclusion that in the war against disease there will be no final victory. Yet he does not end on a dismal note. He quotes George H. Bigelow and Herbert L. Lombard, who wrote seventy years ago that the goal is not to “entirely eliminate disease and death but . . . delay them and make them more humane” (p. 275).

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JAMES C. WHORTON. *Nature Cures: The History of Alternative Medicine in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 368. \$30.00.

Before there was holistic medicine, therapeutic touch, patient empowerment, and “integrative medicine,” there was hygieiotherapy, mesmerism, sexual hygiene, and the “laughing exercise.” Mark Twain’s adage that history doesn’t repeat itself but rhymes aptly describes the development of alternative medicine in America. And medical historian James C. Whorton can name that rhyme in two words that serve as the title of his book. The word “cures,” in its dual function as both noun and verb, frames his central point that the essential connection between alternative medical offerings in America, whether old or new, has been the cures wrought by nature itself: the *vis medicatrix naturae*, or the healing power of nature. Whorton argues that even though the myriad alternative systems have proffered distinctive therapies and theories, they all share the same core values encompassed in the current buzzword “holistic.” He deftly illustrates the Preacher’s wisdom that “what has been will be again,

what has been done will be done again; there is nothing new under the sun" (Ecc. 1: 9).

Whorton's main purpose is to explicate the development of alternative healing and its adversarial relationship with an orthodox medical practice that too often focused on cases rather than people (the so-called "problem of the vanishing patient"). He does not attempt to distinguish the "quacks from the conscientious" nor to condemn or praise any particular system. In the end, he concludes that a remarkable about-face is occurring in the early twenty-first century, an evolution that to nineteenth-century practitioners would have seemed unlikely. The old medical sectarianism is being supplanted by a new medical pluralism, an "integrative" medicine of tolerance that combines the best of conventional therapies with the best of alternative therapies. In short, regular doctors have become more holistic, while alternative healers have become less cocksure in their monisms.

Whorton is able to accomplish all this with verve and welcome flashes of humor. When discussing the Water Cure, for example, Whorton explains: "If hygieiotherapy made a big splash in the 1850s, by the end of the 1870s it appeared to be all washed up" (p. 101). But his best rim shot comes within his discussion of Baunscheidtism, the "discovery" of nineteenth-century German businessman Carl Baunscheidt that stinging gnats serve as a kind of natural, flying acupuncture, relieving pain through their assault and retreat. "If ever there was a gnatural cure," Whorton writes with a wink, "this was it" (p. 262).

Not satisfied simply to collect and synthesize secondary sources on the various alternatives included, Whorton also mines the essential primary sources, such as *The Chiropractor's Adjuster* (1910) by founder D. D. Palmer, which promised "much new thot [sic] for thinkers." "Unearthing those thots," Whorton rightly judges, "requires one to clear away a mountain of rubble—fatuities and redundancies, petty polemics and garbled grammar" (p. 169). Through careful reading and assimilation, Whorton is often able to give fresh twists to oft-told stories. After explaining the "heroic practice" of regular, orthodox medicine that sought to restore balance through various pukings and purgings with heroic doses of mineral drugs, he takes the reader on a medical odyssey weaving through the major nineteenth-century alternatives (and significant minor ones): Thomsonianism, homeopathy, hygieiotherapy, mesmerism, Christian Science, osteopathy, chiropractic, and naturopathy (including health clothing such as the "Porous Health Underwear" and "Porous Suspenders"). Whorton then follows the connections through the twentieth century by adding holistic healing, acupuncture and acupressure, and the evolution into complementary medicine. My only quibble is that he accepts too readily the straight/mixed dichotomy that created rifts within the various alternatives when the splits are often more subtle and complicated. In chiropractic, for example, the main split is between harmonists and mechanics, the former

adhering to the older, harmonial view of the universe that attempted to understand the workings of spirit within matter and the latter courting allopaths with a more modern, material world view that disdained spirit. Still, this is a relatively minor point, given the vast, alternative field that Whorton seeks to cultivate. Other books, such as Robert Fuller's *Alternative Medicine and American Religious Life* (1989), Norman Gevitz's (ed.) *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America* (1988), and Donald Meyer's *The Positive Thinkers: Religion as Pop Psychology from Mary Baker Eddy to Oral Roberts* (2d ed., 1980) have told much of the story and told it well, but the comprehensive nature of Whorton's survey makes it the book to beat for future chroniclers of alternative medicine.

J. S. MOORE

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CHRISTOPHER L. TOMLINS and BRUCE H. MANN, editors. *The Many Legalities of Early America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va. 2001. Pp. ix, 466. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

This is an unusually challenging collection of essays, because it offers so much, in quantity and complexity, and because overall it makes demands of its readers that I suspect few readers can rise to meet fully. To say all this is not to discourage anyone, but to encourage all readers to be patient, or selective, or to do whatever else it takes not to fail to reap at least some of the benefits of trying to make use of this remarkable volume.

This collection, edited by Christopher L. Tomlins and Bruce H. Mann, is the most important response to date to a chronic historiographical lament classically formulated by the dean of colonial American legal history, Stanley N. Katz, in "The Problem of a Colonial History" (in *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era*, ed. Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole [1984]). The "problem"—really, the problems—include the question of relevance, given the transformation of the mainland British American colonies into a radically new nation, and also the historiographical inertia that still inclines more toward the study of sources and origins than the social and cultural contextualization and interpretation of law as a sociolegal phenomenon.

There are many more problems in arguing why and how colonial American legal history matters, and one of the valuable features of this volume is that the two presiding coeditors have differing ideas about how to approach such problems. Tomlins is an expansionist, arguing in his introduction that virtually all behaviors in all colonial cultures are related to law—or rather, to some variety of "legality." Mann, in his afterword, while hardly an anti-expansionist conceptually or geographically, is concerned not to lose sight of the integrity of "the law" per se, whether it has manifested

itself in formal records, or functional institutions, or even in the conservative force of custom.

Generally the contributors do not offer seminal or ground-breaking research; typically, each pursues his or her previous lines of published work. There are exceptions: for example, Richard Lyman Bushman contributes an essay, on farmers' contacts with pre-revolutionary North Carolina county courts, that amounts to a strikingly novel exercise in cultural anthropology. And Cornelia Hughes Dayton, in her essay on the New Haven Colony from 1639 to 1665, moves beyond her earlier descriptive work in American's women's history to offer a contribution to the typologies of patriarchy in theory and in practice, in early modern Western legal culture, and in social theory generally.

Nevertheless, one senses that the overall plan for this essay collection, and for the 1996 conference in Williamsburg on which the volume is based, was to present the state of the art in colonial American legal history through examples of the best ongoing work in the field. Most of the sixteen contributors are young, although established, scholars. Thus, this is a volume quintessentially about what colonial American legal history is becoming, and the thematic grouping of the essays into four respective parts is notable for what it shows and portends about current and future research agendas.

"Part One: Atlantic Crossings" is an example of how curious and careful historians can go about reconstructing a legally sophisticated, pluralistic culture in colonial America. An organizing theme of this part is not only the diversity of influences on English common law—whether canon law, or "the corporate structure of trading companies" (p. 64), or a powerfully localized (even where Anglicized) sense of equity—but also the importance of intercolonial borrowings in the western Atlantic and the American domestication of English legal forms such as "legal fictions," all well before the revolutionary era. Indeed, David Thomas Konig's essay on American uses of and reactions to English legal fictions is surely one of the most broadly significant and elegantly written essays in the volume.

"Part Two: Intercultural Encounters" intensifies the impression of a vastly complex pluralism of "legalities." Evident from New England strongholds to the New Mexico borderlands is ubiquitous interaction between, on the one hand, metropolitan dispensations of law, and, on the other, the remarkably articulate regimes of Native American and other largely customary legalities.

"Part Three: Legal Relations as Social Relations" is, in its first three essays, about the surprising variety of agency that English-American colonial law afforded to indentured servants and women, at the bar and, in the case of women, albeit indirectly, even in politics. The concluding essay in this part does not fit very well, but the essay is hardly the weaker for that. In "Age of Reason? Children, Testimony, and Consent in Early America," Holly Brewer develops a compelling argu-

ment that the political theory and underlying epistemology of John Locke (and others, such as David Hartley and Thomas Reid) lay at the heart of incremental but notable Anglo-American legal reforms that raised the age of legal competency and capacity for children.

Part four is entitled "Rules of Law: Legal Regimes and Their Social Effects," and as the title suggests, it is here that the volume attends most assiduously to conventional sources of legality, especially written court records. Indeed, each of the four essays in this part attests that the rigorous analysis of the (often scant) data in colonial and early national court records has become a distinctive social science unto itself. The routine cross references in the four essays in this part also attest to the development of a canon of methodological principles of analysis of early American court records. Moreover, even where the records are scant, each essay makes clear how much they can yield when a historian asks questions that are meaningful, including but not limited to questions about gender, ethnicity, and matrices of power relationships more generally, extending from the family sphere, to vicinage, to county and colony/state.

In every important respect, this collection of essays is worthy of the two scholars who are its co-editors, and worthy also of the uniquely discriminating institute that hosted and has published the project.

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LINDA L. STURTZ. *Within Her Power: Propertied Women in Colonial Virginia*. (The New World in the Atlantic World.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xv, 278. \$85.00.

Linda L. Sturtz's study of propertied women in colonial Virginia profits from the work of the many scholars before her who have struggled with the issue of female agency in the bleak legal landscape of the colonial past. The written law in Virginia, as well as other parts of British colonial North America, could be oppressive, particularly for married women. Sturtz argues that looking beyond statute law to the lived experiences of propertied women in Virginia reveals a complex terrain of female agency. Women used, manipulated, and ignored the legal system to obtain the power they needed.

The idea of contrasting the law to lived experience is not new. In fact, this puzzle has been the focus of women's history scholars for many years. Secondly, these historians tend, like Sturtz, to examine the connections between the legal system and women's economic roles. At the heart of many of their works is the question of what is typical and what is exceptional. Some of the first historical works about women in the colonies, Elisabeth Anthony Dexter's *Colonial Women of Affairs: A Study of Women in Business and the Professions in America before 1776* (1924) and Julia

Cherry Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (1938), focused on the "exceptional" women that functioned in the public world of commerce. Mary Ritter Beard, in *Woman as Force in History: A Study in Traditions and Reality* (1946), took this work a step further, suggesting that women in the colonies generally experienced more power and freedom than their British counterparts. Marylynn Salmon's *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (1986) is one of several books that have challenged Beard's assertion, turning to statute law in the colonies to make their case. The story appears much less rosy when seen through the lens of the written law. Historians have now stepped away from what the law allowed to what women did, female agency within a discriminatory legal and economic system. The result, to some extent, leads back to the same question that started this scholarly thread: what behavior was exceptional, and what was typical?

Sturtz, admitting the women she studied are not "typical," persuasively contends that they do nonetheless reveal the boundaries of what was possible. Sturtz looks at propertied women in Virginia and finds them running businesses and working the legal system with aplomb. She makes her case well. She gives us new examples of married women, rather than the widowed women that appear more regularly in the legal records, working and acting in court. She traces the attempts of women to keep an inheritance from a first marriage away from a grasping second spouse. She creatively labels these earlier families "ghost families." We even see women as key players in the transatlantic trade.

On the whole, this is a useful addition to a literature that seeks to describe the complicated nature of female legal and economic power in the past. The laws were harsh as written, but some women found ways around them. The agency of colonial Virginian women of means emerges here in all its complexity.

LISA WILSON
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PETER OKUN, *Crime and Nation: Prison Reform and Popular Fiction in Philadelphia, 1786–1800*. (Studies in American Popular History and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xxi, 167. \$70.00.

Part of the "Studies in American Popular History and Culture" series, this book by Peter Okun is about some popular literature of the late eighteenth-century United States, but, marred by repetition and too much cultural studies jargon, it is hardly popular history. Nor is it really about prisons, reform, or the early national republic, since the author's familiarity with the secondary literature on these subjects is extremely thin. Rather, this is an analysis of the representations and discourses about crime and imprisonment in a small number of prison reform tracts and novels about crime and punishment, mostly from Philadelphia, heavily influenced by a few critics and theorists whose insights

are repeated to excess, making Okun's interpretations seem more derivative than perhaps they are.

The book is nonetheless important because of the enormous influence of the prison reformers and the reforms they implemented in Philadelphia in the 1790s. That was a time of extreme tension and political conflict in the young republic, and although this book provides us with very little sense of place or insight into the issues and events that comprised the turmoil of these years, Okun properly situates the texts and the prison reformers within this setting. So, for example, he ties Benjamin Rush's central role in prison reform to his famous comment that the radicalism exhibited by many Philadelphia patriots in the years following independence represented a new "species of insanity." Unfortunately, Okun repeats this remark of Rush's too many times. It would have been better instead to follow up on the also oft-repeated comment that Rush and other prison reformers drifted toward Federalism during the 1790s, which would have forced him to more directly confront the actual history of the time—the connection between prison reform and party politics in the 1790s, and the deep differences among Americans of this era—rather than trying to build an argument about a meta-American culture that acknowledges but transcends conflict. To do this, Okun would have to digest the work of historians other than Joyce Appleby, whose major but hardly exhaustive work on the 1790s is cited, like most other references in this book, far too often. Okun unreflectively accepts the notion that free market capitalism had clearly triumphed in the United States by 1790, which is not a settled question, and attributes to this era innovations, especially in the legal culture of property, that took much longer to develop.

This book is useful for historians in spite of its weakness as a work of history because of its numerous important insights into the texts, especially the novels. Among these are Okun's treatment of two categories of crime that especially stirred the imaginations of writers and reformers: murder and sex. Murder was at once the most heinous and pristine offense, and the one on which arguments against capital punishment turned. Okun's treatment of the reformers demonstrates how the generation's penchant for classification took shape and assumed authority in regard to murder, and his analysis of the fiction reveals the very important paradox for revolutionary Americans, especially lawmakers, that murder was both the foundational act and the paramount violation of the new body of *American* law. Okun is similarly suggestive in discussing how sexual crime stood in the fiction of the period as a symbol for many of the social and political transgressions that stoked the fears of conservatives in the 1790s.

Most impressive for this reader is Okun's extended discussion of the work of Charles Brockden Brown. His reading of Brown's series of essays, *The Man At Home* (1798), untangles its conflation of home and prison to reveal both the deeply domestic concerns

with which prison reformers of the time informed their project and the pressures under which the domestic economy was straining (itself a key reason why the home seemed such an appropriate model for correctional institutions). Best of all is Okun's treatment of Brown's important novel, *Arthur Mervyn; or Memoirs of the Year 1793* (1799). Okun deftly moves discussion of the book beyond "unresolvable debates concerning the nature of identity, character and intent" in the early United States (p. 134) to a much more fertile treatment of Mervyn as "a state of affairs—a figure onto which condenses a cluster of disciplinary practices emerging in late eighteenth century Philadelphia" (p. 135) and who represents the era's transformations in American law. Although, like the rest of the book, more impressive in its treatment of texts than for the new windows it opens on prison reform and disciplinary in postrevolutionary Philadelphia, this discussion demonstrates both how widely carceral concerns occupied the minds of prominent thinkers in the early republic and how deeply linked were the emergence of liberty and the institutions designed to deny it.

ALLEN STEINBERG
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STEVEN M. NOLT. *Foreigners in Their Own Land: Pennsylvania Germans in the Early Republic*. (Pennsylvania German History and Cultural Series, number 2; Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, number 35.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 238. \$29.95.

This cultural history focuses on Pennsylvania Germans of Lutheran and German Reformed background in the process of becoming American. Steven M. Nolt deftly demonstrates that the experience involved a complex interaction in which "majority demands and minority wishes mixed and even furthered ironically complementary ends" (p. 3). As ethnic groups are marked and changed by the American mainstream, he writes, they reforge their identities to reflect the reality of a new cultural context as much as to maintain their heritage. Creating an ethnic identity in America and becoming American are thus related processes—a phenomenon that others, of course, have noticed.

In the early republic, Pennsylvania Germans found themselves interacting with a dominant British-stock majority. In the first three of seven fast-paced chapters, Nolt looks at this ethnic minority's first encounters with the mainstream political and religious culture, encounters that fostered their sense of outsiderdom but also permitted them to invent their ethnicity, opening a "side door" to Americanization (p. 7). The Germans had come in groups as families or neighbors for betterment. They tended to settle with their own kind and retained their language and their folkways. By 1740, the Lutherans and German Reformed churches had formed a "practical" ecclesiastical establishment (p. 14) of 16,000 active communicants. The Great Awakening of the 1740s strengthened

both churches, so that unlike in New England and some parts of the South, where it splintered communions, religion in German Pennsylvania became both an ethnic and a spiritual refuge. The Germans' ethnic religious loyalties, endogamous marriage patterns, and geographic stability did not preclude encounters with the surrounding Anglo culture but rather "mediated and regulated" them (p. 17), as Germans learned to deal with Anglo-American property law, for example, while continuing to defend their ethnic particularism, or as they fought in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives to observe Good Friday and to celebrate Christmas and Second Christmas (December 26), Easter and Easter Monday, and Pentecost and Pentecost Monday—German traditions alien to the majority culture.

During the revolutionary period, they took up the rhetoric and ideology of liberty, equality, and natural rights, interpreting these as their right to be different, apart, and unassimilated. A different set of political assumptions, not Lockean ideas of individual rights but the authority of local custom and church structure, provided order and social control and led to what Nolt calls "peasant republicanism," in which their society was vertically organized in a semifederal manner and civic life was supported by a system of reciprocal relationships and local obligations requiring a "delicate balance" between obedience and vigilance.

By the time of the War of 1812, Pennsylvania Germans began to adapt their peasant republicanism to American culture, casting their claims "in patriotic rhetoric that joined their old ethnic parochialism with a new national intention" (p. 43). They were not so much insisting on their ethnic heritage now as finding new ways to define it, rejecting public schools, for instance, in favor of their own locally controlled parochial schools and rejecting the revivalistic religion introduced in the 1820s and 1830s by Charles G. Finney. Here, though, a tension or ambivalence is apparent, for in some cases their leaders encouraged revivalism and endorsed greater German participation in its fruits, the moral reform and benevolent societies so prevalent in the larger culture.

If this work has a defect, it is its claim to be a "pioneering" study of how an ethnic minority assimilates. It is not. The experience of the Pennsylvania Germans is foreshadowed and uncannily paralleled by the experience of the Dutch in New York and New Jersey. The author seems to have relied on histories of the Dutch in America written from an English and Anglican perspective. The Dutch by the early nineteenth century had not "become an exemplar of assimilation and Anglicization," as he maintains. There was a progressive and Americanizing element in the Dutch Reformed Church at this time, but the ability of the Dutch in New York and New Jersey to retain their religion and culture lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

This aside, I recommend the book as a clear, well-written, and carefully edited work that adds a

wealth of fascinating information to the expanding mosaic of ethnic histories in America.

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DANIEL L. DREISBACH. *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 283. \$42.00.

Given the controversy concerning Thomas Jefferson's famous phrase, "wall of separation between church and state," it is commendable that someone finally has devoted a full book to the subject. While more than half of this book's pages are notes, appendixes, and index, 128 pages of text nevertheless adequately address the important issues that surround the metaphor that Jefferson penned in a letter to the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802 to summarize his understanding of the essential purpose of the First Amendment's religion clauses. The book is well organized, well written, and adds much toward understanding Jefferson's felicitous metaphor.

Jefferson's metaphor is, of course, a matter of considerable discussion in today's highly charged debates about religion and public life in the United States. It has influenced, rightly or wrongly, church-state jurisprudence, congressional policy formulation, and public debate. Dreisbach is critical of what he perceives to be the gradual development of a gross misunderstanding of Jefferson's metaphor. His view is that the metaphor has achieved "virtual canonical status" in conveying the erroneous notion that the First Amendment requires a strict separation between religion and government (p. 3). He is especially critical of the judiciary for making the metaphor a virtual rule of constitutional law.

Dreisbach's basic argument, stated repeatedly, is that the metaphor fails to distinguish between the concepts of "separation" and "nonestablishment." By this, he means that Jefferson, in adopting the metaphor, intentionally reconceptualized the meaning of the Establishment Clause, which supposedly was intended only to prohibit the federal government from preferring some religions over others (nonpreferentialism) while not imposing any restraints on religion's ability to influence civil matters. Rather, Jefferson's "wall" effectively limits the activities of both the federal government and religion. Dreisbach, while not labeling it as such, is making here the well-known "one-directional wall" argument, which holds that Congress intended to limit government's involvement in religion but not religion's involvement in government. The problem with this argument is that the founding fathers' intent on this issue is fraught with ambiguities. Jefferson was clearly siding with a large body of founding-era leaders who understood "non-establishment" in much broader terms than mere nonpreferentialism. They understood the Establishment Clause in more "separationist" terms, imposing limits on governmental interference with religion as

well as limiting religion's ability to direct the course of governmental matters. This ambiguity is reflected even in the eleven drafts of the religion clauses that were considered by the first Congress; these drafts are roughly equally divided between language that adopts nonpreferentialism on the one hand and separationism on the other. The final wording is arguably a compromise between the two but would seem to favor separationism.

One of the most illuminating contributions of this book is its treatment of the history of the "wall of separation" metaphor, especially its use by Richard Hooker in the sixteenth century, Roger Williams in the seventeenth century, and James Burgh in the eighteenth century. Even here the ambiguities about the "wall" are apparent; Williams and Burgh clearly favored a more Jeffersonian usage, whereas Hooker decried any kind of "wall" between church and state.

Dreisbach also makes the point, quite accurately, that the First Amendment was originally intended only to apply to the federal government, not the states. Even Jefferson supported the right of states to legislate endlessly on matters pertaining to religion. Consequently, says Dreisbach, the "wall" has been judicially broadened in a way that even Jefferson would not approve of. Fair enough, but the effect of the Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, which the Supreme Court has said makes the First Amendment binding on the states, must be given due consideration, which Dreisbach never does. Arguing that the original meaning of the "wall of separation" in this respect has been abused by the modern judiciary hardly makes sense when it is legislative intervention, if anything, that deserves the blame.

Dreisbach is surely correct in saying that metaphors can be overstated, misused, and made poor substitutes for legal principle. But metaphors are powerful language and will always capture the hearts and imaginations of human beings, even Supreme Court justices. But it works both ways. I would argue that a near majority of the current Supreme Court justices have rejected the "wall" metaphor and are unwittingly at work to adopt a new metaphor—"equal treatment"—that enshrines nonpreferentialism, permits a host of religious activities in the public realm in the name of "free exercise," and effectively displaces most of what Dreisbach laments.

Although I would question many of Dreisbach's conclusions, this is nevertheless an engaging book that should be read by anyone interested in current debates pertaining to the interplay of religion and civic life in the United States.

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PHILIP HAMBURGER. *Separation of Church and State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 514. \$49.95.

This is a big book. At 514 pages, its sheer length daunts the reader. It is also big in other ways, however, that make reading it worth the effort.

Philip Hamburger makes bold claims about constitutional thought in America. He argues that the religion clauses of the First Amendment did not create a "separation" of church and state. The establishment clause, as it is commonly called by lawyers, provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." This did not mean that churches and government must be kept separate, Hamburger argues, but that no one denomination should be the official state religion. Hamburger even claims that James Madison tempered his separationist views between his *Memorial and Remonstrance* (1785) and the Bill of Rights (1789). In Hamburger's eyes, the key figure who supported such a misreading of the establishment clause was Thomas Jefferson, who tried unsuccessfully to persuade dissenting groups that they really wanted separation. Jefferson notwithstanding, there was no "wall of separation" erected by the Constitution. The separationist ethic that has been a central feature of constitutional interpretation in the twentieth century "is without historical foundation" (p. 481).

The true source of separationism was a massive reorientation of political theory among "liberal" Protestants in the nineteenth century (p. 193), which posited Catholics and their priests as antithetical to American democracy. This "nativist" impulse (p. 202), Hamburger maintains in a particularly brilliant chapter, led secular and religious Americans to condemn all ecclesiastical authority because they opposed Catholics. Gradually, they persuaded themselves that this condemnation was the essence of the establishment clause and a safeguard of "true" religious liberty. The rich history of nineteenth-century anti-Catholicism has been explored before, but never so neatly connected to constitutional theory.

By the mid-twentieth century, the conflation of separationism and liberty was so pervasive, Hamburger argues, that the Supreme Court naturally (if unjustifiably) absorbed it in its first case involving state aid to parochial schools. Justice Hugo Black, a native of Alabama and former member of the notoriously anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan, wrote the opinion in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947). Hamburger claims that Black relied on Jefferson's wall of separation to turn his own anti-Catholicism into constitutional law. "Black had long before sworn, under the light of flaming crosses," Hamburger writes, "to preserve 'the sacred constitutional rights' of 'free public schools' and 'separation of church and state'" (p. 462). Black's majority opinion, however, upheld free bus transportation of schoolchildren to parochial schools, over the dissents of four justices. Hamburger argues that the case's reasoning, rather than its result, is the real story. The result discomfited Black's Catholic critics; the reasoning laid the groundwork for future cases. In the world after *Everson*, Hamburger claims, "separation

has barred otherwise constitutional connections between church and state . . . [T]he First Amendment, which was written to limit government, has been interpreted directly to constrain religion" (p. 484).

This is a powerful indictment not only of constitutional law in the twentieth century but also of a broad and long-standing American majority opinion. Hamburger has done prodigious historical detective work, and his book deserves to become a staple in history of religion courses. His unrelenting focus on anti-Catholicism produces new insights into the cosy relationship between Protestant self-congratulation and anti-Catholic prejudice. It also condemns much of the work of the Supreme Court, which has relied on Black's constitutional historiography to decide contemporary cases.

Hamburger's claim that anti-Catholicism is the key to all of constitutional analysis in the area would be even more telling if paired with closer attention to cases before 1947 that did not directly involve Catholics or parochial schools. For example, state court opinions on the law of establishment, the prosecution of blasphemy, property limitations placed on religious corporations, and Sunday closing laws are invaluable yet neglected sources of nineteenth and early twentieth-century legal thought.

Hamburger glosses over the first Supreme Court decision to construe the religion clauses, *Reynolds v. United States* (1879). That case held that Jefferson's "wall of separation" was central to understanding the constitutional text. The First Amendment, the Court reasoned, disabled government from favoring religion through establishment, or disfavoring it by punishing believers. *Reynolds* involved a Mormon polygamist; comparisons between Mormon Utah and Catholic "oppression" were common in the nineteenth century. Yet *Reynolds* was not actually an anti-Catholic decision, as opposed to one that drew on a broad-based condemnation of the union of church and state and the exercise of political power by clerics of whatever persuasion.

Justice Black, deciding a religion case in the twentieth century, was drawn by the earlier landmark decision and its reliance on Jefferson. In this sense, Black's opinion is surprising primarily for its pro-Catholic result. At the time the *Everson* case was decided, all the justices agreed with the reliance on *Reynolds*, however much they disagreed about the result. This is not to quibble with Hamburger's undoubtedly powerful reading of anti-Catholicism but to propose that the trail to *Everson* is more complex than emphasis on Black's earlier Ku Klux Klan affiliation might suggest.

This book ends at *Everson*, asserting that constitutional decision making over the last half-century has been fundamentally misguided but not providing a detailed analysis. Hamburger explicitly declines to say whether he thinks *Everson* or other twentieth-century cases were rightly decided, or what should replace separation of church and state. His passionate critique

implies, however, that contemporary constitutional law should be thrown out with the old anti-Catholic bath water. These questions force the reader to confront the legacy of religious prejudice and its relationship to constitutional law. This legacy is disturbing in an area in which precedent is a powerful constraint on decision making, especially if, as Hamburger implies, the taint of anti-Catholicism renders separation untenable. *Everson* (and Jefferson's wall of separation) have long been criticized by advocates who support a closer relationship between religion and government. Hamburger's book is a provocative addition to the legal debate, as well as a formidable work of historical scholarship.

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JAY P. DOLAN. *In Search of an American Catholicism: A History of Religion and Culture in Tension*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 312. \$28.00.

Jay P. Dolan, author of the widely read *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present* (1985), has written a reflective analysis of the strains between Catholicism and aspects of American culture. Its subtitle is not exactly accurate, as Dolan admits in the introduction. This is not a study of the reciprocal relationship between religion and culture but rather an examination of how American culture has contributed to the shape of American Catholicism in the course of the last two hundred years.

Dolan's book is divided into five chronologically organized chapters, each of which focuses upon a specific period of struggle in the Catholic appropriations of or reactions to American cultural values. The first chapter highlights the early republic (1780–1820), where American values had a significant influence on Catholics as they adapted democratic and republican practices in establishing and governing their congregations. The second chapter concentrates on the first major wave of immigration (1820–1880). It details Catholic reactions to the appropriation of republican values and emphasizes those elements in the immigrant Catholic culture that were alien to American values. The period between 1880 and 1920, discussed in chapter three, was characterized by new attempts to Americanize immigrant Catholics and the first endeavors to Americanize Catholic understandings of the church-state doctrine and religious liberty. The last two chapters, on the periods 1920 to 1960 and 1960 to 2001, are more thematic in nature, examining five selected issues (democracy, devotional style, American identity of Catholics, the Americanization of Catholic church-state doctrine, and the role of women in the church) that have received recurring attention in the church. Chapter five (mistakenly identified in the table of contents as the period 1920 to 2001) also addresses Catholic participation in the cultural and ethical wars over abortion and birth control. The last two chapters

point to the emergence of a "public Catholicism" that has tried to influence American culture. In a post-script, Dolan reflects on the recent scandals of priestly pedophilia.

To some extent, this book follows the chronological structure and articulates themes that Dolan had first outlined in *The American Catholic Experience*. He makes a self-conscious attempt to provide a theoretical interpretive narrative that transcends the social statistics and historical details of the earlier work, however, making this text a more readable account of Dolan's philosophy of history and his understanding of the recurring and changing tensions in the relationship between American and Catholic values and ideas. Dolan clearly sides with those in the American Catholic tradition who favored accommodation to American cultural values. Although he is aware of a possible theoretical tension between religion and culture (i.e. one needs to "establish a relationship with culture without succumbing to it in a way that corrupts the Gospel values," p. 171), he focuses throughout on the necessity (a "cultural imperative," he calls it) of adapting the Catholic tradition to American democratic values. In fact, Dolan ends the book by saying that "the Catholic church must continue its dialogue with American culture. As change reshapes American society, the church must adapt. It has no choice" (p. 256). Such unnuanced statements are difficult to square with Dolan's own assertions about the possible cultural conflicts with Gospel values. In history, the arena of freedom, individuals and institutions have choices.

Dolan's accommodationist perspective governs his interpretation of American Catholic history. The benefit of such an approach is evident in his sympathetic portrayal of the accommodationist strand in American Catholicism. The weakness, in my judgment, is that the approach fails to give an adequate understanding of the ideological positions of those who opposed specific forms of accommodation, and makes it difficult to understand the motives of those who resisted change or to grasp the values in the immigrant and European and Roman cultural forms that competed with American culture. The real tensions of the competing values, in other words, are not revealed to the reader. The book, nevertheless, is well written and rises above historical narrative to discuss significant issues that have rarely been examined by historians of American Catholicism. This text could be used effectively to challenge students to discuss the relationship between religion and American culture.

PATRICK W. CAREY
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MARK A. NOLL. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 622. \$35.00.

The title of this book does not begin to capture the breadth of the author's coverage of American theological developments, any more than this brief review can

begin to do justice to the author's subtle, thick analysis of those developments. Mark A. Noll has undertaken to do nothing less than trace in elaborate historical detail the transformation of a religious intellectual heritage wrenched away from its defining European characteristics to yield a distinctively American tradition.

Noll's argument is that American Protestant thinking, the altogether dominant American theology between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, eventually gathered evangelical Christianity, republican political ideology, and commonsense moral philosophy into a synthesis that rendered the American Protestant perspective altogether pertinent to the American republic but made that perspective as different from the Protestantism of the Reformation as Reformation Protestantism was different from Roman Catholicism. In the full flowering of this synthesis, the sovereign being of Jonathan Edwards's God became the moral law giver of Edwards's disciples; the virtue of benevolence to being in general became the republican virtue of disinterested public service and eventually private goodness; sin as a deep flaw of character turned into specific deeds or actions; freedom changed from the ability to do what one chooses into the ability to choose what one wills and liberty from the customs, authorities, and traditions of the past; the larger meanings of Scripture were overlooked on behalf of the literal "facts" of a Bible "scientifically" interpreted; and the instructions of tradition, divine inspiration, and discursive reasoning were replaced by the intuitive common sense of the individual, liberated American.

Noll's history takes us from the colonial theology that suffered the transformation right through to the complete republicanization of theology among Calvinists and Methodists and finally to the shattering of the synthesis on the issue of slavery (commonsense interpretations of a "factual" Bible resulting in both pro- and antislavery arguments). Ironically, an unchurched Abraham Lincoln revealed a firmer theological grasp of national crisis than his church theologian contemporaries. Along the way, Noll contrasts the situation in the United States with Europe and Canada, pauses occasionally to place his interpretations within the rich historiography of the early American republic, situates his religious history in the diverse intellectual, social, and cultural contexts of the period, and illuminates pervasive perspectives with attention to dissenting voices of the time.

Clearly Noll finds the development he traces less than commendable, but he refuses to view it as a "decline" because he believes that the Christian republicanism that emerged was more morally offended by slavery than its colonial predecessors and their conservative followers, as well as more active in incorporating strangers into its churches, more intentional in working its way into American public life, and more attuned to cultural change as it used the ideological materials at hand to try to preserve Christian belief and practice.

Nevertheless, if not exactly a decline, Noll's story strikes him as a tragedy. "It was thus neither farce nor irony when the religious habits of mind that had built a Protestant Christian America divided and eventually petered out after the [civil] war. It was rather a tragedy of worthy thinkers striving faithfully for noble goals who were brought down by the very synthesis of Christian theology and American ideology that had transformed their society and made them its intellectual leaders" (p. 445).

Other scholars—even earlier generations of scholars like H. Richard Niebuhr and Joseph Haroutunian—have remarked the same transformation of American Protestant theology, but none with Noll's sure command of a wealth of primary and secondary sources, his comparative perspective, his ability to weave together religious and nonreligious strands of history, or his sense of the complexity of the persons and events under study. And none, to my knowledge, has attended as closely as he to the convergence of secular and religious factors to account for *why* and *how*, not just *that*, this American intellectual heritage was substantially altered. Some readers will doubtless find points in the book to argue with. I, for one, am not convinced by Noll that evangelical republicanism was as shaping of American culture as it was shaped by it, that Horace Bushnell swam in quite the same intellectual waters as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Theodore Parker, or that American Methodist evangelicalism possessed much theological profundity. Yet this substantial book is worth taking seriously enough to argue with. And because it so thoroughly contextualizes the religious ideas it analyzes, the book is as pertinent to the work of the intellectual, cultural, and social historian as it is to the labors of the historian of religion.

CONRAD CHERRY,

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JEANNE HALGREN KILDE. *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 310. \$45.00.

This is an ambitious, often persuasive attempt to chart the "transformation of [Protestant] evangelical architecture and worship in nineteenth century America." To cope with this extremely complex subject, Jeanne Halgren Kilde makes several simplifying assumptions. One is that American evangelicalism can be fairly epitomized in the generally similar outlook and commitments of four "mainstream" denominations: Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist. Another is that differences in social class, ethnicity, or region did not result in markedly different versions of evangelical culture. Third, instead of parsing the words and celebrating the deeds of "princes of the pulpit," or those of an occasional prominent layman, Kilde sets out to "interrogate" the church structures each generation built as "religious texts" for the light they shed

"on the religious and social features of evangelical religion" (p. 14). Not surprisingly, this book includes almost as many pictures and schematic drawings as it does names of evangelicals.

Kilde argues that, as of the beginning of the nineteenth century, American church architecture had only begun to realize the implications of Protestantism's stress on the priesthood of all believers, and on the primary importance of hearing the word. In the prevailing "federal style," the minister preached from an elevated pulpit to an audience seated with little regard to sight or hearing. During the Second Great Awakening, revivalists like Charles Grandison Finney experimented with churches—or "tabernacles"—that placed the minister on a stage *lower* than the congregation, who were seated in rows of seats so curving that each person could see and hear. Although these innovations were by no means universally admired, they remained within the inventory of possibilities for the evangelical church builder, even during the period just before and during the Civil War when the Gothic Revival offered an otherworldly alternative to those churches that wished to avoid taking sides on issues such as the fate of fugitive slaves and the right of women to be heard.

Kilde is especially interested in the decades just before and just after the turn of the century, where the hegemonic church building style was usually described as "neomedieval." The key element was an auditorium large enough to give crowds of worshippers unobstructed access to pulpit sights and sounds. Of great importance were comfortable chairs or pews, along with the machinery necessary to provide proper ventilation. Sermons were expected to be shorter, and to be complemented with prayers and readings to which the congregation was invited to "respond." Perhaps most noteworthy was the greatly enlarged role of music: both hymns sung by the congregation, and solos and anthems sung by professional musicians. Most auditorium churches boasted of a great organ. Kilde is at pains to argue that many of the innovations in architecture and liturgy paralleled comparable developments in secular culture, and she concludes, rather unhappily, that church became theatre. She does not, however, insist that church consciously borrowed from theatre; both were manifestations of a pervasive bourgeois ethic of comfort and complacency.

Kilde writes that in the 1890's a "Late Gothic Revival began to challenge the hegemony of the auditorium style churches . . . By 1920 . . . neo-medieval auditorium churches had become, in the opinion of a new flock of commentators on religious art and architecture, the curse of Protestantism and America alike." They were too accommodating, too mannered, too "feminine" (pp. 205–206). But the author insists that the "intimate connection between evangelicalism and the amphitheatre space" established in the nineteenth century has never been totally renounced—witness the emergence toward the end of the twentieth century of "megachurches," like Willow Creek in South Barrington, Illinois, or Crystal Cathedral in

Garden Grove, California. "These huge religious complexes," Kilde writes, "usually located in suburbs, number their members in the thousands . . . Their physical plants include not just a massive auditorium . . . but also snack bars or food courts, bookstores and memorabilia shops, meeting, counseling, and prayer rooms; Sunday school facilities." Often lampooned or caricatured, these church complexes are, Kilde contends, "firmly rooted in the history of evangelical spaces . . . These churches carry on the strategies that evangelical churches adopted in the 1870's and 1880's, though they do so in decidedly late twentieth century language" (p. 215).

ROBERT D. CROSS
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RUSS CASTRONOVO. *Necro Citizenship: Death, Eroticism, and the Public Sphere in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 351. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Russ Castronovo ends his preface with a quick joke about his parents' desire that he write a "true crime" or "legal thriller" bestseller that would "bring untold riches and make their old age more comfortable" (p. xiv). While the spoils of academic publishing are sure to fall short of this lofty aspiration, Castronovo's parents do locate the genres that his study of nineteenth-century U.S. citizenship both mines and archives. This book dwells on mid-century popular and reformist discourses ranging from sentimental abolitionism to spirit rapping, from male purity (and purification) to labor reform, from New England transcendentalism to the diasporic and spiritualist imaginings of African slaves. Across these varied topics, Castronovo maintains a keen focus on one central paradox of U.S. democracy: the concept of citizenship constructs an "abstract, privileged, and empowered personhood" that "depends on a people whose untranscendent lives also make claims to freedom and dignity" (p. 10). His insight (which he shares with other scholars working in the field of U.S. cultural studies, most notably Lauren Berlant, Karen Sanchez-Eppler, and Sharon Holland) is that it is the association of political liberty with social death that makes this paradox work. Echoing and reechoing Patrick Henry's revolutionary cry of "Give me liberty or give me death," the nineteenth-century ideology of "necro citizenship" positions the messiness of the mortal body at the limits of official political discourse, thereby creating a public sphere metaphorically littered with dead bodies and inhabited by lifeless citizens.

Like all good detectives, Castronovo thinks in presentist terms. He brings to bear on his murderous archive a broad set of political theoretical questions concerning distinctions between negative and positive notions of liberty, as well as linkages and oppositions among embodiment, citizenship, nationality, and history. The concept of "necro citizenship" in this context

operates as both a descriptive claim and a heuristic device. It allows Castronovo to investigate the labor "death" performs as a figure haunting (and structuring) the margins of official U.S. political culture, and to do so in a variety of ways. In one chapter, Ralph Waldo Emerson's philosophy of self-reliance resists the more corporeal imaginings of other male purity reformers, but it shares with them an association of lust with social death through the figure of the "white slave," thus deploying the reality of southern chattel slavery as a vehicle for the (racializing) reform of (white) masculinity. In another chapter, Nathaniel Hawthorne's writings on mesmerism access a larger world in which the "wonders of the occult" allow "the facticity and grittiness of sociopolitical discourse to [become] sublimated as sociocelestial discourse" (p. 108). In a third, Harriet Jacobs and Frederick Douglass map a counter-history of the occult, tracing its origins to Haiti and West Africa, thereby revealing the ways in which "black 'labor' finances the privileged disembodiment of white citizens" (p. 168). In a fourth, Frances Harper further explores this diasporic geography by marking the ways in which the "birth of political personhood often necessitates the death of corporeal, ancestral, and other nonnational bodies" (pp. 207–08).

Throughout these readings, two tendencies stand out. The first is Castronovo's commitment as a cultural sleuth to the thorough interrogation of canonical and noncanonical texts. Although my chapter summary names only better-known authors (and allows them to serve as signposts for the purposes of this review), the chapters themselves spend as much time on seldom-studied writings and accord them equal critical scrutiny. The second is that formalism is Castronovo's prime suspect, both a literary formalism that privileges elite over popular writings and a political formalism that cleans up the messiness left behind after the rational debate of the public sphere concludes. Yet the interesting thing is that Castronovo's argument itself remains oddly formalist: "Radical democracy more than gives access to all citizens: it also recuperates putatively nonpolitical scraps of subjectivity and community that were cut away to reveal the citizen in the first place" (p. 209). There is little to disagree with here, but such a normative claim also begs a series of questions concerning the specificities of the histories, practices, and bodies that would inform and inhabit the space of "radical democracy." Although this observation could be viewed as a critique of Castronovo's forensic method, I do not mean it as one. It may be that his provocation for us to envision "radical democracy" as a political project attentive to the realities of the here and now moves us much closer to what one of my colleagues recently referred to as a "militant secularism." If this phrase seems oddly out of date in a world of evangelical militarisms (in which Patrick Henry's famous conceit has been transformed into the Bush administration's "Give them liberty or give them

death"), that may be all the more reason to follow Castronovo back to the scene of the crime.

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DAVID M. PLETCHER. *The Diplomacy of Involvement: American Economic Expansion across the Pacific, 1784–1900*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 379. \$44.95.

The latest installment in David M. Pletcher's long-running scholarly engagement with American expansionism in the nineteenth century rounds out the geographical reach of his scholarship. Just as his earlier works (*The Diplomacy of Annexation: Texas, Oregon, and the Mexican War* [1973] and *The Diplomacy of Trade and Investment: American Expansion in the Hemisphere, 1865–1900* [1998]) provided a useful and meticulously crafted overview of the United States' expanding administrative bailiwick across the North American continent and over points south in the Western Hemisphere, this book delivers a treasure trove of information and statistical data on parallel multidirectional movements traversing the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. The work is based on English-language records and secondary literature and, thus, is not an interactive account of the historical forces emanating from various points of American encounters with denizens of the pan-Pacific world. Yet it speaks to a number of issues raised by new scholarship into American overseas expansion by historians such as Emily Rosenberg and Eileen Scully, and Pletcher's close examination of the intricacies of the mixed currency exchanges and non-currency-based transactional mechanisms used in the pan-Pacific transnational commercial networks connects with important new works by foreign scholars as well. For example, if one reads Kazuko Furuta's illuminating study of the emergence of an East Asian regional trade network in the latter half of the nineteenth century, *Shanghai Netto Waku to Kindai Higashi Ajia* [The Shanghai Network in Modern East Asia] (2000), together with Pletcher's study, one is left with the image of a vibrant zone of free enterprise encompassing the Pacific Ocean: a world throbbing with individual entrepreneurship and ambition, untamed by the administrative regimes of the modern nation-state system.

Part one of the book, delineating American expansionism into Alaska, Hawaii, and the South and Western Pacific between 1784 and 1890, constitutes the most intriguing part of the story. Teeming with illuminating anecdotes, this section shows how individual Americans, whether fur traders, whalers, Christian missionaries, land speculators, or self-promoting naval personnel, boldly ventured into the new zone of activity opened up by improvements in transportation and communication technologies. Following their example were a wide variety of seafaring Americans, enterprising businessmen, and opportunity seekers who availed

themselves of the great expansion of economic horizons brought on by the opening of the Suez Canal and faster and safer routes to the Far East. These extremely unruly "Americans" were possessed by often dueling economic and political ambitions and a scant sense of modern "national" identity. They were not averse to wheeling and dealing with foreign nationals to further their individual goals. Neither were they shy about hiring out in the most venal ways as agents of foreign governments and businesses. The still inchoate American state often enlisted their services and those of their foreign allies to supplement its fledgling administrative structure outside its geographical boundaries. Thus, in the pursuit of gain these fringe elements came to create outposts of "American" political influence scattered across the trans-Pacific world.

In their sheer capitalist drive, the Americans residing in the Far East and the Pacific in this era were close kin to their expansionist brothers portrayed in Pletcher's earlier works. These individuals, some with Bible in hand, traded any commodity that the market found use for. They also peddled political connections to authorities back home for all they were worth. The absence of a unified system of commercial exchange built on specie only inspired them to devise imaginative local arrangements and mechanisms for exchange and profit. In so unregulated a commercial environment, smuggling was but one of many modes of exchange widely practiced. Equipped with seemingly inexhaustible vitality and resourcefulness, these American expatriates occupied one node in an expanding transnational network of "Western" ambitions that vied with indigenous forces for a place in the sun in the Far East.

Following on this account, part two of the book, which examines the formalization of American political involvement in Asia in the last decade of the nineteenth century, may strike one as anticlimactic. Pletcher's account of America's "private-sector" entrepreneurial energies in the Pacific through much of the century reframes the American intrusion into the Far East at this historical moment. As Scully has so imaginatively done in her recent study of American citizenship in Chinese treaty ports, Pletcher makes it clear that America's "political" involvement was in fact the culmination of a process through which the modern American state began to extend its administrative arms over its citizens living abroad by harnessing their actions and bridling their ambitions.

SAYURI GUTHRIE SHIMIZU
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ROBERT E. MAY. *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 426. \$45.00.

As helicopter blades whirled above the plaza's bloody chaos, the CIA agent demanded, "What is your na-

tionality, sir?" Grim and defiant, the man in black yelled, "I am William Walker, the president of Nicaragua." This flight of anachronism marked the conclusion of a provocative postmodern film detailing the controversial career of the nineteenth-century's most famous filibuster. Although war and empire are constant themes in United States history, rarely has Hollywood chosen to explore this dark but fascinating side of American expansionism. *Walker* (1987) quickly descended into celluloid oblivion, just as the awareness of his activities remains obscure in the public mind. This, of course, is Robert E. May's essential point: the filibusters, who had a critical impact on contemporary American culture and politics, have largely vanished from our historical memory.

Numerous tracts have been written about Cuba, Mexico, and Nicaragua as well as about individual adventurers, including Walker, Henry Kinney, and Narcisco Lopez. May himself has penned a fine volume on John Quitman. Yet no one has heretofore synthesized the filibusters' activities and analyzed who served, their motivation, ideology, funding, and role in the broader milieu. The author thus provides not only an overview of major and minor expeditions but also a colorful and interesting look at their identities and the consequences of their actions.

May defines filibusters as "members of private military expeditions who invaded the domain of countries at peace with the United States" (p. xv). Although the filibusters generated romantic notions in many quarters, May emphasizes that their behavior violated the U.S. Neutrality Act of 1818 and placed the perpetrators in the criminal class. Certainly, foreign governments adopted this view and expected Washington to treat them accordingly. While filibustering activity had occurred episodically along the borders of Canada, Florida, and Mexico since 1800, the Mexican War jumpstarted the movement. Instability in Latin America beckoned restless and reckless military veterans. By the 1850s, the United States had become "a filibustering nation" (p. 20). May reckons that only 5,000 men actually enlisted, but thousands more empathized, attended public rallies, donated money, devoured sympathetic plays, poetry, and newspaper articles, and danced to "The Filibustering Polka." Although filibustering was not a uniquely American phenomenon, the hyperbolic excitement it generated deeply troubled foreign observers. The federal government, local minions, and military officers made sincere efforts to thwart the expeditions, but legal authority, inadequate resources, and public opinion often hindered enforcement.

May paints a complex portrait of who joined such movements and why. Possessing wide-ranging geographic, occupational, and class backgrounds, filibusters seemed propelled by a myriad of personal motives conjoined in a search for adventure and perhaps a desire to recapture threatened masculinity. Ideological motivation, often jumbled, suggests that many southerners sought to extend slavery, while Yankees at-

tempted to advance Anglo-Saxon culture and the boundaries of freedom. Not surprisingly, a patina of racism covered many of the expeditions. The jerry-built ventures struggled with inadequate financing, transportation, supplies, and manpower. Sometimes the spirit of the men and their leaders catapulted the ragged bands into brief initial success, before the almost inevitable collapse forced the half-naked, half-starved liberators stumbling back to American shores.

Although the flood tide of failed filibusterism ebbed with the Civil War, May explores the negative legacy: a severe distrust of the United States in Central America promoted conservative regimes, anti-American nationalism, and closer bonds with Europe. Commercial relationships suffered, and official U.S. efforts to acquire additional territory from Mexico and Spain (Cuba) faltered amid ill will and suspicion. In domestic politics, advocates of free soil and abolitionism increasingly linked filibustering and the extension of slavery. May argues that most filibusters hoped their activities would secure rather than destroy the United States, yet inadvertently the failure to acquire additional slave lands helped convince the South of the futility of remaining in the Union.

May has provided a major contribution toward our understanding of the "underworld" of filibustering. Extensively grounded in primary sources with broad recognition of relevant secondary accounts, this well-written and well-organized volume offers only bits about which to quibble (including the press's decision to omit a bibliography). While agreeing that this was "an ugly chapter in the nation's past" (p. 296), some historians may take exception to May's legalistic definition of these sometimes idealistic and often pathetic figures as "criminals." Others may question the notion that "had Americans never filibustered, the Union might have weathered the storm [of sectional strife]" (p. 279). Scholars will welcome May's decision to write a different kind of book about filibustering. By combining social and cultural with political and diplomatic history, he moves the discourse in new directions. The filibusters may have been "rascals" and "pirates," but in an ongoing age of American empire, they should not be forgotten.

JOHN M. BELOHLAVEK
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EDWARD E. BAPTIST. *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier before the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 392. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Edward E. Baptist has rendered a provocative analysis that is likely to force a rethinking of the way the antebellum slave plantation system operated on the southern frontier. He argues that the planters from the Chesapeake and the Carolinas who settled middle Florida did not merely replicate the system they were familiar with. The new environment, with all its daunting challenges, shaped and molded the plantation

system that emerged there. In making this argument, Baptist analyzes the challenges facing three distinct groups: planters, white yeomen, and African-American slaves. The planters, determined to acquire riches and dominate the political economy that emerged, rode roughshod over their slaves and used the mechanisms of power to overwhelm the yeomen. They ripped their slaves from community and kin without regard to the psychological toll that such a separation would involve and moved them to a harsher physical environment than they were accustomed to, an environment that itself challenged the slaves' ability to adjust. Planters were to discover, however, the limits to their ability to "rule imperiously" (p. 102), and both yeomen and slaves came to influence the shape and form of the society that emerged.

In the book's opening chapters, Baptist demonstrates the early advantage that planters had over yeomen. By gaining influence over certain important offices, planters were able to control access to land ownership, and thus yeomen found themselves at a distinct disadvantage, sometimes losing land they had homesteaded to speculators who got to the land office before them—speculators often associated with those in control. Disdainful of the countrymen who came to the Florida frontier, planters assumed a superiority over them, and this attitude was all pervasive. Planters brooked no affront to their honor, but they had a carefully scripted procedure to follow should it be necessary to resort to violence: the duel. However much they might challenge each other, planters eschewed such a manner of settling disputes with countrymen. Countrymen were to be whipped and beaten, ridden like horses, but never accorded the honor of a duel. Countrymen were no less violent, but their violence took different forms. They engaged in rough and tumble fights, and pity the poor planter who came upon a countryman skilled in such techniques.

Even as the planter strutted about the early middle Florida frontier, dominating the political scene and assuming the aire of superiority, countrymen challenged them in a variety of ways. For example, Baptist details the way in which they used folk tales to undermine the supposed authority of planters. In the long run, however, planters' own greed undermined their economic superiority and forced an alliance with yeomen that united white men politically. Faced with the collapse of the Union bank and the reality of a changed political landscape upon achieving statehood, Florida planters began to link up with the emerging Whig and Democratic parties and dropped the factionalism that had dominated early Florida.

Slave society on the Florida frontier, meanwhile, evolved significantly during the same period. One of the most intriguing aspects of Baptist's study is the way in which he analyzes the nineteenth-century slave narratives and the twentieth-century Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave interviews. In both he finds a subtext suggesting that slaves taken from the Old South and brought to the wild Florida frontier

viewed themselves as having been “stolen” from their families and communities. In the early years, planters brought a disproportionate number of young males—who would have been better able to clear the wilderness and establish plantation agriculture—and this created a less stable and more volatile slave community. But to endure the psychological trauma of relocation, slaves rebuilt families and communities as soon as they were able and adopted the strategies for survival that other historians have identified with the Old South. Baptist asserts that, in the early years on the Florida frontier, planters had little need for paternalistic justifications for slavery as they reigned with an iron hand and with little significant opposition. Separated as they were from national politics by their territorial status, they remained aloof from the debate over slavery taking shape on the national stage. But as they endured economic disaster and yellow fever epidemics, they felt their own vulnerability, and statehood brought more than just a need to accommodate to the countrymen. It required them to justify and rationalize slavery. An insightful reading of an old slave’s missives to his mistress demonstrates that there was more manipulation in them than the latter might have imagined. James Page, a Baptist slave preacher, was owned by the powerful Parkhill family and grasped their perceptions of themselves as kindly masters and mistresses. He would play the “Sambo” and demonstrate obsequious acquiescence in his enslavement, but, as Baptist puts it, “Without repeated submission to indignities, and the writing of carefully worded letters to ‘Miss Harriet,’ James Page would have been unable to preach freely to local black men and women. The ties that Page carefully cultivated may have also helped to make divisions of family and community like those he had witnessed during migration and frontier crises less likely to occur again” (p. 214).

This is a deeply researched and perceptively argued study that establishes Baptist as a fine scholar and a cogent writer. It has much to offer those interested in both the Old South and in Florida, Texas, and Arkansas. It should spur scholars on to fresh examinations of slavery on the frontier.

JEANNIE M. WHAYNE
University of Arkansas

STEPHEN R. HAYNES. *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 322. \$29.95.

Students of American slavery have long noted that proponents of slavery were wont to use the Bible to defend that institution, and one of the primary “proof texts” was the so-called shame of Noah and the sin of Ham as depicted in Genesis 9: 20–27. Ham saw his drunken father, Noah, lying naked and told his two brothers about it. Upon awaking, Noah cursed Canaan, Ham’s son, and said “a servant of servants shall he [Canaan] be unto his brethren.” Nothing was

said about race, but some southern apologists for slavery simply took this story as the biblical rationale for black enslavement, Africans being the supposed descendants of Ham. Later verses mention Nimrod, the grandson of Ham, and tie him to the kingdom of Babel (Genesis 10: 9–10) and the later confusion of languages there (Genesis 11: 1–9).

Stephen R. Haynes seeks to elucidate these passages as they have been interpreted by Bible scholars over the past two millennia, including early rabbinical commentary and the writing of the Church Fathers in the first centuries of the common era. What he reveals in the first quarter of the book is a rich feast of creative commentary that ranged far afield from the kind of textual literalism that often characterized later southern readings. Haynes then shifts to American interpretations of the Genesis material, focusing on the views of southern ministers and proslavery writers. Thomas Virgin Peterson’s *Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the Antebellum South* (1978) first laid out the varied southern applications of the Genesis text to their proslavery enterprise. Haynes extends Peterson’s analysis, in part by contextualizing southern readings in the longer history of Genesis interpretation, and he focuses his attention on the preeminent antebellum southern Presbyterian minister, Benjamin M. Palmer, whom, inexplicably, Peterson does not mention. Haynes also enriches his study by showing how important the concept of honor was to southern interpreters of Ham’s embarrassment of Noah. Here Haynes borrows from and extends the well-known thesis of Bertram Wyatt-Brown’s *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (1982).

In his discussion of the use of the story of Noah’s curse to justify slavery in the Old South, Haynes does not attempt to determine how this biblical tale was used in conjunction with other scriptural defenses. He is not unaware that slavery apologists drew from a variety of Biblical sources, but he does not place the Ham myth in the larger repertoire of scriptural citations employed by southerners. Other scholars of southern religion have shown that a wide range of Biblical verses were used to defend slavery, and Eugene D. Genovese, for example, in *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (1998), argues that many prominent southern Bible scholars dismissed the curse of Noah because it was not literally tied to race. Haynes mentions Genovese’s view but does not explicitly counter it. Two other books also have a broader perspective, Mitchell Snay’s *Gospel of Disunion: Religion and Separatism in the Antebellum South* (1993) and John Patrick Daly’s *When Slavery Was Called Freedom: Evangelicalism, Proslavery, and the Causes of the Civil War* (2002), the latter too recent for Haynes to have used. But these books suggest that a fuller understanding of the southern biblical justification of slavery requires placing the use of Noah’s curse in a larger context of Bible reading and citation. More needs to be said about who used the Genesis citations primarily,

or in what historical or denominational context, and when. How were the Genesis verses related to the use of other scriptural citations? To what extent did the southern tendency toward literalism limit the use and persuasiveness of the curse of Canaan?

Haynes does enlarge our knowledge of the use of Genesis by emphasizing how southerners took the story of Nimrod and the tower of Babel and found therein a justification not only for slavery but for post-Civil War segregation. The addition of Nimrod and the discussion of post-Civil War racist thinking represent significant advances in the scholarship, but here, too, as with the antebellum material, the representativeness of the sermons, books, and commentaries cited is not always clear. For example, for the last half century, probably the commentary most used by southern ministers has been George Arthur Buttrick's *The Interpreter's Bible* (1952), and it offers a reading of the Genesis stories uncongenial to racist usage. Clearly the stories of Noah, Ham, and Nimrod were often cited by southern spokesmen, and, as a result of this book, we now know far more about the use and misuse of these Scriptures. But the influence and role of these texts in the development of southern racial attitudes remains less clear than it should be. Haynes's book does not engage the existing historical scholarship as carefully as it might, and we still do not know exactly the place or prominence of "Noah's curse" in the history of southern racial thought.

JOHN B. BOLES
Rice University

JOHN STAUFFER. *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. 367. \$29.95.

This collective biography of four American abolitionists—John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Gerrit Smith, and James McCune Smith—tells the story of those "interracial bonds of friendship and alliance" that brought them "together to seek equality for all people." These men shared the conviction that "whites had to understand what it was like to be black" and to "renounce their belief in skin color as a marker of aptitude and social status." According to John Stauffer, those who experienced this radical transformation acquired "black hearts" (p. 1).

Of the four, Gerrit Smith receives most of Stauffer's attention. Long recognized as an important antislavery and reform figure, Smith's poor handwriting has rendered his extensive correspondence inaccessible and his life understudied. Stauffer's sympathetic treatment contrasts with Ralph Volney Harlow's critical and more detailed *Gerrit Smith: Philanthropist and Reformer* (1939). The son of a New York slaveholder and heir to a considerable fortune, Smith would seem an unlikely candidate for activism. Yet Smith's tyrannical father worked his sons alongside his slaves, causing Gerrit to feel "sorry for both himself and his 'poor' and

'friendless' co-workers" (p. 75). In 1826, after several personal crises, his second wife, Ann Carroll Fitzhugh, converted him to evangelical Protestantism. Smith immediately embraced reformist causes and his generosity quickly secured the attention of reform leaders. Originally a colonizationist who favored slavery's gradual demise, Smith espoused immediate abolition by the mid-1830s and, during the 1840s, the Liberty Party.

In response to antiblack prejudice and New York laws denying most blacks the franchise, Smith announced in 1846 he was giving away 120,000 acres in the Adirondacks to 3,000 New York blacks. He hoped thereby to establish an independent black community and ultimately advance "his ideal of a pluralist and egalitarian country" (p. 135). This land giveaway brought Smith into regular contact with the book's three other protagonists. Eschewing the Free Soilers and Republicans, all four were present during the formation of the tiny Radical Abolition Party in 1855. Frustrated with slavery's persistence and whites' unchanging hearts, they embraced violence as a means to undermining human bondage. Brown, of course, was the leading advocate of violence, as demonstrated by his attempted insurrection at Harpers Ferry in 1859. Both Gerrit Smith and Douglass knew in advance of Brown's raid, for which Smith provided substantial funding. Stauffer persuasively uses circumstantial evidence to claim that McCune Smith was also aware of this conspiracy.

Although Brown expressed no remorse prior to his execution, Gerrit Smith, overwhelmed by the bloodshed resulting from Brown's raid, suffered a nervous breakdown and soon lost his "black heart." Despite his continued support for abolition, Smith reembraced colonization, grew skeptical of racial equality, and blamed blacks for America's racial problems. Douglass similarly softened his own radicalism and eventually became a Republican insider. McCune Smith, by contrast, remained steadfastly radical until his death in 1865.

Stauffer's tale regarding these important abolitionists is a compelling read, particularly regarding their success in transcending racial boundaries during the 1850s. While Douglass and Brown have attracted numerous biographers, this book will refocus attention on Gerrit Smith and enhance awareness of McCune Smith, an underappreciated black intellectual and activist. Those desiring to study Gerrit Smith's life will, however, still need to consult Harlow's book, which Stauffer cites extensively. Specialists will be disappointed that Stauffer does not satisfactorily define frequently used terms such as "Bible Politics" and "millennium." These four abolitionists were certainly religious, yet their beliefs should have been more clearly delineated and nuanced.

Given the book's subtitle, readers may expect that its subjects helped shape a broad transformation of racial thinking. In fact, the shift Stauffer addresses was confined to these four men. Their ideas should have been analyzed within the context of mid-nineteenth-

century racial thinking. These reformers could also have been compared more extensively with their contemporaries. Were Gerrit Smith and John Brown the era's only whites who had "black hearts"?

JOHN W. QUIST
Shippensburg University

ROBERT E. BONNER. *Colors and Blood: Flag Passions of the Confederate South*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 223. \$29.95.

In this informative, useful, and occasionally provocative study, Robert E. Bonner tells us much about the role of "flag passions" and "flag cultures" in both shaping and reflecting the evolution of popular attitudes toward the Civil War. Despite his southern focus, Bonner places popular reactions to the flags of the Confederacy and of the United States in the broader context of mid-nineteenth-century Victorian emotionalism. Acutely sensitive to complexity, he probes the ambivalence and even emotional anguish with which Confederate leaders transferred their allegiance from the "Stars and Stripes" to the first Confederate national flag, the "Stars and Bars," despite the fact that the latter was largely cloned from the former.

Proponents of the Stars and Bars had praised its resemblance to the United States flag as altogether appropriate, because it was the Confederates, not the Yankees, who were supposedly defending the real principles that had fueled the American Revolution and inspired the founders of the American republic. The paradox of fighting for a flag so glaringly derivative of the banner of their enemies quickly wore thin, however, leading to the adoption of a new design based on the St. Andrew's Cross battle flag used initially by P. G. T. Beauregard and later by other commanders, including Robert E. Lee. Beauregard spearheaded the promotion of this flag, which had been "consecrated by the best blood of our country on so many battlefields" (p. 108). The flag's X-shaped cross, symbolic of the one on which St. Andrew had been crucified, celebrated both martyrdom to a holy cause and the military success of Lee and the Army of Northern Virginia. Emblazoned with stars representing the states of the Confederacy, the new "Southern Cross" was certified in 1863 as the official battle flag of the Confederate Army and incorporated, against a pure white background, into the "stainless banner" that became the second national flag of the Confederacy.

For all its inspirational appeal as symbol of "martial religiosity" (p. 97), however, unlike the Stars and Bars, which had suggested a new nation founded on the principles of the original American Republic, the new flag conveyed no indication of what the Confederacy itself "might be if it actually won its independence and charted a course for the future" (p. 122). (Here, Bonner astutely contrasts the Southern Cross with the Stars and Stripes, which became a symbol of impend-

ing freedom for African Americans.) Also, the Southern Cross design was not adopted until the middle of the war, and save for its presence on the new national flag that adorned some but by no means all of the Confederacy's public buildings, it was seldom seen apart from the fighting forces and certainly never in the profusion achieved by the Stars and Bars. Bonner's conclusion that the new Confederate flag design "signaled the fundamentally military nature" of southern white "collective purpose" (p. 97) helps us to understand why the Confederates could fight so ferociously on the battlefield while resisting so feebly on the home front. It may also explain, at least in part, why the southern white "cause" has inspired far greater loyalty and dedication after the fact than did the short-lived nation in whose name it was fought.

Bonner's findings are impressive, but his insistence on setting them in opposition to arguments that "insufficient nationalism" (p. 3) lay at the heart of the Confederacy's failure leads him into a semantic sand trap of sorts. His contention that the "flag culture nurtured a far richer Confederate patriotism than most have appreciated" (p. 7) certainly squares with his use of "patriotic" to describe "efforts to express or instill emotional loyalty to a government-led collective effort" (p. 180, n.5). It does not necessarily follow, however, that southern patriotism, which, he indicates, ultimately focused more on the "collective effort" than on the government that led it, nurtured a viable nationalism geared, as he defines it, to "establishing an independent, indivisible and fully sovereign nation-state" (p. 180, n.5). The emotions revealed in the flag culture of the early secessionist South may have been patriotic in their embrace of a "government-led collective effort," but at that point the governments leading the effort were those of the several states rather than that of a central southern "nation-state."

On balance, Bonner's account seems to suggest that the martial aura surrounding the Southern Cross flag sapped, rather than strengthened, popular allegiance to the Confederate nation-state itself. Beyond that, does the initial selection of the almost embarrassingly imitative Stars and Bars reflect, as others have argued, the absence of the broadly perceived distinctive common historical experience that seems to be an indispensable component of nation building? As Bonner demonstrates, white southerners found a more compelling symbol of such an experience only after they were locked in bloody combat against a common enemy.

Finally, Bonner's emphasis on the importance of bloodshed to the meaning of the flag leads him to cast the contemporary conflicts over the Confederate banner as a struggle between those who revere it as a symbol of four years' worth of blood spilled by southern soldiers and those who despise it for recalling "blood wrung from slaves over a much longer period of time" (p. 178). He might have noted as well the blood shed by those who suffered the depredations of the Ku Klux Klan and defied the inflammatory bluster of the

segregationist demagogues, Dixiecrats, and other defenders of white supremacy who managed effectively to pollute whatever honorable connotations the Southern Cross might once have conveyed with the stain of their own cruelty and cowardice. To make such a suggestion, however, is simply to acknowledge what Bonner has accomplished by reminding us that symbols are as much a part of the way history is made as of the way it is represented or remembered.

JAMES C. COBB
University of Georgia

DAVID GOLDFIELD. *Still Fighting the Civil War: The American South and Southern History*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 354. \$34.95.

This is not exactly a scholarly book. David Goldfield wishes not to provide a "comprehensive history" of "why southerners have remembered the Civil War and Reconstruction as they have, and how these perspectives shaped an American region" but rather "to share a series of thoughts . . . that will help newcomers and long-time residents understand the South and, hopefully, each other" (p. 14). He lives in Charlotte, North Carolina, a place of many immigrants, so the impulse to write "primarily for my neighbors, not my colleagues" is understandable and even admirable, but it makes any scholarly reviewer (not his neighbor) into a bystander with little at stake.

Goldfield's sermon is a liberal one. He sees the post-Civil War South as evolving into "a closed, exclusive, and hierarchical society" that came in time to be challenged from within and without by "an open, diverse, and fluid civilization" (p. 14). He thinks this struggle is still being enacted, that the Civil War remains alive in memory and society. Race and religion mostly explain this persistence, since racism created barriers that fundamentalism sanctified. This struggle is incomplete and still urgent, despite the South's recent prosperity. Fundamentalism persists and racial reconciliation (though advanced immeasurably by the standards of 1950) is stalled. The point of the sermon is to persuade neighbors to transcend the traditional memories and try again, since Goldfield is convinced that the fate of the South is somehow fundamental to the American future. "What southern society will become in this new century, especially given the growing economic and political importance of the region, and what America will become as well, will depend largely on how southerners reconstruct their past" (p. 318).

This argument is made over eleven chapters. The first briefly surveys the problem, two then consider southern religion, and seven tell how white southerners established their hegemony over southern memory, were challenged by dissident opinions (mostly African American), and gave way fitfully. A final chapter takes stock of the present. Throughout, Goldfield writes with clarity, sympathy, and a talent for the instructive story

and quotation. He is the sort of rabbi who thinks the congregation needs to laugh occasionally, if its members are to find their way to enlightenment. His command of the secondary literature is extensive but never pedantic. He is especially sensitive to the gender dimensions of memory and social action; his blacks and whites are habitually segmented into men and women, who see the world differently.

I am not sure whether one is supposed to quarrel with sermons, especially if one sympathizes with their humane purpose. But, if so, my rough impression is that Goldfield exaggerates the persistence of Civil War and Reconstruction memory. I doubt that the South is, as he puts it, "a region that is still burying its Civil War dead" (p. 298). To be sure, as he rightly documents, there are Civil War battle re-enactors, books, and tourists that drag memories around, but much of this is a bland consumerism of no great urgency. Most modern southerners could not find their way to the old cemeteries and could not tell you the meaning of the lines, "Stonewall, Stonewall, and the sunken fields of hemp," or who wrote them. Most do not have "knowledge carried to the heart," as Allen Tate did in the "Ode to the Confederate Dead." The old past is much forgotten, indeed scarcely learned by those who habitually do not know who won the battle of Gettysburg, are unclear whether the Civil War preceded or followed the American Revolution, could not locate Virginia on a map (let alone Appomattox Courthouse), and would hesitate in any multiple choice quiz over whether to certify that *The Souls of Black Folk* was written by W. E. B. Du Bois, Frederick Douglass, or Strom Thurmond.

Goldfield is aware of this amnesia, which occasions him an analytical problem. As a moralist, he might look kindly on such forgetting. Friedrich Nietzsche, after all, when writing "On the Advantage and Disadvantage of History for Life" (1874), sensibly argued that there was merit in forgetting, that historical consciousness can be an immurement, and that "the unhistorical and historical are equally necessary for the health of an individual, a people and a culture." But as a historian, Goldfield necessarily frowns on forgetting and wants there to be more remembering, although only of a certain kind. He is frank about this desire to seize control. But the impulse is an awkward one, if just a variety of the usual liberal problem. His desire for openness and dissent does not seem to run to those who dissent from him, to Baptist ministers who believe in hellfire and to ageing southern women who think granddaddy was very nice to his slaves. At the last, perhaps, Goldfield is more than an equal among neighbors, for it seems to matter that the person leaning over the fence is a professional historian.

MICHAEL O'BRIEN
University of Cambridge

CHRISTOPHER A. THOMAS. *The Lincoln Memorial in American Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002. Pp. xxxii, 213. \$35.00.

Since the 1980s, the study of memory has been a flourishing subdiscipline in academic history, notably in the work of scholars like Michael Kammen, John Bodnar, and David W. Blight. So has the analysis of public memorials by historians such as Kirk Savage and Thomas J. Brown—a sub-subdiscipline of the history of memory, as it were. Not surprisingly, Abraham Lincoln has figured prominently in this discourse as a protean figure who has been cast, literally and figuratively, in a variety of stances. Drawing on much of this work, as well as an array of archival sources, Christopher A. Thomas has fashioned an impressive account of a key crossroads of these conversations (among others).

More than most monuments, the Lincoln Memorial seems to transcend time, an avowed objective of architect Henry Bacon and Lincoln sculptor Daniel Chester French, who drew on a variety of classical models. Yet as Thomas shows, it was the subject of surprisingly intense political conflict in the first decade of the twentieth century, and it is very much an artifact of its time, even as it has been adapted for new purposes in subsequent generations. Interestingly, however, the debate over the memorial took the form of intraparty struggle among strongly Republican proponents rather than one between GOP boosters and generally lukewarm Democrats. More specifically, it was a fight not simply, or even principally, between a Republican old guard and a new generation of Progressives, but at least as much a debate about what *kind* of Progressive vision the Lincoln Memorial would embody: an avowedly elitist, largely northeastern model, or a more pragmatic, democratic model grounded in midwestern values. Some constituencies in the latter camp campaigned vigorously for a national road between Washington and Gettysburg, while others sought a more folksy, approachable memorial to Lincoln closer to Carl Sandburg than, say, “Lincoln as Theodore Roosevelt” (the cheeky title of a paper Thomas delivered at a symposium in 1997).

The location of the memorial was also tussled over, with much resistance to its final siting in Potomac Park, part of a grand vision of city planning championed by the McMillan Commission, which had first outlined a plan and spawned a Lincoln Memorial Commission whose views most decisively shaped the final result. Although subject to criticism before, during, and even after its completion, the appeal of the memorial was broad enough that Democratic House speaker Champ Clark, a committed opponent of the plan that was adopted, nevertheless concluded “I guess you boys are all right” (p. 119). Indeed, the ideological elasticity of the memorial, whose Greco-Roman visage cloaks utterly modern construction and uses, is such that the avowedly conservative, racist meanings attached to it in the 1920s could also support avowedly

liberal, emancipatory meanings in the 1960s, when Martin Luther King, Jr., invoked Lincoln as the apostle of equality during the march on Washington.

Thomas, however, resists seeing the Lincoln Memorial as an empty signifier that can be endlessly reinterpreted. Instead, he positions himself as a frank admirer of classical design in ways consonant with, but perhaps more enthusiastic than, its recent positive reappraisal by students of postmodern architecture. Yes, he admits, such aesthetic values may brand him as a formalist and elitist. “But who can deny that the Lincoln Memorial is a beautiful, evocative, and cherished site, whose political utility largely derives from that beauty?” (p. xxv). To that end, much of the book is a careful examination of the way Bacon and French went about their respective tasks (the numerous black-and-white illustrations that accompany the text vividly illustrate its points). In this way, the book achieves a fully interdisciplinary dimension in the best American Studies tradition, even as it participates in a nuanced historiographic discourse in the field of memory.

This is a delicate balancing act, and it may be impossible for any scholar to speak equally compellingly across disciplinary divides. (This reader, for example, found himself getting restless with the careful discussion over which companies would get the contract for the marble used in the memorial, a subject perhaps more fascinating for architects than cultural historians.) At the same time, one cannot help but wonder whether the study of memory so thoroughly embodied in this book runs a risk of insularity. (I say so as a fellow tiller in this particular garden.) Maybe what we need now are not so much exhumations of used pasts as expeditions in search of truly usable ones.

JIM CULLEN

The Ethical Culture Fieldston School

JON STERNGASS. *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport and Coney Island*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 374. \$36.50.

Historians now study nineteenth-century resorts and the society they attracted as readily as emerging industrial centers in the antebellum, Civil War, and Gilded Age eras. The application of the historians’ craft is welcome, since previous histories of resorts tended to be self-promotions based on impressionistic evidence. In the past decade, two types of studies have widened our critical knowledge considerably. One emphasizes the visitors and shows on a national or sectional scale who they were, when they came, and what places they frequented. A rarer type of study concerns the communities that became resorts, placing the emphasis on the hosts and what they did to attract visitors. The former has the challenge of creating a broad psychology that encouraged Americans to travel and spend time at a resort; the latter requires in-depth analysis of the infrastructure—physical, social and economic—needed to create a resort.

At first glance this book appears to be of the second type. It features the study of two New York resorts, Saratoga Springs and Coney Island, and Newport, Rhode Island. But Jon Sterngass is only superficially interested in these communities or the hosts; his book belongs to the former group, for what he emphasizes is the views of visitors and journalists who came to the three resorts. Their concerns are expanded upon by comments on American society as a whole and literary material, so that we are shown how nineteenth-century American society reacted to the "pursuit of pleasure." The author's interest is in the "cultural symbols" that created "unconscious patterns of behavior" that led to "latent social changes."

From his analysis of the three resorts, Sterngass adopts a thesis that splits the nineteenth century at midpoint. Before the Civil War, the amusements of resorts were free, existing "outside the market economy." Despite inhibitions and gentility, travelers tried to be anonymous so that they could bond with perfect strangers. Visitors enjoyed a "liminal" experience that allowed for social experimentation without regard to dignity or place. After the Civil War, transportation improvements allowed larger and more diverse crowds to appear, as the resort experience was now motivated by privatization and the successful commercialization of resort services. Strikingly, as Newport hotels fell into disfavor, they were replaced by the grand suburban "cottages" that allowed the rich to separate themselves from other visitors. At Saratoga Springs, gambling at Morrissey's Club House and the racetrack were commodities sold to diverse consumers. The book is organized with chapters devoted to each resort before the Civil War, followed by a transitional chapter and then three chapters showing the changes at each resort.

I have problems with much of this. Sterngass will not admit that some visitors came for reasons of health and moral revival or that visitors paid dearly for amusements at the resorts, regardless of the era. In antebellum Saratoga Springs, visitors wanted to find a place in existing society, and the rituals and public spaces were created so that they could maintain their traditional roles; the last thing they wanted was a liminal experience. In fact, most of the commercialization Sterngass identifies as having taken place after the Civil War took place in the 1830s and 1840s: the influence of railroads and steamboats, accompanied by hotel expansion; the development of parks as adjuncts to bottling works; and the placement of cottages on hotel grounds (rented to proper families, not places for assignations). In Saratoga Springs, efforts to regulate space by charging admission and controlling crowds were introduced in the 1820s at numerous pleasure gardens, which were the forerunners of the amusement park. It made the newspapers when a service was free! Local entrepreneurs, many of whom Sterngass misses altogether, were there in the early nineteenth-century providing the entire infrastructure that allowed for continuation of Saratoga Springs's growth after the

Civil War. Moreover, the commodification of leisure, which is the hallmark of his second era, was far from successful. Morrissey's gambling establishment was in practice an exclusive men's club; its services were not sold to a broad public, and it was a business failure, despite Morrissey's extensive investment.

Sterngass's thesis disappears often. Chapter four, "The Public Resort," comes at mid-point and should encapsulate the pivotal changes, but it fails to follow through. Newport and Coney Island largely disappear, while Saratoga Springs's hotels are analyzed over the entire nineteenth century. The real thrust of the chapter is the influence of the Industrial Revolution on the American character, based on a range of journalistic and literary sources, which bear only cursory relationship with the three resorts.

Besides, Coney Island does not belong in an analysis of Newport and Saratoga Springs. Its chronology is off: a community scarcely existed until the Civil War, and the place then mushroomed abruptly into the paradise of low income day-trippers from nearby New York City. Here is the one place where visitation scale does make a difference, but Sterngass ignores it in his effort to extend his thesis. We are told that the vast amusement parks that came to dominate Coney Island's resort business were the result of an effort to privatize and profit from leisure, just as the rich built mansions in Newport to shut out the public.

Sterngass's thesis forces him to set up the pursuit of pleasure as the dominant aspiration of the visitors and the hosts. My work shows a rivalry at resorts between wickedness and pleasure throughout the nineteenth century. The Puritan ethic was present at American resorts in all of its forms, from temperance to religious revival. In Saratoga Springs, vast churches were built immediately adjacent to the grand hotels to serve the crowds as they emerged. The monumental Baptist Church, built of brick in 1855, was the village's largest meeting space and highest tower. Neither the forces of wickedness nor those of pleasure ever completely dominated, but the struggle deserves detailed analysis as a fundamental characteristic of nineteenth-century American resorts.

Sterngass writes about these resorts with the grace of a journalist, and he has clearly surveyed the popular published material of numerous observers. But his thesis is unconvincing, and, even more crucially, he makes no attempt to discuss its validity when contrasting information appears. He presents his material as if it were clearly packaged and labeled, when in fact there are debates on almost every point he makes.

THEODORE CORBETT

Better Bennington Corporation

DAVID M. WROBEL. *Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xi, 322. \$34.95.

In his evocative collection of essays, *Owning It All* (1987), William Kittredge remembered Charlie Rus-

sell's 1923 speech to the Great Falls, Montana, Booster Club. "In my book," asserted Russell, "a pioneer is a man who turned all the grass upside down, strung bob-wire over the dust that was left, poisoned the water and cut down the trees, killed the Indians who owned the land, and called it progress." Russell's beliefs placed him at odds with most of his contemporaries, and certainly with popular historical images of the American West. More common were the ideas of progress and development contained in the innumerable railroad brochures and countless booster volumes exhorting men and women to populate the vast, Edenic West. David M. Wrobel examines the roles of western promotion and remembrance in creating a collective image of the American West that remains a powerful yet problematic component of regional identity today. The book falls both temporally and spatially within familiar parameters. It focuses on the years between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of the Great Depression, and Wrobel's West—although rarely treated as a distinct region but rather as a set of smaller locales—occupies the lands from the Great Plains to the Pacific Ocean. This time period marked an age of "anxious transition from the premodern to the modern" (p. 2), and these lands were "the last Wests" (p. 5), upon which rested the promise of the future as well as the nostalgic romanticism of the frontier past. This was, as the author states, a critical time and place.

Wrobel divides his analysis of the shaping of western identity into three main parts, dealing in turn with promotion, remembrance, and consequences. He identifies two distinct phases in the promotion of western America between 1865 and 1930. During the first twenty-five years after the Civil War, railroad companies served as vital cogs in the shaping of a new western image, one constructed to lure immigrants to the region with promises of a post-frontier landscape of plenty. In this phase, the West was wonderland, an agricultural utopia. Later, after the depressions of the 1890s, a second, subregional wave of boosterism occurred and lasted until 1930. During this period, promoters trumpeted the possibilities opened by new agricultural technologies and federal programs such as those begun under the Carey Act and the National Reclamation Act to bolster their promises of continued economic opportunity.

After detailing the ways in which promoters packaged the West for popular consumption, Wrobel turns his attention to the role of memory in shaping regional distinctiveness. Unsurprisingly, the remembrances of those who ventured westward relatively early differed markedly from the experiences promised by later regional boosters. Instead of verdant fields waiting to be plowed, sown, and harvested, the West recalled by early migrants was a true frontier, a region that challenged potential occupants physically, emotionally, and intellectually. Wrobel investigates the formation of "pioneer societies" and other groups that coalesced around the notion of primacy, all claiming

the title "western," and how they defended themselves as westerners against later claimants. In their reinvention of the West, hardship and deprivation became vital components in the construction of regional identity. Equally important was what Wrobel calls "the inversion theme" (p. 178), in which identity was forged via comparisons with other groups—Hispanics, Asians, and American Indians especially. Western-ness, it seems, was a decidedly white characteristic throughout the period under discussion.

The third section of the book details the impact these constructed and reconstructed pasts have on contemporary western society. The pioneers and promoters helped build a mythical West that remains relevant to understanding the emotional battles now being waged over western identity. Wrobel deftly outlines the problems facing historians still grasping to explain the western past and suggests abandoning the idea of the American West as a coherent region. While the popular image of the West presents a relatively homogeneous physical and cultural region, in reality too many factors—ethnic diversity, geographical distinctiveness, and metropolitan populations, among others—lend legitimacy to the author's contention that a less sweeping, more locally focused approach to writing the history of many different Wests may be appropriate. And as Wrobel amply demonstrates, ideas forged in promotion and memory, often dismissed as part of the mythological West by contemporary scholars, have in the past and will continue to have in the future a vital role in shaping these multiple western realities.

MARK BARRINGER
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CHARLES MONTGOMERY. *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xvi, 338. \$50.00.

Visitors from the East to San Diego's Balboa Park, named after Vasco Núñez de Balboa, are often struck by the Spanish colonial buildings, which were originally built for the 1915–1916 Panama-California Exposition. Although Balboa Park's Spanish colonial buildings are only slightly reminiscent of Spain (perhaps owing to the park's propinquity to Disneyland), it evokes the lost world of Spanish aristocrats and their haciendas, Spanish friars and Indian missions, as well as alluring señoritas and the Anglos who came to possess them. This "fantasy heritage" leaves no room for the Mexicans themselves, who formed the backbone of California's agribusiness industry as migrant workers in the twentieth century. Anglo Californians used the cultural material of the Spanish colonial past to mask the presence of mostly poor, mixed-race, immigrant Mexicans in their midst. Such was not the case in New Mexico, Charles Montgomery argues, where the Spanish revival in architecture, local politics, arts and crafts, street festivals, and southwestern

literature enabled both Anglos and *paisanos* (who claimed to be descendants of Spanish colonizers) to transcend the cultural and racial burden of "Mexican" by embracing a Spanish redemptive past.

Anyone studying the history of Mexicans in the United States is bound to remark that the idea that being "Mexican" was for over a century a powerful marker of inferiority not only for most Anglos but for many Mexican Americans themselves. Indeed, one Chicano scholar has written a book entitled *Anything But Mexican* (1996) that turns a critical eye toward middle-class Mexican Americans who began calling themselves Hispanics in the last few decades of the twentieth century. Perhaps nowhere in the United States have people of Mexican descent so thoroughly rejected their identity as Mexicans as in northern New Mexico. In this well-researched and engrossing narrative, Montgomery chronicles that shift by examining how both Anglos and Hispanics fashioned and transformed a Spanish heritage between 1900 and 1940. It was during this timeframe that "Mexicans" and *mexicanos* became "Spanish Americans" and *hispanoamericanos*, or Hispanics for short. "In their eyes," Montgomery accurately notes, "the term evoked both a proud Spanish colonial past and an elusive American future . . . in which they might yet realize the kind of equality granted to people of white and 'civilized' heritage" (p. 57).

Santa Fe in particular was visually transformed through the elaboration of Spanish architecture in the city's most prominent buildings. The Anglo architects, builders, and community leaders hoped to establish a regional "civic identity" (p. 91) for Santa Fe that would be the foundation for developing a thriving tourist industry. City boosters determined that authentic Spanish culture resided in the rural villages where *paisanos* lived in adobe houses and toiled on small, scrappy farms with only limited contact with Anglo commercial culture. Although this image was largely a myth, it served the Anglo revivalists' need to showcase village folkways and handmade crafts that would be the cornerstone of their tourist industry. The idea was to capitalize on Hispano "folk" culture by cloaking it with the civilizing mantle of Spanish culture. The colonial legacy, Montgomery notes, "enabled the art enthusiasts . . . to extol primitive lives while they themselves enjoyed every convenience of the 'machine age'" (p. 172). The machine age was for Anglos; Hispanics would have to remain a "hand-craft people" (p. 172) for the revival in colonial arts to succeed.

The Spanish revival received a major boost from regional writers seeking an alternative vision of America to the soulless one of modernity and material acquisition. In the eyes of regionalists such as Mary Austin, Nina Otero-Warren, Henry Nash Smith, J. Frank Dobie, and others, the Spanish Southwest, and New Mexico in particular, was the cradle of a folk tradition that was rapidly vanishing. For these writers, Hispanics existed outside the realm of practical politics, political economy, and "even outside the flow of

history itself" (p. 216). Interest in the Spanish legacy waned in the 1940s as scholars like Arthur Campa and George I. Sánchez asserted the hybrid nature of New Mexican culture that "combined without apology the contributions of Spanish and Indian ancestors, mixing them with ethnic Mexican influences of the present day" (p. 223).

Montgomery's book is essential reading for scholars of the Southwest, and for anyone visiting Santa Fe ("Santa Fake") and wondering where all the Mexicans have gone. They have become the Hispano progeny of Spain's glorious past, an apt theme for selling cities like Santa Fe and San Diego to Anglo Americans in search of a culture and a people "gloriously peripheral to modern times" (p. 229).

NEIL FOLEY

University of Texas

KATHRYN M. DAYNES. *More Wives than One: Transformation of the Mormon Marriage System, 1840-1910*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. x, 305. \$34.95.

SARAH BARRINGER GORDON. *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Studies in Legal History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 337. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

Kathryn M. Daynes's book is the most important study to date of plural marriage in nineteenth-century Utah and is especially significant for its detailed analysis of the demographics of Mormonism's "peculiar institution." Sarah Barringer Gordon studies the same institution from a national perspective, and her comprehensive treatment of Congressional debates and court proceedings makes a path-breaking contribution to American constitutional history. Taken together, these books constitute a well-balanced view of a practice that has always evoked controversy.

Daynes takes a fresh look at all aspects of plural marriage, or polygamy (the terms are used interchangeably in both books), including its origins, the nature of church regulation, Utah marriage law (which left control in the hands of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), the variety of marriage practices, demographics, divorce, and the decline of the practice. Her most significant new research is reported in section three, "Numbers: An Analysis of the Marriage Patterns of Manti Women." She points to several factors that make Manti, Utah, an ideal community upon which to base generalizations: the completeness of the available data set; the fact that Manti was settled early, making it easy to study changes over time; the fact that it remained small, making feasible a complete study of its families; and the fact that it was typical of the rural villages where about seventy-five percent of Utah's Mormons lived in the nineteenth century.

Daynes divides her demographic analysis into three periods: 1847 to 1869, Utah's frontier period; 1870 to

1890, years that encompassed the consolidation of settlement and the abandonment of polygamy; and 1890 to 1910, when Mormon marriage patterns moved closer to those of mainstream America. She also classifies the women whose first marriages took place in Utah into three "cohorts," according to the years they were born. Her findings include the fact that the percentage of Utah women who married at all was always significantly higher than the national average, the age at which women married was significantly lower than the national norm, and immigrant women were more likely to enter plural marriages than American-born women. A surprising 36.9 percent of all women's first marriages during the initial period were into polygamy, but this declined to 10.6 percent in the second period. Daynes also found that 24.9 percent of Manti's population lived in polygamous families in 1850, 43.1 percent in 1860, 36 percent in 1870, 25.1 percent in 1880, and 7.1 percent in 1890.

The rules associated with plural marriage were general in nature but, Daynes contends, were followed consistently enough to constitute a marriage system. Among other things, the first wife must consent before her husband could marry another, and there were guidelines for courting a prospective plural wife, including the approval of her parents. Sexual passion was not a major motive for polygamy, but Daynes asserts that the system tended to keep such passions within the bounds of recognized marriage relationships. Premarital and extramarital affairs were condemned in the strongest manner possible, and church courts often meted out more severe punishment to men than to women.

The subtitle of this book, is apt, for in addition to her valuable demographic and social analyses, Daynes clarifies other kinds of change over time. During the pre-Utah introductory period, plural marriages were limited and secret, and rules were not yet established. During the early Utah period, the practice became part of a well-regulated marriage system. After 1880, federal prosecution brought about the demise of polygamy, and Utah's marriage system was transformed to something more akin to that of the broader American culture.

The way people in that broader environment looked at polygamy and the impact public opinion had on constitutional law is the subject of Gordon's book. In an overview of the constitutional world in which the conflict over polygamy began, Gordon says that disestablishment was already written into American democracy in such a way that it reflected the "general" Protestantism of most Americans, which had no room for plural marriage and its presumed abuses. Then, after analyzing the religious rationale for polygamy, she provides an excellent treatment of the biased and intemperate antipolygamy literature, particularly novels, that eventually affected both Congress and the courts. The attack was not on polygamy alone but also on Mormon political and economic control of Utah,

which, antipolygamists were convinced, served only to perpetuate the hated marital practice.

A chapter on the entry of polygamy into national politics includes a discussion of the Morrill Act, which outlawed the practice in Utah and annulled the territorial legislature's incorporation of the church. Gordon calls this unprecedented act a "second disestablishment" (p. 82), for here Congress did the same thing in the territories that had already been done in the states, but in the process set up a new, indirect form of establishment by protecting "religious truth" (Protestant Christianity) against corruption (Mormon doctrine and political control). The Morrill Act was unenforceable, partly because the Mormons controlled judicial proceedings in Utah. Local probate courts had been granted criminal jurisdiction by the legislature, rendering federal courts useless. Congress changed that in 1874, and shortly thereafter George Reynolds was convicted of bigamy. His appeal went to the Supreme Court, but in *Reynolds v. United States* the court rejected his argument that the religion clauses of the First Amendment applied to plural marriage. The consequence, Gordon argues, was a change in the nature of American federalism: in defining the power of the federal government over domestic relations in the territories, this and other polygamy cases also defined the boundaries of state power and undermined the doctrine of local sovereignty. Chapter five, "The Erosion of Sympathy," details the mounting pressure for more antipolygamy legislation and prosecution in the 1880s as Mormons continued to disobey the law. Particularly interesting is Gordon's discussion of the changing attitude toward Mormon women, who at first were pictured as victims but later, when it became clear that they actually supported polygamy, were prosecuted and punished along with men. Antipolygamy sentiment culminated in the passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) that officially disincorporated the church, confiscated most of its property, and imposed heavy penalties on polygamists.

Gordon argues that in the years between the *Reynolds* decision (1879) and the decision in *Late Corporation of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints v. United States* (1890), the Supreme Court "created and sustained an entirely new branch of federal constitutional law" (p. 186). She emphasizes how deeply the court was affected by antipolygamist intolerance, characterized by the decision in *Davis v. Beason* that practically eliminated Mormon voting rights in Idaho. The Edmunds-Tucker Act was upheld in *Late Corporation*, and shortly thereafter the church disavowed any further plural marriages. Politicians, lawyers, and judges had "crafted and then imposed a new constitutional vision" (p. 222) on the nation that endowed the religion clauses of the First Amendment with a Protestant perspective. Thus, Gordon asserts, "the contours of the law of church and state in America, as well as the limits of local sovereignty, were forever changed by the battle over polygamy" (p. 238).

Models of impeccable research, these two books

make absorbing reading. They are fine companion volumes as they approach a fascinating and important subject from two different perspectives.

JAMES B. ALLEN

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WILLIAM M. WIECEK. *The Lost World of Classical Thought: Law and Ideology in America, 1886–1937*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 1998. Pp. viii, 286. \$17.95.

There is no one better suited to write a synthetic history of the rise and fall of classical legal thought (legal formalism) in the United States than William M. Wiecek, but from its intriguing title to its powerful closing passages, this book will stir controversy among legal scholars and intellectual historians. Like the scientists in Jules Verne's and Michael Crichton's novels, Wiecek has brought to life a lost world: one so distant in time and ideology from modern thinking that its judicial and jurisprudential characters seem like dinosaurs. Yet in their age, from the late nineteenth century until the 1930s, they dominated the world of legal thought as completely as the dinosaurs ruled their own epoch. And both ages ended cataclysmically. Classical legal thought died at the end of the 1930s, as the U.S. Supreme Court bowed to the legal pragmatism of the New Deal and a new generation took charge of the nation's jurisprudence. Wiecek's is a remarkable feat of time travel. Not only does he bring these dinosaurs back to life, he almost convinces his readers to lament their demise (even as he engages in a brilliant critique of their inconsistencies and foibles).

Good lawyer (as well as scholar) that he is, Wiecek first defines his terms in a way that supports his case. For him, legal classicism is an ideology that possessed a distinctive pattern of reasoning, social value system, and set of beliefs about the nature and source of law. The occasional contradictions in various Supreme Court opinions and treatises concerning government power and individual rights mirrored legal classicism's complicated foundations in the legal debates, civil strife, and social dislocations from the colonial period to Reconstruction.

With great facility, Wiecek summarizes the history of these eras, moving confidently from one seminal theme to the next. The republican synthesis view of the revolutionary and early national period leads to the transformation of law from republicanism to industrialization in the antebellum era; the crisis of civil war forms a stronger nation; and out of that conflict and the unfinished revolution of Reconstruction, classicism emerges to give a legal answer to the social strife of the 1870s and 1880s. Throughout this tour de force of synthesis, Wiecek is able to trace how republican ideas became a Republican thought pattern through the work of various treatise writers and in a series of Supreme Court opinions. To be sure, others have covered this ground, and not always in the same paths as Wiecek. He handles the current disputes, particu-

larly the work of scholars whose views he does not accept, by relegating the counterarguments to the footnotes.

There is little doubt his treatment is comprehensive, rigorously analyzed, and fully contextualized. He has, however, missed a considerable opportunity to depart from the traditional means of assembling legal history through court opinions and write a history based on individual jurists' ideas and lives. Such a collected rather than collective intellectual biography might actually have furthered his defense of the robustness and flexibility of classical jurisprudence. One cannot be too critical, however, for Wiecek's task of summarizing over a hundred and fifty years of legal history more than fills the present volume.

With the stage set for legal classicism's arrival in the tumultuous years following the Civil War, Wiecek introduces the play of this ideology with an admirable balance only occasionally punctuated by exclamatory expressions of outrage at ludicrous assertions and arguments. From case to case, we relive classical justices' attempts to render decisions that purported to discover law, restrain regulation-minded legislatures, and impose anti-union policies on a legal system that, at times, allowed squawks of resistance. Wiecek is unsparing in his analysis of these often contradictory and strained constructions of the Constitution. Yet he unfailingly maintains that these decisions emanated from a single intellectual source. Although the rulings exposed the Court to accusations that it was meddling in politics (despite its protestations to the contrary), he does not concede that the jurists knowingly concealed their political agenda behind a cloak of neutral principles.

In Wiecek's retelling, the demise of this reign of juristic thunder lizards came about when the underlying doctrines of individual republicanism could no longer be sustained in the midst of a modern, bureaucratized, and heavily administered world. In other words, the world changed, and classical legal thought did not adapt to the new climate. Although he does not mention it at the end of the work, Wiecek notes earlier in the book that classical legal principles had never reflected the realities of labor relations, property uses, civil liberties, or government operations, even in the period when legal classicism dominated the bench and bar. While he regrets losing legal classicism's moral certainty, structural integrity, and consistency, the rest of us are unlikely to shed any tears over the absence of an overly determinist and dishonest theory for discerning the meaning of the Constitution in individual cases.

Wiecek has provided a highly readable text that constitutes a substantial contribution to our understanding of this area of legal history. Although one may have concerns about his choices of material or interpretation at any given point, one cannot deny the mastery of the field he displays nor the expert crafts-

manship of his argument. This book is likely to be the standard work on legal classicism, and deservedly so.

WILLIAMJAMES HULL HOFFER
Seton Hall University

L. MARA DODGE. *Whores and Thieves of the Worst Kind": A Study of Women, Crime, and Prisons, 1835-2000*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 342. \$45.00.

This book is a remarkable historical account of female offenders in Illinois. L. Mara Dodge's careful and comprehensive methods of data collection and superbly written text firmly place her in the top ranks of historians of incarcerated women.

The book covers several eras in prison reform, and the breadth and depth of data do more than authenticate women's prison experiences over time. In addition to describing how Illinois prison officials treated women inmates, this book provides a meticulous depiction of the processing of these women by their communities, the courts, the parole boards, and the media. In addition to quoting newspapers, judges, psychiatrists, and others, Dodge routinely allows the women's voices to describe their experiences. The data sources are many, and they vary over time, but they include prisoner jackets (files on individual prisoners), pardon petitions, prison-confiscated letters and notes (to other prisoners, family members, and friends), reports on prisoners made by psychiatrists and sociologists (including classifications, pre-parole reports, and parole reports), newspaper coverage, and interviews with thirty-seven prison employees and seven prisoners. Although the type of available data varied by era, Dodge was able to collect a complete demographic profile of all the women incarcerated in Illinois between 1835 and 1970.

Throughout the book, summary statistics inform the reader about patterns in sentencing, incarceration, violations of prison rules, and so on. These trends are powerfully intertwined with quotations from judges, prison officials, parole board members, prison psychiatrists, jury members, reformers and advocates, and the prisoners themselves. The significance and roles of race and racism are consistently addressed.

The book is divided into five parts (fourteen chapters). Part one is an overview of women's incarceration in men's penitentiaries in the nineteenth century, starting in 1835 with Sally Jefferson, the first woman incarcerated in an Illinois prison. Dodge traces women convicts in the Alton Penitentiary through 1858, and in the Joliet Penitentiary from 1859 to 1896. The last chapter in the first part describes nineteenth-century pardon petitions. Part two is about the social construction of crime and criminality. The first chapter of this section describes the importance of a community's sentiment as to whether a woman's act was processed by the police or courts as a crime, and the remaining two chapters address the types of offenses for which women were incarcerated and the ways female offend-

ers have been characterized. Dodge describes a "justice" system that was highly arbitrary in nature, where women were judged by such extralegal variables as their race, ethnicity, immigrant status, age, marital status, maternal status, class and education status, or whether the woman was an Illinois native.

Part three is an overview of the Joliet Women's Prison, one of the largest women's prisons in the United States, from its founding as a custodial women's penitentiary in 1896 until 1933. A comparison between this institution and the Illinois State Training School for Delinquent and Dependent Girls at Geneva indicates incarcerated women were perceived as redeemable and simply in need of "proper" feminine education, while delinquent girls were viewed as "incorrigible," "perverted," and "biologically defective." This section of the book also accounts for the significant impact of state politics on prison climate and concludes with the campaign for women's reformatories. Part four describes how psychiatrists, sociologists and parole board members pathologized incarcerated women from the 1920s through the 1960s. These mental health officials were closely aligned with the highest prison authorities, resulting in a less than optimal climate for trust and therapy. Dodge describes the intensity of the sexual moralizing about the female offenders, attributing their offenses to their promiscuities, while the male prisoners were never judged in terms of children born out of wedlock, adultery, alcohol consumption, sexual promiscuity, or whether they were good husbands or fathers. Instead, men's offending was tied almost exclusively to economic motivations, while these were ignored for incarcerated women. Women offenders' previous charges of promiscuity also made them ineligible for parole, thus they often served unbearably and unfairly long sentences for minor offenses. Part five describes the patronizing manners of controlling and disciplining prisoners at the Illinois State Reformatory for Women from 1930 to 1972. Similar to previous studies on these reformatories, Dodge reports highly domineering regimes.

It is difficult to find fault with this expansive historical account. Reports on the treatment of same-sex intimacy among the prisoners are lacking until the final few chapters, but perhaps this is because little information on this topic was coded in the earlier jackets. Also, very little was written about the in-prison nurseries. Finally, although the book title claims to cover 1835-2000, the data for the 1970s through 2000 are mostly cursory summaries of statistics, unlike the rich data reported from the earlier years.

JOANNE BELKNAP
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SHERRI BRODER. *Tramps, Unfit Mothers, and Neglected Children: Negotiating the Family in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 259. \$39.95.

No one in the contemporary United States can be unaware of how the debate on family and family values is being used by all sides of the political spectrum to promote and justify their preferred social legislation. Sherri Broder turns to late nineteenth-century Philadelphia to discover possible origins of the debate over family, how competing "discourses" about the working-class family shaped nascent social welfare movements in that city, and how the participants in these discourses used family to make "claims on the state, the police, and public and private social services" (p. 6). Using institutional records from the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty (SPCC), the pseudonymous "Haven for Unwed Mothers and Infants," the published work of national and local charity organizations, and the labor press, Broder focuses on the discourse of charity and child welfare reformers, labor activists, and evangelical Protestant women rescue workers, but her book also includes the stories of less privileged Philadelphians who petitioned these groups for help or who contested attempts to control their families.

As befits a work largely devoted to discourse analysis, Broder focuses on the language participants used to defend their ideas of the family and its relationship to the state and to justify or refute the use of the state's public authority to intrude into the private realm of family. Chapter one, "Tramps, Fallen Women, Neglected Children," lays the foundation for her analysis. Charity workers claimed that unemployed working-class men were "married vagabonds" who represented "the collective moral failings of the individual members of an entire class" (p. 15). Male labor unionists countered that they were honest, manly workers who wished to support their families but were reduced to "involuntary idleness" by industrial capitalism (p. 20). Female reformers asserted that female prostitutes symbolized women's economic vulnerability in that same system, but male labor reformers saw them as symbolizing the "potential victimization of the entire working class" (p. 31). Working women themselves argued that they were neither "inevitably sullied" nor "robbed . . . of their respectability" by labor because they toiled "for duty and for love" of their families (pp. 33, 35). According to Broder, each participant group in this discourse pattern was relying on "a paternalistic familial metaphor to justify its claim to represent the victimized and/or threatening casual poor" and make competing claims for assistance from the state (pp. 49–50).

Readers who privilege text over context will be more receptive to Broder's approach of entering into her subject matter through such discourse. The situations and problems she explores inside the records of the SPCC and the diary, reports, and records of the "Haven" are characterized as "tales" or "stories" told for advantage by those involved with little concern on her part to tease out what might be true or false. She chides—albeit gently—other historians who have studied homes for unwed mothers for not "reading" the

concern for "single mothers and their children" that prompted founding such institutions in tandem with "other post-Reconstruction reform stories of urban and family crisis" (p. 134).

Readers who desire more context will not find it here. Little information is given about the urban context, even though Broder continuously evokes the theme of "urban crisis." Likewise missing is detailed discussion of the individuals in the SPCC or the "Haven." Perhaps that information is simply not available (and, in the case of the "Haven," subject to confidentiality). But reducing all urban residents to their constituent groups, whether middle class, evangelical Protestant, laboring class, or rough poor, makes the people and problems of the city seem out of time and place. The fact that the real name of the "Haven" cannot even be revealed, let alone those of its participants, further removes us from actual people and the heavy reliance on it for the material in chapters four and five might also cause concern. The evolving role of the municipal government in social problems is never explored, an omission if one purpose of the discourse is said to be making claims upon the state.

Despite these reservations, Broder has written an evocative book that reveals the ways in which late nineteenth century Philadelphians were pushing beyond the boundaries of the private world of the home and conceptualizing themselves as interlinked in the larger realm of a public community. She also carefully explores how gender and race mattered as well as class in formulating ideas about the family. For historians wishing to understand how the past is still shaping the present, Broder's close reading of her stories uncovers something significant about the endurance and import of cultural ideals. Showing her actors formulating competing ideas about the family and the negotiations that they undertook among themselves and with the emerging state authorities based on those ideas, Broder depicts how historically pervasive the concept of "family values" has been to structuring public policy in the United States.

MAUREEN A. FLANAGAN
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GAINES M. FOSTER. *Moral Reconstruction: Christian Lobbyists and the Federal Legislation of Morality, 1865–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 318. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

To contemporary Americans, the acronym "NRA" is unmistakable. It stands for the National Rifle Association, the country's largest and most powerful gun lobby. Proclaiming an inviolate "personal liberty" to bear arms, the NRA resists virtually every governmental effort—local, state, or national—to restrict individual gun ownership.

A century ago, however, "NRA" referred to a very different lobby: the National Reform Association. It coalesced in the 1870s around a campaign to amend the Constitution, demanding a new preamble that

recognized the power of "Almighty God" and "the Lord Jesus Christ" in the affairs of men. After this effort foundered, the group widened its scope. From 1875 to 1920, and with varying degrees of success, the National Reform Association would seek federal restrictions or bans upon polygamy, divorce, prostitution, obscene material, prizefighting films, lottery tickets, narcotics, and alcohol. Unlike the present-day NRA, in short, the old NRA aimed to enhance the power of the American state—and to limit "personal liberty"—in the name of a single moral code.

As Gaines M. Foster reminds us, moreover, the National Reform Association was only one arm of a vast "Christian lobby" seeking the "moral reconstruction" of the United States between the Civil War and World War I. In his careful and cogent book, Foster analyzes the important personalities, tactics, and ideologies of this network. Historians will easily recognize some of Foster's main characters, such as Anthony Comstock and Frances Willard; fewer readers will know the names of Joseph Cook (one of America's most prolific public lecturers) or Wilbur Crafts, the NRA's indefatigable founder. Foster discusses all of them skillfully, drawing on an impressive array of manuscript collections, pamphlets, periodicals, and Congressional reports.

The last source, especially, helps Foster document the remarkable power that the Christian lobby exerted in Washington, D.C. Crafts set up a permanent office one block from the Capitol, cajoling lawmakers and corresponding with activists in the field. Many NRA initiatives were tough to sell, especially below the Mason-Dixon Line. In the most original section of his book, however, Foster explains how the shifting politics of race altered the South's antifederal orientation. Before emancipation—and in the years directly following it—southerners reflexively opposed any federal control over morality, lest slavery and race relations also come under Congressional jurisdiction. When it became clear that the North would not challenge white supremacy, however, the South changed its tune. Fueled by racist fears of rampaging African Americans, the white South eventually took the lead in pressing for federal moral legislation, especially prohibition. All eleven ex-Confederate states voted to ratify the Eighteenth Amendment, nine of them by more than a two-to-one margin.

To Foster, such achievements reflected a "new form of interest group politics" (p. 113) that other historians have attributed to farmers, labor unions, and corporations. Like these organizations, the Christian lobby used nonpartisan pressure tactics to expand the powers of the federal state. Starting around 1900, meanwhile, a new generation of so-called "Progressive" reformers would do the same. Whereas the Progressives tried to use the state to restructure the economy and revive democracy, however, the Christian lobby sought measures that would improve "personal morality" (p. 75). One side wanted a more just social order, while the other wanted more ordered souls.

This is a familiar formulation, especially to historians of American religion. As Foster's own evidence reveals, however, the Christian lobby overlapped with the Progressives more than his thesis allows. Even as she campaigned against prostitution and obscenity, Willard fought for women's suffrage; likewise, Crafts demanded civil service reform and industrial arbitration alongside Sabbath and anti-polygamy measures. On the Progressive side of the ledger, meanwhile, figures like Jane Addams were stalwarts in many of the Christian lobby's "moral" reforms; in 1907, for example, Addams would help win Chicago's first film censorship law. A decade later, of course, both camps would unite behind the nation's short-lived experiment with prohibition. The point is important, because it marks how much our present-day political landscape differs from theirs. As Foster notes in his conclusion, today's "Christian Right" rarely attacks "the dangers of avarice" (p. 232) or "commercial values"; it seeks individual reform in a vacuum, ignoring the economic forces that affect it.

On some issues, moreover, contemporary conservatives have embraced the very gospel of "personal liberty" that the Christian lobby despised. Consider our own NRA, the National Rifle Association, whose supporters include the current Attorney General of the United States. John Ashcroft has consistently attempted to increase federal power over a wide range of personal behaviors, especially abortion. On the question of gun ownership, however, this stern moralist morphs into a stubborn libertarian! To Ashcroft and the NRA, the gun owner's individual rights trump any broader social value or concern. Wilbur Crafts must be turning over in his grave.

JONATHAN ZIMMERMAN
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JOSEPH C. BIGOTT. *From Cottage to Bungalow: Houses and the Working Class in Metropolitan Chicago, 1869–1929.* (Chicago Architecture and Urbanism.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 261. \$40.00.

Joseph C. Bigott stresses the widespread character of homeownership among immigrant working-class families in Chicago and other U.S. industrial cities and draws out the implications of this phenomenon for the worlds these people created for themselves. He begins by sketching patterns in working-class housing between 1830 and 1930. At the center of the lumber industry in the late nineteenth century, Chicago developers were well placed to exploit a series of technical innovations that allowed them to construct cheap "workingmen's cottages" in the neighborhoods ringing the central business district and in the outlying industrial suburbs. By 1889 Chicago's new working-class housing was increasingly "ready-made." In the World War I era and the 1920s, greater prosperity allowed a new generation of developers, some of them drawn from ethnic working-class communities, to market a range of roomier and better-appointed "modern" de-

signs, including the thousands of bungalows for which Chicago became famous.

Bigott describes the late nineteenth-century formation of Hammond, Indiana, a preserve of skilled German workers and their small business allies, as a basis for opposition to large-scale corporate capitalism until the cataclysmic defeat of the 1894 Pullman boycott, at which point the town came under greater corporate control. His chapter on the evolution of Chicago's Polish communities and their housing stock from the 1880s through the 1930s provides the only substantial discussion of big-city neighborhoods. Bigott delineates two fairly distinct generations of Polish homeowners and in the process describes a kind of "Americanization" through geographic mobility to the city's outer reaches and through social mobility in the form of better housing alternatives.

Almost half of the book comprises the Hammond, Indiana, case study and a second one based on West Hammond, Illinois, another industrial suburb populated by German and Polish immigrants. Here, Bigott calls attention to immigrant working-class homeowners as a basis for the sort of Progressive reforms normally associated with middle-class professionals. While Bigott argues persuasively for the importance of such reform impulses and situates them in home ownership, they reached their climax in the late 1930s in the broader context of industrial unionization and the New Deal Democratic Party. As other social historians have noted, home ownership was indeed a critical component of workers' worldviews and a vital strategy for families trying to make ends meet, but it was one of many influences shaping workers' perspectives.

The book is well researched and particularly well illustrated. The cumulative effect of Bigott's data, maps, and illustrations is to provide us with a much clearer notion of what working-class housing looked like and how it changed over the course of the early twentieth century. While workers' cottages were often identical in terms of their basic construction, for example, they "evolved," with families making them distinct through a variety of improvements and developing cities eventually offering a greater range of services and amenities.

Bigott's argument that housing markets and even the physical character of houses shaped social values would seem to promise insights into the racially segregated neighborhoods of industrial cities like Chicago. Such segregation had dire implications for the quality and character of the housing stock available to black working-class families. Likewise, conventional wisdom suggests a tight fit between housing values and the defensive, parochial racial attitudes in precisely the sort of neighborhoods Bigott explores. For many white ethnic families, both their financial futures and their identities were wrapped up in real estate. When black families tried to move into their communities in search of better housing, the result was often racial conflict. Given his focus on homeownership and ethnic neigh-

borhoods, Bigott is curiously silent on this issue of race, which has shaped the history of working-class neighborhoods in Chicago and throughout the urban nation since the early twentieth century. In fact, he provides no discussion of black housing or homeownership.

As Bigott notes, it is ironic that social historians have devoted so little attention in their materialist-oriented community studies to the built environment in which working-class families found themselves and to the significance of their homes not only for their standards of living but also for their social and political values. Although Bigott couches his analysis in an empirical idiom and in distinction to what he sees as "master categories of race, class, and aesthetics," he appears to have his own master narrative of "economic abundance and social mobility." He is at his best in describing this neglected dimension of working-class life but less convincing in his broader argument that analyzing it leads us inexorably back to an older story of worker prosperity and class harmony.

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PHILIP J. ANDERSON and DAG BLANCK, editors. *Swedes in the Twin Cities: Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, in association with the Swedish-American Historical Society, Chicago. 2001. Pp. x, 367. \$34.95.

Editors Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck argue that "the Twin Cities is the metropolitan area that today exhibits the highest degree of Swedish American visibility or consciousness, where a sense of Swedishness still prevails" (p. 6). While more Swedish Americans lived in Chicago and most Minnesota Swedes lived in rural communities, this volume justifies and analyzes the Twin Cities' identity as the "most Swedish" of all American cities. The book presents twenty-two essays from the "Swedish Life in the Twin Cities" conference hosted by the Minnesota History Center in 1996. The editors have organized the essays into four groups that highlight initial settlement and community formation, institutional and creative development, language as cultural expression, and religion and politics. About half of the authors are professional historians, and the other contributors represent a blend of cultural perspectives grounded in religious history, libraries and literary societies, ethnic organizations, and the arts. The essays embrace Scandinavian-American history in the Twin Cities, extending to Danes and Norwegians as well as Swedes. They favor Minneapolis, but St. Paul's "Swede Hollow" receives some attention. The result is a diverse set of original essays that present a diffuse and often haphazard mosaic, with some overlap, in their coverage of immigrant life in the Twin Cities.

A unifying theme in the essays is the impact of cultural institutions that formed the backbone of the Swedish-American community during its formative

decades. Distinctive and persistent Swedish neighborhoods, the Swedish Historical Society of America, the American Swedish Institute, the Norden Society, Swedish-language publications, and Dania Hall all receive able treatment as institutions of ethnic identity, cultural persistence, and mutual support. Taken together, the essays on artists and performers chronicle the poignant irony of Swedish Americans struggling to preserve their own cultural heritage while aspiring to a national clientele and reputation, only to fall victim, at times, to unfortunate ethnic stereotypes that they sometimes reinforced. The essays on persistence of language within educational and literary institutions in the early twentieth century reverberate with some of the same tensions that continue to preoccupy Americans in the early twenty-first century. Several essays provide thumbnail sketches of celebrated or obscure personalities who strove to remain true to their heritage while contributing to the emerging Swedish-American culture. Intriguing case studies of sewing girl Evelina Johansdotter, publisher Swan Johan Turnblad, educator David F. Swenson, isolationist Charles Lindbergh, Sr., and entertainer Olle i Skratthult analyze the aspirations, triumphs, and disappointments of a wide range of Swedish-Americans along several dimensions. A diffuse and muted theme running through most of the essays is the devastating impact of World War I and the associated Americanization campaigns, xenophobia, and political reactionism that repressed immigrant institutions and ethnic identity into the 1920s and beyond. The resulting drive for uniformity represents the most important constraint on Swedish-American identity, along with the demographic impact of immigration declines after 1905. Two concluding essays on politics bring the story up to the present by tracing the dimension of Swedish-American identity and activism that may have lingered the longest, as language, culture, and history have faded into an ever more distant past.

This book provides an unsystematic survey of Scandinavian-American culture in an important urban enclave, but it lays the groundwork for a more expansive and cohesive understanding of the subculture that represented a minority, yet vital, dimension of Swedish-American life beginning in the late nineteenth century.

KENNETH J. WINKLE
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JAMES R. SCHULTZ. *The Romance of Small-Town Chautauquas*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 185. \$29.95.

In 1918, two young Missouri-born brothers named Richard and Eben Schultz embarked upon a summer-time adventure that would change their lives. Working as English professors during the school year, the Schultz brothers spent the next twelve summers traveling to small towns across the country with politicians

like William Jennings Bryan and Robert La Follette, ventriloquists such as Edgar Bergen, famous cornet players like Bohumir Kryl, and daredevil lady aviators like Lady Mary Heath. The Schultzes moved from town to town as superintendents, coordinating the on-site arrangements for a highly popular form of traveling entertainment known as Chautauqua, which combined lectures, musicals, and theater for people of all ages under a canvas tent. Throughout their tenure as chautauqua superintendents, the Schultz brothers amassed a huge collection of photographs, correspondence, show bills, programs, and business records. Richard Schultz intended to write about his experiences, but death interrupted his plans. James R. Schultz has fulfilled his father's goal by writing a fascinating history of small-town chautauquas from a "personal perspective" replete with over one hundred photographs, colorful interviews, and an impressive range of far-flung archival material.

Schultz provides a concise narrative of chautauqua's origins, its transcontinental reach, its logistical mechanisms, its turn toward circuit monopolies, its demise, and its creative afterlife. Most compellingly, Schultz reminds his readers of a historical period when small towns had a thriving public sphere able to sustain the annual presence of big-time talent and politicians from afar. Springing from the lyceum circuit of traveling public lectures, the chautauqua movement was launched in Marshalltown, Iowa, in 1904 by an enterprising Chicago-based lyceum owner named Keith Vawter, who wanted to bring big-city lyceums to small towns. He named his show after the Chautauqua Institute, a vibrant intellectual community located on the shores of Lake Chautauqua, New York, founded in 1874 (p. 4). Over the next decade, the chautauqua "movement" (as it was then called) spread swiftly across the nation. "Chautauqua Week" became a summer ritual in which the brown canvas tents represented what one reporter called "a huge convocation hall of the University of the Outdoors" (p. 32).

Schultz amply illustrates the lively intellectual milieu surrounding the chautauqua program. Lectures, for example, might feature Emil Seidel, the Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, discussing the merits of socialism versus capitalism with Adam Bede, a Republican congressman from Minnesota (p. 79). Women's suffrage, temperance and prohibition, and American foreign policy were also popular lecture topics. However, African American civil rights leaders like W. E. B. Du Bois (and indeed, civil rights topics as a whole) were consistently absent in the white rural milieu of circuit chautauqua (p. 104).

Chautauqua Week was an important cultural event in small towns across the country from 1904 to 1932; thereafter, circuit chautauqua virtually vanished. The rise of automobiles (in conjunction with better roads) helped collapse the physical and cultural distance between the rural periphery and the urban core, thereby presenting rural consumers with greater entertainment options. Schultz notes that the Depression

was also a critical factor in halting the chautauqua movement. Small towns were particularly hard hit by the economic crisis and could no longer afford the up-front fees that the labor-intensive chautauqua circuits required to remain financially viable.

Schultz has vividly reconstructed the mood and feel of circuit chautauqua. Curiously, however, his book contains no footnotes or endnotes: an editorial decision that downplays the narrative's wealth of primary sources. In addition, given Schultz's considerable personal stake in writing this book, he remains somewhat uncritical of chautauqua's local impact. One is left wondering, for example, if hooligans ever vandalized the tents, if Chautauqua Week was an occasion for thievery, or if the lectures on socialism, women's suffrage, prohibition, or other potentially radical issues ever sparked community protest. Still, Schultz effectively conveys the broad reach of this important cultural movement.

Since the 1980s, chautauquas have made a resurgence. Thirty independent chautauquas are now located in approximately thirty states. Schultz claims that the enduring appeal of chautauqua represents a response "to modern America's search for culture in an often confusing and complex world" (p. 157). Indeed, this contemporary chautauqua renaissance is deeply nostalgic. At a time when electronic media, superhighways, and superstore chains like Wal-Mart have decimated the cultural and economic infrastructure of many American small towns, it is especially important to remember a period when rural communities nurtured and sustained a sparkling array of autonomous intellectual and cultural entertainment. To that end, Schultz has fulfilled his father's wishes beautifully.

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DAVID KRASNER. *A Beautiful Pageant: African American Theatre, Drama, and Performance in the Harlem Renaissance, 1910–1927*. New York: Palgrave. 2002. Pp. xii, 370. \$35.00.

David Krasner's book is a brilliant follow-up to his award-winning *Resistance, Parody and Double Consciousness in African American Theatre, 1895–1910* (1997). It is also an important addition to the now extensive scholarship on the Harlem Renaissance. This scholarship, however, includes few works that deal with theater, drama, and various forms of performance. Performance is broadly understood here to "denote a public art that stresses the expressive power of voice, body and gesture" (p. 11). Thus, Krasner begins his study with a detailed analysis of the heavyweight championship fight between Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries (July 4, 1910) and concludes with a final chapter on the black musicals of the 1920s (*Shuffle Along* [1921] to *Africana* [1927]). Within this frame, Krasner explores the choreography and dance of Aida Overton Walker and Ethel Waters, W. E. B. Du Bois's

pageant, *The Star of Ethiopia* (1913), the little-discussed folk drama of Georgia Johnson and Willis Richardson, and Angelina Weld Grimké's *Rachel* and Zora Neale Hurston's *Color Struck* (1925). Krasner also gives close attention to the pagentry and theatrical politics of Marcus Garvey, the rise of the Black Little Theater Movement, and the career of Charles Gilpin and his inspired performance as Brutus Jones in Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1921).

Krasner's focus on performance is not just an effort to address a neglected aspect of the Harlem Renaissance. It also reflects his claim that beginning with slavery, performative acts have been central to the cultural experience and integrity of African Americans, for such acts have served as a means of survival, a means of communication to resist as well as make sense of the world they were forced to endure. As a consequence, performance has been central to the cultural and racial identity of African Americans and over time has included "theatre, music, poetry reading, dance, ritual, parade, ceremony, sport and public speaking, or any combination of these" (pp. 10–11). However, if performance is important because it is rooted in the historical and social experience of African Americans, Krasner also argues that the years after 1910, a period he calls "Black Modernity," marked a distinct turn in the social and intellectual understanding of that experience.

Krasner is well aware of the various and contingent meanings embedded in the trope of modernity, but, he argues, its fundamental and most relevant significance rests upon the "desire to transform the image of black culture from minstrelsy to sophisticated urbanity" (p. 11). This desire, however, was profoundly complex, shaped by paradox and expressive of paradox, for, as Krasner writes, the years 1910–1927 were "a time of paradoxes, with efforts demonstrating varying and sometimes startling successes" (p. 291). As a consequence, the means to achieve transformation, let alone the very understandings of what transformation might be, were often ambiguous, contradictory and highly contested. If, for example, minstrelsy served as a measure of an inauthentic racial self for the black middle class, it nevertheless functioned as a recognizable cultural form that served to ground notions of a southern and rural racial identity that challenged not only white conventions of black identity but also the intellectual and social formulations of "New Negro and urban intellectuals." At the same time, one of the most significant paradoxes that African Americans struggled to master, the paradox of "autonomy and solidarity," made problematic the various efforts to assert one's individual and racial integrity and problematized prevailing assumptions regarding gender and class.

Linking performance and paradox allows Krasner both to contextualize individual lives and to individualize deeply shared patterns of cultural experience. It also allows him critically to engage much of the scholarship of the Harlem Renaissance and to draw on

surprising intellectual resources to explore new ways to imagine and narrate racial and aesthetic meaning. For example, Krasner uses Walter Benjamin's study of allegory and symbol in *The Origin of German Mourning Plays* (1925) to explore the emotional depths of Grimké's antilynching play, *Rachel*. Above all, Krasner's methodology, together with his close reading of performance as a subversive act, allow us to share and see his fundamental point that African Americans were an "oppressed people [who] made innovative use of the narrow frames allotted them" (p. 62).

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GERALD R. BUTTERS, JR. *Black Manhood on the Silent Screen*. (Culture America.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2002. Pp. xviii, 270. \$35.00.

Building on the work of Thomas Cripps, Donald Bogle, Daniel J. Leab, Henry T. Sampson, Mark Reid, Pearl Bowser, Louise Spence, and especially Jane Gaines, Gerald R. Butters, Jr.'s book explores the ways in which white filmmakers of the silent era portrayed African Americans and how African Americans responded to those overwhelmingly negative images by producing race films that offered positive depictions of black life and manhood. "Euro-American and African-American men," Butters argues, "used motion pictures as gendering and racializing devices in the era of silent films (1896–1931) as a way to construct their own identity and collective identities of nationhood, racial group, and 'maleness'" (p. xviii).

Between 1896 and 1915, white filmmakers reproduced negative stereotypes and "ethnic and racial codes that were already evident in popular culture" (p. 21). Black men (usually played by white actors in black face) were depicted as chicken thieves, crap shooters, watermelon eaters, funky dancers, or razor-wielding hoodlums. The few positive images of black manhood were seen in actualities such as *Colored Invincibles* (1898), which showed black troops helping Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders take San Juan Hill, or fight films that followed the exploits of heavyweight boxing champion Jack Johnson.

The release of *Birth of a Nation* in 1915 led a small but growing number of black filmmakers to challenge dominant images of white cinema by making movies that presented a "more realistic black culture to an African-American moviegoing audience" (p. 94). Between 1914 and the early 1920s, African-American men directed over 100 films whose major theme was the defense of black manhood. In three successive chapters, Butters surveys race-film companies that operated between 1910 and 1923, analyzes the silent era's preeminent race filmmaker, Oscar Micheaux, and offers a close reading of Micheaux's *Within Our Gates* (1920).

Treading familiar ground, Butters describes how black filmmakers depicted African Americans "in a

wide variety of political, economic, and social activities" (p. 102). Taking different forms and espousing myriad messages—from the self-improvement philosophy of Booker T. Washington to the problems of color discrimination within the black community to westerns and hard-edged urban life exposés—race films showed audiences "what characteristics were needed to create a 'good man'" (p. 105). George Johnson's heroes, for example, were "ambitious and strong, dedicated to their families, patriotic, supported by their friends because of their outstanding character, and African American" (p. 112).

Oscar Micheaux was even more pointed in his efforts "to give black audience morals and issues that would lead to their success" (p. 125). The most radical of all race filmmakers, Micheaux eschewed idealized versions of black life in favor of features filled with a variety of black figures—good, bad, and indifferent. His films dealt with hard-hitting subjects such as corrupt religious leaders, rape, sexual abuse, racism, lynching, segregation, disenfranchisement, alcoholism, criminality, passing, and interracial romance. Micheaux's role models achieved success through education, industriousness, athletic prowess, and courage.

A final chapter contrasts portraits of masculinity shown in race films with those seen in movies made by studios and independent white filmmakers between 1915 and 1931. Black protagonists in the more progressive of these latter productions worked as chemists, novelists, doctors, attorneys, aviators, and businessmen. The coming of sound and the inability of independent companies—black and white—to raise the capital needed to finance these more expensive films led to the gradual disappearance of race films. As the range of roles contracted, African-American actors and actresses found themselves playing more stereotypical characters in studio musicals and comedies.

This book is a good summary of current scholarship but adds few important new insights. One wishes Butters had freed himself from the constant need to cite other works and focused more on developing his own analysis, especially regarding questions of reception. Butters argues that during the last century "both Euro-American and black men have defined their own sense of manhood through the cinematic medium" (p. xii). Although he shows how images of black manhood changed over time, he never convincingly demonstrates how race films (or studio fare) altered black or white ideas about masculinity.

Butters's analysis would also have been enhanced by placing black filmmakers in the context of other groups that attempted to create their own cinemas. Many of the problems that plagued race filmmakers—especially finding investors, distributors, and exhibitors—were faced by others who made movies aimed at reshaping public consciousness: unionists, suffragists, socialists, big businesses, and reformers. Finally, one wishes the author had included an appendix listing all the films he

writes about and a citation system that specified which films he had actually seen and their repositories.

This book will be useful for undergraduate classes, but those seeking more incisive current scholarship would be better off consulting the work of Reid, Bowser, Spence, and Gaines.

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CHARLES L. PONCE DE LEON. *Self-Exposure: Human-Interest Journalism and the Emergence of Celebrity in America, 1890–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 325. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book deals not so much with the modern culture of celebrity as with the crucial role that the mass-circulation media, particularly popular magazines and newspapers, played in the emergence of celebrity as “a particular kind of public visibility” (p. 5). Although Charles L. Ponce de Leon counts himself as a critic of much in today’s celebrity culture, his aim is to deepen understanding of it by providing the precision and complexity missing from critiques by Daniel J. Boorstin, Neil Postman, and Neal Gabler. Focusing on the period between 1890 and the early 1940s, he argues that the central rhetorical strategies and practices of celebrity journalism were already in place before the rise of electronic media. Since then, its fundamental mission has continued to be “the illumination and exposure of the subject’s ‘real self’” (p. 7).

Building on Leo Braudy’s work, Ponce de Leon argues that celebrity as a “unique way of thinking about public figures” developed along with a market economy and democratic and individualistic values, which in combination eroded the “hagiographic discourse of fame” that had reinforced traditional authorities (p. 4). From the first days of the American nation, upwardly mobile individuals attempted to cultivate public reputations by displaying exemplary virtues and telling the stories of their lives. At the same time, defenders of republican values, skeptical of the official personas displayed by businessmen and politicians, sought access to their “real” selves. Assuming that these were only revealed in private, the new mass-circulation press depicted prominent people at home. In the twentieth century, interest in the inside story was buttressed by psychological theories emphasizing that the self was shaped by a complex interaction of unconscious instincts and interpersonal relations.

The major forms of celebrity reportage developed early in the twentieth century as journalists discovered that feature stories about “interesting” people attracted a cross-class audience. Ponce de Leon traces the development of dominant narrative themes and new techniques and rhetorical strategies for depicting celebrities. By attending closely to the contents of a large number of celebrity profiles throughout the period, he provides a nuanced portrait of the interaction of audience demand and reportorial supply. Mid-

dle-class readers, so beloved by advertisers, liked their stories to be edifying, while working-class readers, necessary for increased circulations, emphasized entertainment. Writers found that both could be offered through a repertoire of stock story lines. The most basic of these was “true success,” which related how the celebrity had been able to transcend the potential snares connected with their positions; although journalists depicted their struggles as heroic, they also promised to offer perspective on how ordinary people might find success in an increasingly challenging world.

Ponce de Leon’s portrait highlights ambivalence and complexity on a number of levels. Celebrity journalists had an ambivalent relationship with their subjects, for although figures in worlds of motion pictures, politics, and sports needed publicity to create mass audiences, the news media laid claim to independent authority by cutting through manufactured images to reveal the “inside dope” on famous people. Balancing conflicting demands for publicity and exposure provided a constant tension between reporter and subject.

The theme of ambivalence is heightened by Ponce de Leon’s dependence on the cultural studies depiction of mass-produced popular culture as “Janus-faced, a repository of utopian hopes as well as a vehicle encouraging acceptance of the status quo” (p. 4). Hence, the practitioners of celebrity journalism employed rhetorical approaches originated by enemies of the *ancien régime*, in which exposés attacked rulers’ corrupt and decadent behavior. But while such approaches helped rouse a progressive reform spirit in the early part of the century, by the 1920s reliance on the “true success” formula most often worked to reinforce the status quo. Ponce de Leon identifies a similar pattern of tension between commercialism and higher values in separate chapters on coverage of the wealthy, politicians, and show business and sports figures. In each case, by praising the virtues of particular celebrities, writers implicitly revealed the underlying materialism of their fields. Yet the critique was undercut by the fact that there were always good men and women who succeeded in pursuing nobler goals.

This analysis applies as well to the practitioners of celebrity journalism themselves. Ponce de Leon shows the continuing tension between their aspirations to autonomous status as professionals and the inescapable requirement, as popular entertainers, of telling a good story. One is tempted to speculate that such tension has contributed to the corrosive cycle in celebrity journalism today, whereby the press first inflates the reputations of new celebrities and then demonstrates its power by deflating them. As this book demonstrates, the press’s ambivalence has produced a rich repertoire of rhetorical formulas that help feed the media industry’s voracious appetite for new “angles.”

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RONALD A. SMITH. *Play-by-Play: Radio, Television, and Big-Time College Sports*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 304. \$45.00.

No one knows more than Ronald A. Smith about the history of intercollegiate sports in the United States. His *Sports and Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (1988) remains the definitive account of the birth and development of college sports in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Now he offers an extraordinarily detailed historical examination of the relationship among top-flight college sports (principally football), the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), and television.

Smith's research was prodigious. He examined archives in more than forty colleges and universities; the important Walter Byers Papers at the NCAA itself; and the papers of the long defunct Du Mont television network. The bibliographic essay is comprehensive, and his Appendix consists of a remarkable thirty-page timeline of major (and minor) moments in the history of electronic communications and college sports.

No one can come away from Smith's account of how colleges, television networks, and the NCAA leadership have fought over how to make the most money from college football and still hang onto the quaint—if still popular—notion that college sports have anything to do with the education of the deliberately misnamed "student-athletes." From its inception in the wake of the lethal 1905 football season (in which eighteen college players died), the NCAA has always been most concerned to protect the image of college athletes and their sports against the clear reality that athletes are players above all and students only in the most incidental terms.

Smith describes the long-successful effort of the NCAA to control the supply of televised college sports in the interest of its most influential football powers—until the Supreme Court ruled in 1984 that the NCAA's television contract violated antitrust laws—as well as the competing efforts of some football schools to make their own network deals, and the machinations of network executives anxious to put ever more sports on the little screen. He provides excellent accounts of the NCAA's hardnosed maneuvers against some colleges' failed attempts to cut their own deals with TV networks; of the NCAA's attempts to distinguish its television image from that of the openly (as opposed to covertly) professional National Football League; and of the extraordinary impact of ABC's Roone Arledge on the transformation of televised sports, particularly football.

There is a fine chapter on the NCAA's initial reluctance to profit from television beer advertising, and its eventual collapse in the face of network pressure and the lure of increased revenues. When the NCAA first dropped its opposition, in 1969, its television contract called for one beer ad following the statement "We return to the studio for this message." "Thus," Smith writes, "the NCAA could claim a dis-

tance from the questionable beer ads even while it had the smell of hops on its breath" (p. 119).

Unfortunately, this book suffers from the author's encyclopedic knowledge of his material, and from his decision not to provide an overarching structure for the book. Rather than laying out an argument and subordinating his narrative to the points he wants to make, he has written a series of twenty-five more or less chronologically sequential chapters that are often repetitive, do not always seem to follow one another logically, and, most seriously, fail to draw larger significance from the genuine wealth of his research and narrative. Many times, Smith suggests that there has been some kind of dilemma at the heart of college sports between educational purposes and "commercialism," even though, as he points out, nearly every time there has been a conflict between these goals over the past century and a quarter, college presidents and the NCAA have resolved it in favor of financial gain. Smith could have begun his analysis from the standpoint that big-time college sports have been a business since their inception and that first radio and then television posed interesting problems and opportunities for the college football business, the control and profits of which the NCAA, member colleges, and television networks quite reasonably fought over. The true dilemma for the NCAA has not been how to produce a true national college football championship. It has rather been how to run a profitable commercial sports cartel while preventing the viewing public from seeing big-time college football and basketball conferences as essentially professional sports leagues employing poorly paid players who only masquerade as college students. The veils are beginning to fray, but the act still plays every year, all year long.

WARREN GOLDSTEIN
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ROGER HOROWITZ, editor. *Boys and Their Toys? Masculinity, Technology, and Class in America*. (Hagley Perspectives on Business and Culture.) New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. vi, 282. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$24.95.

As a collection of essays arising out of a conference, the focus of this book seems elusive. The subject at hand is neither as fresh as editor Roger Horowitz claims, nor as original as absent citations in the essays would lead one to believe (the work of Roy Rosenzweig and John Kasson, for examples, both of whom have had much to say on work, leisure, and gender, is rarely mentioned in these pages). What unites the essays is an emphasis on labor studies. Most of these pieces focus closely on specific job sites or groups of workers. As Horowitz argues in the introduction, conceptions of gender arise out of a subtle interplay of discourse and social experience. How we think, write, or talk about gender and how we live it in specific contexts are not isolated but interactive. Yet the essays here often stray from that sensible position, returning

again and again to specific workplaces, as if masculinity gets wholly reinvented with every slight change in social circumstances.

The book is divided into three sections: "Manhood in the Workplace," "Learning to be Men," and "Manhood at Play." The first essay, Stephen Meyer's "Work, Play and Power: Masculine Culture on the Automotive Shop Floor, 1930–1960," argues that at plants like Reo, Briggs, and Bendix, "the fraternal bonds of manhood enabled the creation of collective male identities to resist the Taylorist and Fordist industrial regimes" (p. 29). This is an important point, but it gives one pause that Meyer then devotes paragraphs to disputes centering on workers' "right" to yodel on the job or to goose each other. Paul Michel Taillon argues in "'To Make Men Out of Crude Materials': Work Culture, Manhood, and Unionism in the Railroad Running Trades, c. 1870–1900" that Victorian manhood—respectability, reliability, hard work—was the rock on which men like Eugene Debs founded the early craft unions. In "'Now that We Have Girls in the Office': Clerical Work, Masculinity, and the Refashioning of Gender for a Bureaucratic Age," Janet F. Davidson observes that within railroad bureaucracies, older conceptions of masculine identity were undermined as women took over office positions during World War I, but when the war ended, "the hegemonic power of the idea of railroads as a masculine domain" reemerged as companies terminated women workers (p. 83). Nancy Quam-Wickham's "Rereading Man's Conquest of Nature: Skill, Myths, and the Historical Construction of Masculinity in Western Extractive Industries" reveals how male workers in coal, oil, and logging found identity in brotherhood, solidarity, and skill. As one observer noted of the lumbermen, "They were strong and wild in both body and spirit, with the careless masculine beauty of men who live free lives in the open air" (p. 92).

The next section of the book focuses on organizations where men learned the codes of masculinity. Jeffrey Ryan Suzik argues in "'Building Better Men': The CCC Boy and the Changing Social Ideal of Manliness" that, in an age of twenty-five percent unemployment, young men found themselves "in an emasculated state of perpetual dependency," because they could never be self-sufficient. The Civilian Conservation Corps provided work, pay, and an ideology of robust outdoor manhood to counter the Depression's effeminacy. In "Boys and Their Toys: The Fisher Body Craftsman's Guild, 1930–1968, and the Making of a Male Technical Domain," Ruth Oldenziel examines an organization—a boys' club, of sorts—that taught through various activities such as model-building contests that the technical world was a masculine one. And in "Masculine Guidance: Boys, Men and Newspapers, 1930–1939," Todd Alexander Postol observes how newspaper distribution by the 1930s had been remade from the old, working-class newsboy model to a new, bureaucratic one with a much more corporate male ethos.

The final section of the book concerns manhood and play. In "Everyday Peter Pans: Work, Manhood and Consumption in Urban America, 1900–1930," Woody Register argues that men like actor Fred Stone, impresario Fred Thompson, and ethnologist Stuart Culin fashioned a whole new ideal of manhood, one that rejected Victorian work values to center on "impulsive play and carefree childhood" (p. 216). Register acknowledges the tension between these two ways of defining masculinity, yet he seems to declare a premature victory for the latter ethos. Our own times, after all, provide plenty of evidence for the coexistence of compulsive work with compulsive play. Ben Shackleford ("Masculinity, the Auto Racing Fraternity, and the Technological Sublime") affords a clear look at this blending in his ethnographic study of NASCAR pit crews, where intense effort, skill, and coordination go into supporting the heroism of auto racers. Finally, in "Rights of Men, Rites of Passage: Hunting and Masculinity at Reo Motors of Lansing, Michigan, 1945–1975," Lisa Fine gives us an insightful glimpse into hunting among working-class men. She eschews simple explanations for auto workers' attraction to the sport but finally argues that men see their presence together in the woods as a right won, and as an emblem of white, male, working-class identity.

Overall, this collection is useful as a series of glimpses at manhood in various times and circumstances. If the subject matter is a bit choppy and the quality of the essays a little uneven, the book is necessary reading for those interested in the interaction of class and gender of work, leisure, and masculinity.

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NAYAN SHAH. *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown*. (American Crossroads, number 7.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 384. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Nayan Shah's book is an important and exciting addition to the scholarship on Chinese American history. This book investigates the history of San Francisco's Chinatown, which for a long time was the largest Chinese community in America, in the context of public health issues. Organized largely in chronological order, it covers the period from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. For much of that period, Chinese America, especially Chinese San Francisco, was viewed by white America as a source not only of cultural, political, and moral degradation but also of diseases and epidemics, such as cholera, smallpox, bubonic plague, and tuberculosis. Shah offers a much-needed, in-depth study of perceptions and practices that treated Chinese Americans as a menace to public health, illuminating "the entanglement of race in modern science, governance, and morality" (p. 5). He shows the critical role that public health officials

played in numerous government investigations of Chinatown during the second half of the nineteenth century. The reports from white health experts and politicians lent scientific weight to emerging racist images of the Chinese in society. Notions of Chinatown as a hotbed of diseases led to various and persistent attempts to isolate and even remove it from the heart of the city. "The image of Chinatown as a noxious and degraded space," Shah notes, "emerged in tandem with the Board of Health's ambition to make San Francisco the 'healthiest city in the known world'" (p. 45). On Angel Island, which was the main port of entry for immigrants from China and other Asian countries from 1910 to 1940, medical inspection was deployed as a most effective way to keep out Chinese immigrants, who were widely believed to be carriers of dangerous germs and viruses. Immigration officers suspected that many of them memorized prepared answers for the routine interrogation required in order to enter the United States. But "Medical officers believed," Shah points out, "that immigrants could not be 'coached' in health as they could be in the nuances of village geography and family relationships" (p. 197).

Theoretically informed and vigorous, Shah's book is also solidly grounded in impressive empirical data, ranging from diaries and other kinds of private documents to various federal, state, and local government records and newspapers. In addition, he has also consulted various Chinese-language sources. While his focus is to chart efforts in developing health norms and to explicate how the Chinese were marginalized and targeted in that process, his fruitful use of such sources enables him to represent the perspectives of Chinese San Franciscans as well. Such perspectives not only help us understand Chinese Americans' response and resistance to racist practices but also deepen and enrich our appreciation of the complex evolution of public health systems and policies in an important metropolis in the American West.

Shah's book covers a wide range of issues that affected Chinese life. Some of them, such as labor and housing, appear to be less directly related to the core subject matter of the book, however. A more focused approach would allow the author not only to articulate more thoroughly the wide array of profoundly important conceptions that he introduces, such as citizenship, progress, nation, domesticity, difference, and norms but also to trace the connections among them in a more coherent theoretical framework. A few of his general assertions have evident weaknesses. For instance, he argues that "the achievement of American cultural citizenship for Chinese immigrants rested on proof that Chinese women were engaged in respectful domesticity and motherhood" (p. 105). There is no evidence that even Chinese women engaged in "respectful domesticity and motherhood" were able to win white America's acceptance, culturally or legally. Indeed, under the 1922 Cable Act, a Chinese female U.S. citizen would lose her citizenship if she chose to

marry a Chinese immigrant man, who was ineligible for American citizenship.

Overall, nonetheless, this study offers valuable refreshing insights into the history of both San Francisco and its Chinese community. Reminiscent of works such as David McBride's *From TB to Aids: Epidemics among Urban Blacks since 1900* (1991), Shah's book enhances our understanding of the conjunction of race and public health in urban settings. It will be useful in several intersecting areas of study.

YONG CHEN

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MARGARET HUMPHREYS. *Malaria: Poverty, Race, and Public Health in the United States*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. 196. \$41.50.

Margaret Humphreys weaves a complex and fascinating story of the social history of malaria. She considers the history of malaria from three perspectives: that of physicians, people, and parasites. Telling the story from the physicians' perspective means following the medical and public health literature; telling it from the people's perspective means drawing on diaries and letters and especially on the voluminous records produced by the Federal Writers Project in the 1930s; telling it from the parasites' perspective means paying close attention to the changing ecology of the anopheles mosquito and therefore to the likely fate of the parasites it carried.

Humphreys traces the European introduction and spread of what was then known as "intermittent fever" throughout the colonies. Malaria gradually receded from established towns and cities and came to be associated with rough conditions on the frontier. The disease was particularly associated with marshy, swampy places, stagnant water, and rotting vegetation. By 1900, the disease had retreated to the southern states, and was considered a symptom of the poverty and backwardness of the South. By this time, scientists and physicians knew that malaria was transmitted by the anopheles mosquito, and they knew also that its transmission could be interrupted by draining the swamps, oiling the water where the mosquitoes reproduced, and putting mesh screens on houses to keep out the insects.

The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation worked with the United States Public Health Service to test malaria control methods on the Mississippi Delta. They found that the available mosquito control methods worked fairly well in the towns but were more difficult—and correspondingly more expensive—in rural areas. The development of hydroelectric power was a particular problem, for when power companies dammed rivers, they created standing bodies of water, and these provided breeding grounds for explosive local malaria epidemics. The power companies were only persuaded to take precautions against malaria by the threat of multiple lawsuits.

Using available mosquito-control methods, even in a haphazard manner, contributed to the lowering of malaria rates in the early twentieth century. But the malaria rates spiked upward again in the years of the Depression. Humphreys notes that malaria was prevalent in cotton-growing areas where sharecroppers were clustered on the most marginal land, unsuitable for growing crops or housing animals. As malariologist Marshall Barber explained in 1926, "the maintenance of high endemic malaria requires a permanent reservoir of infection such as is furnished by a considerable body of people lacking proper housing, proper food, and adequate medical treatment" (p. 54).

With the collapse of southern industries and resulting urban unemployment in the 1930s, people fled back to the countryside where they could eke out a subsistence living on the land. Previously drained land lay fallow, growing puddles and breeding mosquitoes. Desperate levels of poverty produced malnutrition, reducing immunity to the disease. Fortunately, as local public health funding was shrinking, New Deal programs appeared to offer some relief. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA) employed many thousands of unskilled laborers to dig ditches and drain marshes.

Humphreys argues that the WPA projects were geared to unemployment relief rather than efficient malaria control; she reserves praise mainly for the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) and its "saga of heroic deeds well done" (p. 103). The TVA, created to bring flood control, erosion prevention, and cheap hydroelectric power to the Tennessee River Valley, worked with local state health officers, the Public Health Service officials, and the Rockefeller Foundation to reduce the risk of malaria around the nine high dams being built along the Tennessee and its tributaries.

In the end, however, malaria left when the people left. In 1933, the Agricultural Adjustment Act paid farmers to take their land out of cotton, tobacco, and rice production and provided capital for the purchase of machinery. This led to rural depopulation: tenant farmers who were thrown off their land migrated north to find work. An ironic side effect of the depopulation of the rural South was the virtual disappearance of malaria.

Humphreys adds one chapter on the rural population's experience of doctors and disease as reflected in the records of the Federal Writers Project. Engaging as this is, it has only tangential relevance to the history as told from the medical and public health records. Public health officials evidently found the people ignorant in rejecting the mosquito theory and stubborn in clinging to their own notions of disease causation. "Chills" and "fever" were an accepted part of normal life, caused by bad water and bad places, and cured by "chill tonic," quinine, and other bitter-tasting herbs and potions.

In 1942, when malaria was already disappearing

from the South, the Malaria Control in War Areas (MCWA) was established to protect military encampments from the disease. The new federal agency worked with state public health officers to spread oil or arsenic on mosquito breeding sites. As servicemen returned from the Pacific theater, threatening to bring malaria home with them, the low rates of disease were taken as evidence of the program's success. In malarious areas, the MCWA sent crews every three months to spray houses and privy walls with DDT, "the wonder insecticide of World War II" (p. 147). Humphreys suggests that this effort was largely wasted; malaria was already receding on its own. The question of the efficacy of these public health programs is appropriately raised, but any clear answer would be difficult to prove. This reviewer prefers to believe that the fifty years of work on mosquito eradication deserves some of the credit for the disappearance of malaria from the South. Humphreys is, however, correct to emphasize that the political, economic, and demographic context of public health programs is often the strongest determinant of their success or failure.

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CAROLINE JEAN ACKER. *Creating the American Junkie: Addiction Research in the Classic Era of Narcotic Control*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. 276. \$41.95.

Between deviance and disease lies the history of modern drug addiction, according to Caroline Jean Acker, whose book sheds new light on the convenient convergence of addiction research, drug policy, and the institutional management of incarcerated addicts from the Progressive era through the 1960s. At the heart of Acker's book is the stigmatized figure of the junkie. Her contention is that this deviant, powerless against physiological and psychological drug dependence and a menace to people and property, was the creation of anti-vice reformers, doctors, bureaucrats, and scientists.

Acker emphasizes, as did David Courtwright's *Dark Paradise: A History of Opiate Addiction in America* (1982) more than twenty years ago, the demographic underpinnings of the modern drug problem. What we believe about addiction has followed very largely from who we believe is addicted. Before the early twentieth century, all kinds of substances, including cocaine and morphine, were routinely consumed by ordinary Americans. Drug dependence was consequently perceived as an inadvertent, respectable, and often female phenomenon more likely to be caused by incompetent doctors or ineffective governments than by individuals bent on self-destruction. With Progressive efforts to regulate vice, the addict profile changed. Newly associated with masculinity, criminality, and urban poverty, drug users were no longer innocent. Accidental addicts could be redeemed. Junkies could not.

This book makes its most original contribution by probing the intersecting interests of professionals and policy makers who believed in managing the drug problem through a self-conscious combination of legal control and scientific knowledge. With the Harrison Act of 1914, the federal government moved boldly to limit the use of narcotics. The American Medical Association quickly signed on in order to advance its own goal of monopolizing the country's medical practice, including the prescription of legitimate medicines.

But it was research that finally sealed the stigmatized fate of junkies. The Rockefeller-funded Bureau of Social Hygiene was the most significant early effort. Studies conducted by its Committee on Drug Addiction (CDA) in the 1920s made withdrawal *the* defining feature of addiction and promoted an increasingly unflattering image of addicts that removed them from the population of patients deserving compassionate help. One of this book's most interesting chapters follows the "addict career" as it emerged in studies conducted at Philadelphia General Hospital. There, clinicians gathered narratives that tied drug use to a cycle of defenselessness, desperation, and deviousness. For Acker, these life stories suggest that addiction knowledge was created locally, in concrete transactions among clinicians, researchers, and addicted individuals. They also reinforced the impression that addiction was a product of personality defect and chronic maladjustment. This view was championed most famously by Lawrence Kolb and by the interwar period's vaguest and most serviceable psychiatric paradigm: psychopathy.

Pharmacologists who dreamed of a nonaddictive painkiller also supported the tightening link between crime and drugs because, according to Acker, such a substance would have allowed enforcement efforts to concentrate on eliminating narcotics from the United States rather than the tricky business of regulating their legitimate medical use. And Public Health Service bureaucrats who presided over two new federal prisons for addicts during the 1930s personified the impossible conflicts faced by professionals who sought to help people whose criminal transgressions spoiled their moral eligibility as suffering patients. Acker's main point is that sufficient affinity existed among these distinctive professional communities to provide coherence for the overall direction of drug policy. Until 1970, they moved collectively away from disease and toward deviance.

There were dissidents within these communities, of course, and their voices emerge as lonely but prophetic. Charles E. Terry, CDA executive officer, made the case for a public health approach to drug addiction in the 1920s, a strategy that bore fruit in 1964 when methadone maintenance was finally introduced after decades of resistance. The "normalization" of addiction was far more visible in sociology than in medicine, however. Acker ably documents a sociological tradition—from the Chicago school in the 1930s to the

well-known work of Erving Goffman and Howard Becker after 1945—that respectfully documented how the world looked from addicts' own perspectives. By the 1960s, this ethnographic sensibility fortified numerous critics who charged that drug policy substituted anger at junkies for concern about addicted human beings.

Acker's history of drug policy and science during the first two-thirds of the twentieth century illustrates the recent guise of an old social divide between deserving and undeserving Americans. Deviance certainly defined modern disgrace, reaching well beyond addiction to encompass a host of newly discovered social problems, from juvenile delinquency to homosexuality and poverty. But there was nothing new about the impulse to marshal knowledge for purposes of control or blame vulnerable populations and cast them as the sources of trouble and tragedy.

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WADE DAVIES. *Healing Ways: Navajo Health Care in the Twentieth Century*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 248. \$39.95.

In 1997, Jones Benally, a Navajo healer, joined the payroll of the United States Indian Health Service. For most of the past hundred years, this would have seemed impossible, even undesirable. Throughout the indigenous world, Western bio-medicine has been a tool of colonization, intent on the eradication of Aboriginal healing practices and unwilling to share power with any traditions other than its own. That today Navajo people are able legally to utilize a broad therapeutic range speaks to the changing nature of medical interaction in the Fourth World. Getting to this place of legitimated medical pluralism is the thrust of Wade Davies's book.

Davies credits the Navajo with producing the space for medical pluralism. He shows repeatedly how they preserved their own ways, their own ideas about the body and medicine even while they accepted Western bio-medicine. They were able to do this, Davies argues, because the two traditions were so different. Early in the twentieth century, many non-Natives hoped that medicine would displace Navajo healers, but the two systems complemented each other reasonably well in Navajo eyes. When the two beliefs structures conflicted, for example, around the question of whether hospitals were safe for Navajo (some Navajo feared them as places of death where *ch'indi* [ghosts] lurked), Navajo beliefs frequently held sway, especially early in the century. But Navajo people also knew that they needed Western bio-medicine to treat the epidemic and, later, endemic diseases that afflicted them. As the twentieth century progressed, equal access to quality health care became a rallying cry for Navajo leaders who sought relief from high rates of morbidity and mortality among their people. By the end of the century, Navajo leaders went one step further, gaining

control over the medical services in their territory. All the while, alternate healing traditions persisted.

But American ideas about Indian policy and medicine also changed dramatically over the last century and they, too, have opened up a space for therapeutic duality. On one hand, the medical care provided the Navajo either by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Indian Health Service was never good enough to win over skeptical Navajo patients. In some ways, then, government inadequacy and incompetence ensured the continued importance of Navajo medicine. On the other hand, notions of cultural pluralism, recognition of cultural barriers within medical practice, and an increased willingness to provide culturally appropriate care on the part of government doctors facilitated a dual system. Both Navajo and government, then, have contributed to the medical pluralism that exists in Navajo territory today.

This book provides an important overview of the last one hundred years of Navajo-government interaction in the field of health. It is detailed and straightforward. Although lacking an explicit interpretation, the book is framed in classic liberalism that calls for a limited government role and increased self-determination for individuals and collectivities and argues that, left its own devices, society will gradually get better over time. Whether one agrees with this or not, such a paradigm needs to be discussed openly. Davies's approach tends to solidify a linear history that must surely have contained lacunae, other possible outcomes, dialogue and dissent that have been denied voice. This is such a broad sweep that it can frustrate the reader as prominent personalities fade from view before their impact can be fully explored. Yet the glimpses are intriguing. What can we learn about the individual integration of disparate belief systems through Taylor McKenzie, the first Navajo MD? How did cultural brokers like Annie Wauneka or, indeed, Jones Benally, navigate the world of American politics and health care while remaining embedded in Navajo culture? These are just some of the fascinating aspects of this work that deserve further attention.

We need texts like this that provide entry points to further analysis. Davies paints, in broad strokes, the contours of one nation's interaction with medicine as a colonizing and, potentially, decolonizing force. Now it is up to other scholars to provide new interpretations and more focused analysis of this important area of study.

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CATHERINE CENIZA CHOY. *Empire of Care: Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2003. Pp. xiv, 257. \$19.95.

Until now, the near ubiquity of Filipina nurses in North American cities has attracted little scholarly attention despite the fascinating inequalities and re-

distributive powers of the global economy that they represent. By tracing the history of these caregivers a full century back to the violent imposition of American control on the Philippines, Catherine Ceniza Choy offers an absorbing account of the intertwined influences of imperialism, postcolonialism, migration, transnationalism, and gender on immigrants and the fractured state of multiculturalism today.

This book addresses notable gaps in the study of immigration and Asian Americans. Second only to Mexicans in immigration levels, Filipinos will be the largest Asian American group by 2010, but, they are relatively poorly understood in comparison with their better-researched East Asian counterparts. Their history is markedly distinct from that of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese who share Confucian influences. In many ways, Filipinos are more closely akin to the former American and Spanish colonial subjects from the Pacific Islands or Latin America.

The impact of their colonial past on the Filipino American present is generally assumed but poorly documented. Although they are usually considered emblematic of the post-1965 professionalization of Asian immigrants, Choy traces the production of Filipina nurses suited for American hospitals to colonial attempts to "civilize," "sanitize," and "educate" Filipinos and thereby vindicate American domination. Filipinas began attending American-founded nursing schools where they learned American concepts of science and hygiene as well as English.

America became associated with opportunity and upward mobility not only through colonial curriculums but also through exchange programs whose participants studied in the United States before returning to accelerated careers in the Philippines. Although the earliest and most successful of these exchange students and nurses were drawn from the Filipino elite and enjoyed advantages most others would never be able to duplicate, their examples glamorized the possibilities of going to America. Exchange programs continued after the Philippines gained independence, and Filipina nurses readily migrated when the 1965 Immigration Act made such an option more widely available. By century's end, Filipino nursing schools had become booming businesses producing thousands of graduates eager to feed the continuing demand for care in the United States.

Choy is careful to explore multiple perspectives in the complex racial hierarchies and political hypocrisies that emerged from these processes, including the unease of the American Nurses Association (ANA) at their foreign "competition" despite continuing nursing shortages, exploitation of Filipina nurses in exchange programs and employment practices, the simultaneous blaming of "materialistic" nurses for abandoning the Philippines while celebrating their remittances, and the acceptance by Filipinas of inequitable pay and work arrangements in return for the higher salaries and immigration opportunities available in America. Nurses in the Philippines simply cannot achieve the

standards of living, or income enough to aid parents and family, attainable by leaving home.

Although unrealistically absent from most hospital-based television shows, a handful of Filipina-American nurses have attracted individual celebrity but in association with widely publicized murder cases. Corazon Amurao was the lone survivor of the 1966 Richard Speck mass murders, while Filipina Narciso and Leonora Perez were convicted of the 1975 Veteran's Affairs hospital poisonings. Media coverage of these spectacles reveals shifting attitudes towards Filipinas as foreign givers of care. In the mid-1960s, the relatively rare exchange nurse Amurao could be deemed exotic but heroic, while a decade and thousands of immigrant nurses later, Narciso and Perez were widely, and circumstantially, perceived as inscrutable Asians preying on America's sick. Their indictment and jury conviction on scant evidence suggests the readiness of Americans to view Filipina nurses as treacherous murderers. Across the country, thousands of stunned Filipino Americans rallied to support Narciso and Perez, culminating in a district judge's dismissal of the convictions and the prosecution's decision to drop the case for lack of evidence.

In recognition of the dangers posed by American xenophobia, Filipina-American nurses formed more permanent organizations whose complicated affiliations reflect the fragmented state of their transnationality. Three separate Filipino-American nursing associations address conflicting agendas as do unsatisfactory relationships with both the ANA and the Philippine Nurses Association. These multiple orientations and imperfect fit in either Filipino or American society subject Filipina nurses to continuing dislocations and contradictory portrayals.

In such a nuanced account, Choy's failure to comment on the even more popular export of maids is disappointing. Nonetheless, her lively handling of the intersection of ideas clustered around the figure of the Filipina-American nurse renders this monograph indispensable reading for scholars of immigration, diaspora, American empire, and ethnicity.

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ALLAN H. MELTZER. *A History of the Federal Reserve*. Volume 1, 1913–1951. Foreword by ALAN GREENSPAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2003. Pp. xiii, 800. \$75.00.

Allan H. Meltzer's book is the most important contribution to the scholarly literature on the history of the Federal Reserve since Milton Friedman and Anna Schwartz's *Monetary History of the United States, 1867–1960* (1963), with which it will inevitably be compared. Meltzer has several advantages over his predecessors. He can take the importance of Federal Reserve policy in the development of the Great Depression as a given, the point having been convincingly demonstrated by Friedman and Schwartz. He can build on their influ-

ential historical analysis of the importance of monetary policy for business cycles generally. He can utilize archival materials that were not available forty years ago. And he can consider Federal Reserve decision making in more detail: whereas Friedman and Schwartz covered ninety-three years of U.S. monetary history in 600 pages, Meltzer's rather longer book covers little more than a third of the same period.

Although the author is best known for his important contributions to economic theory, and monetary theory in particular, he clearly has an abiding interest in history and no reluctance to immerse himself in primary sources. But Meltzer is first and foremost a theorist, and his interpretation of Federal Reserve policy and its consequences is ultimately guided by a particular theoretical conception of the role of central banking in a market economy. That role, in his view, is to focus on price stability, from which the stability of other macroeconomic variables, notably output and employment, will naturally flow. It follows that any blunders committed by the Federal Reserve reflected the failure of decision makers to embrace the correct theoretical model.

The book starts with an account of how long-standing suspicion in the United States of any institution that might acquire central banking functions was overcome by concern with seasonal shifts in credit conditions and the frequency of financial crises. Meltzer's interpretation differs from other recent work, such as J. Lawrence Broz's *The International Origins of the Federal Reserve System* (1997), by downplaying the desire to reduce the country's dependence on foreign finance as a motivation for founding the Federal Reserve. By showing how qualms about the creation of a powerful central bank led to the establishment of a decentralized system of semi-autonomous regional reserve banks, no one of which had adequate incentive to assume responsibility for the larger goal of price stability, he sets the stage for the drama to follow.

That drama, of course, was the Great Depression. Meltzer first argues that the Federal Reserve's willingness to help Britain back onto the gold standard at less than an ideal exchange rate heightened the fragility of the international system. He then documents the inadequacy of the Federal Reserve's response to the deepening slump. In contrast to Friedman and Schwartz, who attributed its inaction to the untimely death of Benjamin Strong, the influential governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and to the absence of another central banker with the ability to organize and lead those responsible for American monetary policy, Meltzer argues that events would have played out little differently had Strong's health been more robust. Monetary policy makers, including Strong himself, were guided by a version of the real bills doctrine articulated by Winfield Riefiler and Randolph Burgess (economists at the Federal Reserve Board and New York Reserve Bank, respectively), which identified member bank borrowing and market interest rates as measures of monetary ease. This

wrongheaded doctrine erroneously suggested that monetary conditions were accommodating after 1929, when in fact the opposite was true. It counseled passivity in the face of the collapse of prices, output, and the banking system and encouraged reckless disregard of the central bank's responsibility to act as lender of last resort. In Meltzer's view, then, it was the dominance of this pernicious theoretical doctrine that ultimately explains the Great Depression.

Sealing the case requires the author to discredit other views of the formulation and effects of monetary policy. The priority that Meltzer attaches to price stability leads him to dismiss the idea that the Federal Reserve should have tightened earlier and more aggressively in response to financial excesses in the late 1920s, despite the absence of overt signs of inflation outside of asset markets, and that doing so might have limited subsequent financial vulnerabilities (an argument that has found some new adherents in the wake of the 1998–2000 bull market). He is critical of the view that the constraints of the gold standard and not just the Reifler-Burgess doctrine contributed to the Federal Reserve's paralysis in the face of the slump, although his concluding chapter is rather more sympathetic to the gold standard view than the main body of the text. He is similarly dismissive of the view that diplomatic disputes and not just inappropriate analytical models prevented the Federal Reserve from cooperating with foreign governments and central banks in a joint response that might have halted the downward spiral.

The book's tight focus on monetary policy is both a strength and a weakness; for example, lack of discussion of the central bank's role as bank regulator makes it less than a complete history of the Federal Reserve's first four decades. There is also an absence of references to the recent work of historians like H. Clark Johnson and Kenneth Moure. Meltzer's labored prose will not attract many general readers, but specialists will find irresistible the enthusiasm with which he attacks competing views. This book will provoke discussion and debate for years to come, or at least until the profession's attention is captured by volume two.

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JOHN A. SALMOND, *The General Textile Strike of 1934: From Maine to Alabama*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 295. \$37.50.

On August 30, 1934, the vice-president of the United Textile Workers Union (UTW), Francis Gorman, ordered the cotton textile local unions scattered from Maine through the coastal New England states, the mid-Atlantic states, and the southern textile crescent ending in Alabama to strike on September 1, with workers in wool, silk, rayon, and synthetic yarn to soon join them. Gorman, the UTW's *de facto* leader, through the summer of 1934 had led a tense confron-

tation with the textile owners and the National Recovery Administration's (NRA) labor relations board (known as the Bruere Board after its chairman, Robert Bruere). The UTW saw the Bruere Board as a management-dominated entity that perpetuated the anti-union tradition of the industry. It was ready to strike for the end of the hated stretch-out and of widespread NRA code violations, for improved working conditions, and for union recognition and collective bargaining.

The number of workers on strike would never be established correctly. The UTW used the dramatic technique of the so-called "flying squadrons," cavalries of workers approaching plants and calling out the workers and intimidating or persuading others not to enter. Some managements just closed mills, in effect locking out workers. After two weeks of struggle and widespread violence from Maine to Alabama, with thousands of national guardsmen called out in state after state to "protect" the plants and willing workers, the Associated Press (AP) estimated 401,132 workers still on strike and 334,957 at work. The imperfect figures showed wide disparity ranging from 43,000 workers on strike in Rhode Island and 15,520 working. The AP reported that North Carolina, the state with the greatest number of textile workers, had 64,685 still idle with 61,735 back in the mills. By the third week, worker protest had run its course, and, out of money and resources, workers drifted back to work in mills still open. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had earlier appointed an investigative board, and the union, exhausted and beaten, accepted the board's inconclusive findings. The settlement rejected the union's hope for a thirty-hour work week and effective minimum weekly wages, elimination of the stretch-out, and union recognition, promising only a new, independent labor board to investigate labor complaints.

John A. Salmond tells the story of this confused and fractious strike. The southern story has been addressed from several angles by other historians, but the northern region has to date received only cursory glances. Salmond's account for the first time views the different regional and local events as one whole. He divides the narrative into five parts. The first two chapters of part one provide the background, describing the industry in all of its complexity and concentrating on workers and union history. Salmond sketches the impact of the New Deal's NRA on the industry with the concurrent growth of the UTW and the arrival of the strike in late summer 1934. At this point, Salmond makes a decision to present an overarching account of the strike from Maine to Alabama up to its end in late September. With the main contours of the strike in the mind of the reader, Salmond devotes the next five chapters of part two to what he sees as a regional "mosaic" that makes the often disparate events more clear. The chapters on New England and the Mid-Atlantic states are the most original contributions of the book, while the chapters on the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama tell a story more well known. Part three consists of one chapter: a

local study of the strike in Burlington, North Carolina, and the bombing of a Burlington Mills factory that resulted in the incarceration and imprisonment of eight workers. Salmond argues that despite regional and industry differences and radically diverging worker demographics North to South, "The conviction of all textile workers that they were being used, betrayed, denied the better lives that the New Deal had seemingly promised" (p. 142) bound the general strike together.

Part four consists of one chapter of "reflections" by Salmond in which he concludes that the 1934 strike was "not a national strike, but rather the sum of thousands of essential local effort with different impulses and aims and this was especially true of the cotton textile south, the strike's supposed epicenter, where the workers sacrifices were the greatest, the repression the most severe, and the consequences of failure the most long-lasting" (p. 235). He also claims that for northern workers, the strike was essentially just an important "way station" for workers in transition from ethnic identity to a developing class-conscious, while in the South, the center of the textile industry, it became a defining movement that divided workers and contributed to a history of anti-unionism.

Salmond brings insight into the excessive violence of the strike and he notably accentuates the role of women. But the militancy of the workers most attracts him and dominates his narrative account. The enemy was never Roosevelt and the New Deal but employers who had subverted the New Deal and who, they believed, kept them powerless and desperate for the good things of the American dream. Leon Fink has recently argued for what he called "historiographical leads" for the continued momentum of labor history ("WHAT IS TO BE DONE in Labor History," *Labor History* 43, No. 44 [2002]: pp. 419–24). Among the seven leads suggested is one that he terms "Classic Conflicts in American Labor History." Salmond's readable, well-researched, authoritative narrative fits this call. Salmond argues that although textile workers struck for different reasons in different places, the strike itself "needs to be considered as a part of the struggle for economic and social justice which gave the twentieth century its configuration—and it continues still" (p. 245).

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JUNE MELBY BENOWITZ. *Days of Discontent: American Women and Right-Wing Politics*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. 230. \$38.00.

Students of twentieth-century conservative and far-right groups have long recognized that women have constituted an important part—often a majority—of the rank-and-file. Specialists in women's history have been less likely to notice these sorts of activists. June Melby Benowitz plausibly estimates that a million women passed through such groups during the 1930s

and 1940s, and she sets out to study them from the "standpoint of a historian of women and women's movements" (p. 7). Her book both overlaps with and supplements the standard work on the subject, Glen Jeansonne's *Women of the Far Right: The Mothers Movement and World War II* (1996).

Only one woman right-wing leader, Elizabeth Dilling, author of *The Red Network: A 'Who's Who' and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots* (1934), ranked in notoriety with such male counterparts as Father Charles Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith. Benowitz provides a full and fair portrait of Dilling. But she also deals with such lesser known figures as Lyril Clark Van Hynning, founder with Dilling of We, The Mothers Mobilize for America Incorporated; Catherine Brown, a former Coughlinite who led the National Blue Star Mothers of America; Cathrine Curtis, an heiress who went from advising women on investments to mobilizing them against American entry into World War II; Grace Wick, a perennial far-right political candidate in Oregon; and Agnes Waters, whose hatred of Jews was especially virulent even by the standards of the far right of the day. As Benowitz shows, the foremost far-right women were invariably white, devoutly Christian, and middle aged, usually affluent, and almost always adherents to antisemitic conspiracy theories. She traces their ideological differences as well as their cooperative efforts, rivalries, and mixed relations with male far-right leaders. Their heyday was 1939–1941, when noninterventionist "mothers' movements" attracted a substantial membership. These groups collapsed after Pearl Harbor. The leading figures typically remained active until their deaths, but during the 1950s they were eclipsed by younger and typically less bigoted far-right women. Among the women treated at length here, only Lucille Cardin Crain retained any influence—as a crusader against alleged subversion in the public schools—after World War II. Although Benowitz writes in passing that they "laid the groundwork for future generations of activists" (p. 172), she never shows how they did so. On the contrary, she notes how much they differed from contemporary New Christian Right leaders like Phyllis Schlafly and Beverly LaHate.

Reliable source material on far-right women from the 1930s and 1940s is even harder to track down than reliable information on far-right men. Under the circumstances, Benowitz does very well indeed. She has consulted the few available archival collections, dug up ephemeral publications, and judiciously used both FBI reports and the many lurid journalistic exposés. Particularly admirable is her effort to get at the views of the ordinary members of the "mothers' movement." Among other imaginative efforts, Benowitz uses anti-New Deal letters to Eleanor Roosevelt to show that the rank-and-file were typically more moderate than the leaders. Clearly, too, thousands of women quickly quit these noninterventionist groups when the far-right agenda became apparent.

To her credit, Benowitz writes about outrageous

opinions and actions without feeling the need persistently to express outrage. While showing that personal experiences, such as Dilling's visit to the Soviet Union, affected her subjects' worldviews, she shuns psychological reductionism. She understands that the line between the far right and mainstream conservative is a "fuzzy" though necessary scholarly construction; conservative opponents of FDR's domestic and foreign policies were often less than fastidious in choosing their allies. In general, however, Benowitz is strongest when she focuses on the far-right women, weakest when she deals with the broader historical context. For instance, she wrongly places the America First Committee (AFC) among "right-wing" organizations and mischaracterizes AFC leader John T. Flynn as an antisemite. Specialists in women's history need to take seriously Benowitz's evidence that *some* of the female far-right leaders of the 1930s and 1940s had been feminists two decades earlier. A few continued to think of themselves as feminists and saw no incongruity in embracing both the Equal Rights Amendment and *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. Benowitz also shows that the major far-right women activists were often Roman Catholics. Scholars with no special interest in either women's history or the far right will find further evidence here that many adherents to the so-called Progressive movement of the 1910s came to see themselves as conservatives as they aged and as economic, cultural, and foreign policy issues changed.

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M. J. HEALE. *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935–1965*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1998. Pp. xvii, 370. \$40.00.

This book examines "McCarthyism" at the state level. It is a worthwhile undertaking, for not all anticommunist politics originated on the national political stage. Many states rushed to counter the red menace in the 1930s and 1940s, before Harry S. Truman's loyalty program, before the Hollywood Ten or the Alger Hiss case, and before Joe McCarthy. As M. J. Heale asserts, "the federal government was a relatively late recruit to the war on domestic communism" (p. 2). Analysis on this political tier sheds light on sources and motives of anticommunist politics. Heale's focus on the importance of the early and state-level roots of anticommunism is well taken, though it is perhaps not as novel a perspective as the book implies.

The work begins with an overview of anticommunist activism in the states (and the febrile Territory of Hawai'i). The author discerns three general practices, often followed in discrete stages. First came legislative investigations. A gaggle of "little Dies Committees" or "little HUACs" popped up just prior to World War II, and another as the Cold War materialized. They typically enjoyed early disrepute and brief life spans, constituting an immature, populist "maverick" (p. 26) phase, rooted, ironically, in the legislature's inves-

tigative power, which "was itself part of the Anglo-American libertarian heritage" (p. 8). Such committees were often succeeded by more bureaucratic and/or symbolic anticommunist devices that left a longer-lived institutional legacy: a system of loyalty oaths (adopted by eighty percent of the states) for teachers and public employees, laws to control Communists, and a unit of state government charged with surveillance. These had the potential to do more enduring damage to civil liberties but usually had limited impact. Few Communists were ever regulated by these laws. Generally, Heale notes, politics blew more conservative over the course of the era, and the more lasting structures often arose when a state's political establishment took note of the strength of anticommunist feeling and coopted it.

The core of Heale's book consists of lengthy examinations of anticommunist politics and procedures in three states: Michigan, Massachusetts, and Georgia. These are well-chosen venues: they provide illustrations, respectively, of places where class, religion (or the Yankee-Irish conflict of which it was part), and race were the most powerful stimuli for the use of anticommunism.

The author does not claim that anticommunism had a single cause in any of these states. While Michigan's anti-Red activism issued from a business-oriented Republican Party jolted by the resurgence of the New Deal Democratic Party, there were also working-class groups amenable to antiradicalism for various reasons, including race. In Massachusetts, Democrats often led the charge against Bolshevism, while Republicans expressed more reserve; although religion and ethnicity were trenchant divisions, class grievances played a role, too. One-party Georgia had little real or felt Communist menace, so for years anticommunism did little but spice interfactional election rhetoric. That changed as early murmurings of the *Brown* decision rattled the political leadership, and anticommunism became a means to harass advocates of civil rights and to inveigh against outside pressures.

Heale attempts a taxonomy of state-level anticommunist exertions. They had different sources and moved with varied rhythms in disparate directions. Heale wisely does not try to cram them into a single mold. Hence, a very loose field theory results. Anticommunism often arose, not surprisingly, in states with more than their share of Communist Party activity, or left-led unions, and where it was useful to an old-guard political elite displaced by recent events (typically the rise of a New Deal-invigorated Democratic Party). Anticommunism often emerged first among more "populist" politicians at the margin and moved to the elite-controlled center, losing some of its rough edges in the process. Heale also suggests, briefly, that "metropolitan discontents" were a key ingredient of red scare politics, which might explain why the most rural states were relatively immune to the distemper.

The result is an astute analysis of state-level activism. It is mildly troubling that what Heale often terms

"populist" anti-Red activism sometimes stemmed not from the people but from mid-level professional politicians: state legislators, attorneys general, and patriotic organizations. These are surely more populist folks than, say, J. Edgar Hoover, but the hot breath of the people in these doings sometimes feels a bit notional. The point seems confirmed by the setbacks many ambitious redbaiters met. Over-dichotomizing of "elite" and "populist" tends to blur the spectrum between them. One might also carp at how the American publisher has reprinted the original English text, which contains some quirky anglicisms and "un-American" orthography. None of this detracts from what remains a balanced, illuminating, and ambitiously researched study.

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LIZABETH COHEN. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Pp. 567. \$35.00.

This book by Lizbeth Cohen tells a compelling story. It interweaves a number of narrative lines to produce a picture of America's postwar infatuation with mass consumption. Separately, some of the stories are familiar and may remind readers of the older critiques of "the affluent society" by authors such as David Riesman, Vance Packard, David Potter, John Kenneth Galbraith, or Daniel J. Boorstin, some of whom the author mentions. In most cases, Cohen manages to give a particular twist to these various stories. Her focus is on the citizens of the American republic in their roles as consumers. If in the postwar period they all shared a dream, it was one of democracy not only in the political marketplace but in the economic marketplace as well. There the dream was one of affluence and prosperity shared equally by all.

In her view of the democratic consumer, Cohen recognizes two different guises: one of the citizen consumer, the other of what she calls the purchaser consumer. Conceptually, they are not a neat pair. There appears to be a great difference in implied agency. The citizen consumer, whose appearance Cohen traces back to the Depression era, is a highly self-conscious actor, aware of his (and, as it turns out, particularly *her*) rights and need of protection in the marketplace against overweening producer interests. Organizing in a variety of ways to resist unfair pricing, lack of quality standards, and job discrimination in stores, the citizen consumer found a sympathetic ear in the Roosevelt administration and was the historical precursor of the consumer activists of the 1960s and early 1970s. If there is clear, self-conscious action in this case, the purchasing consumer appears more as an abstract construct of macro-economic theory, as the unit of what is commonly known as aggregate demand. To the extent that Cohen attributes agency here, it is in the sense of a shared Keynesian paradigm, where every

consumer saw it as his or her civic duty to keep spending and borrowing and thus make the affluent society self-sustaining. This is what gave the consumers' republic its name and meaning. Advertising evolved into an art of hidden persuasion, inducing demands and needs and creating markets for ever new products.

Cohen might have done a more thorough job tracing the purchaser consumer back to the 1920s. Postwar prosperity brought to fruition, and within the reach of many more individuals, what had been growing for several decades. The ethic of a culture of consumption had evolved in the 1920s, leading economists to coin the concept of induced demand, replacing savings accounts with the installment plan, and producing a sea change in advertising around the novel concept of a "democracy of goods." Fables of affluence, of a blurring of class lines, and of the new woman as consumer were advertising innovations of that era. New anxieties and fears were created through advertising, which gave bad breath its name (halitosis) and its cure, affordable to all. In-depth studies of these developments exist, but Cohen does not mention them. She occasionally refers to longer trends, but never as consistently as in her exploration of the history of the consumer citizen. Her time frame therefore often seems unduly narrow, suggesting that many of the trends she explores only got under way after World War II. Time and again she refers to the "founders" of the consumers' republic, yet she seems insufficiently aware that much of the ideology supporting it was an advertising construct, using the language of citizenship to induce a demand for economic commodities (as in a 1944 Hoover Vacuum Cleaning Company's advertisement, asserting that "the Fifth Freedom is Freedom of Choice").

Without a doubt, many of the trends Cohen explores are typical of the postwar period, such as the impact of the G.I. Bill or suburbanization. These are commonly seen as the typical factors and forms of American affluence, bringing prosperity within the reach of ever larger numbers of people. Cohen is at her best in deconstructing these views. She points to the many unintended outcomes, in terms of the inequality of benefits brought by the G.I. Bill or the increased segregation along lines of class and race created by suburbanization. The logic of free market thinking and of weak government combined to allow this to happen. Her best chapters are case studies, based on the history of postwar New Jersey, in which she analyzes the fragmented political power structure and the countervailing role of a remarkably progressive judiciary. At the same time, though, these case studies raise the question of the representativeness of the New Jersey story. The book leaves the impression of wavering between an in-depth study of the consumers' republic in New Jersey and the more broad-brush story of postwar America.

ROB KROES
University of Amsterdam

LORI ROTSKOFF. *Love on the Rocks: Men, Women, and Alcohol in Post-World War II America*. (Gender and American Culture.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 307. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

In her imaginatively titled book, Lori Rotskoff skillfully examines the middle-class "alcoholic marriage" in suburban America in the decades surrounding World War II. Because husbands were most often the "problem drinkers" in this setting and era, Rotskoff focuses on their traits, travails, and treatment, albeit always in the context of their troubled unions with long-suffering wives. This emphasis is evident in the dustjacket illustration from the Hollywood classic film, *Come Back, Little Sheba* (1952), in which a brooding Burt Lancaster, drink in hand, stands with his back turned on the imploring gaze of housewife Shirley Booth. This poignant vignette, reproduced in thousands of American living rooms from the 1930s to the 1960s, lies at the heart of Rotskoff's study.

Rotskoff keeps the reader intellectually engaged by deftly bringing into her discussion the latest scholarship in alcohol and temperance studies, history, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and feminist and gender research. She also considers the impact of advertising on alcohol consumption, showing how the post-Prohibition liquor industry portrayed responsible social drinking as glamorous, respectable, and fun. Further, she performs a lively content analysis of several of Hollywood's famous "alcoholic films," including *The Lost Weekend* (1945), *The Best Years of Our Lives* (1946), *Come Back, Little Sheba* (1952), *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1958), and *The Swimmer* (1968). The reader may open the book at any page to find fresh insights on such diverse subjects as popular culture's role in purveying the modern disease model of alcoholism, society's changing expectations of male performance in marriage and work, and the impact of feminist ideas on codependent wives and alcohol treatment programs.

Rotskoff provides especially intriguing observations about middle-class husbands in drinking versus non-drinking venues. First, the reader obtains a fly-on-the-wall perspective on suburban male behavior at martini lunches, poolside cocktail parties, and golf game afterglows. There is also interesting coverage of the hapless husband who slips from acceptable social drinking into taboo solitary drinking. Following this, the reader gains an insider's view of events in the suburbanites' Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), dominated as it was by white, middle-class, middle-management men searching for a substitute brotherhood now that alcoholic camaraderie was out. Particularly thought provoking is Rotskoff's analysis of how suburban men often transformed "rituals of fellowship" first learned in male drinking circles to suit the sober social life of AA.

In such an ambitious and broadly conceived study, it may be inevitable that a few subjects will not be covered in as much detail as some readers might like.

For example, we learn little of the female suburban drinker or of marriages in which both partners had drinking problems. There is also sparse coverage of such unfortunate consequences of excessive drinking as wife and child abuse, police encounters, and job losses. Regarding the matter of alcohol and popular culture, there is perhaps an over concentration on John Cheever's stories and his film, *The Swimmer*, whereas the classic *Days of Wine and Roses* (1962), with its vivid portrayals of both drinking and AA activity, is hardly mentioned. Some readers might also wish that Rotskoff had further elaborated on her observation that AA and other treatment programs tended to focus far too exclusively on the needs of white, middle-class males, often marginalizing and even alienating potential working-class, ethnic, or female clients. Yet these omissions are by no means fatal flaws. On the contrary, Rotskoff covers so much ground so effectively that these criticisms seem minor indeed.

This book fills an important but neglected niche in the literature on American drink culture and temperance reform. Previous studies such as Roy Rosenzweig's *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (1983) have focused on urban working-class immigrants in the pre-Prohibition saloon era. More recently, Catherine Gilbert Murdock's *Domesticating Drink: Women, Men, and Alcohol in America, 1870-1940* (1998) has advanced scholarly scrutiny into the 1920s and 1930s and illuminated the world of middle-class drinkers. Now Rotskoff brings the analysis forward to the mid-twentieth century, showing how post-World War II drink culture retained some traditional aspects but also changed dramatically with the maturation of the middle-class suburban lifestyle. Well researched, well written, and packed with original insights, Rotskoff's book is a must for those interested in the social history of alcohol in America.

MADOLON POWERS
University of New Orleans

GERALD SORIN. *Irving Howe: A Life of Passionate Dissent*. New York: New York University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 386. \$32.95.

One of the more important movements among twentieth-century intellectuals was the sharp right turn taken, especially after the 1967 war in the Middle East, by many of the leading New York intellectuals, those writers of Jewish descent who had written for *Partisan Review* and *Commentary* during the 1940s and 1950s. Their articulation of a neoconservative agenda and their achievement of influence with the rising conservative movement in the Republican Party transformed American politics and perhaps the world. Irving Howe declined that path; indeed, he vigorously challenged it, beginning in the 1950s.

Howe combatively preserved space for a vision of social democracy against a variety of challenges in the

half century following World War II. Over time, the vision changed, but the hope persisted. He was able to be flexible, in part, because, like John Dewey, for him democracy was prior to socialism. He resisted the temptation to reverse the order. His passions and principles remained constant, but he took each issue on its own terms. Often his intense anticommunism caused him to overreact to those less solidly so. He was sometimes wrong, as often stylistically as substantively (too vehement, too unforgiving). Too often too late, he sometimes recognized mistakes and reconsidered, as in his approach to the New Left, his critique of feminism, and his early defense of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Over time, he became more flexible, while his former colleagues who moved to the right became more rigid. Like his increasingly close friend, Richard Hofstadter, Howe became more sensitive to and appreciative of pluralism and complexity in politics, literature, and life. Admiring Hofstadter's good sense and evenness of temperament, he sought to emulate them. But he was a natural critic who enjoyed the joust and felt a moral responsibility to think in public about the issues that he judged important. Critic though he was, he was sustained by "a margin of hope," a phrase that served as the title of his autobiography.

In his fine and impressively fair-minded intellectual and political biography, Gerald Sorin presents Howe as someone best understood in terms of three preoccupations: politics, literature, and the "reconquest of Jewishness." Only rarely did any one of them bleed into another. Although Howe insisted that "politics is not the totality of life," it certainly captured his passions most fully. At times, that made him overbearing and intolerant. Aesthetics, not politics, drew him to literature; he appreciated T. S. Eliot and other great but very conservative modernists. While one of his most significant books was a study of the relation of politics and literature, *Politics and the Novel*, he resisted the assimilation of literature to politics that had been so common in the 1930s. Over many years, he was devoted to Yiddish literature and its translation. But after 1967, he felt his Jewishness more strongly, as did those who turned right. But for him it evoked nostalgia for *The World of Our Fathers* (1976) and a new appreciation of the achievement of Israel, not a tough politics of unqualified support for Israel. He was a public advocate for peace.

Sorin's book captures Howe well. It is stronger on the changes and nuances of Howe's politics and relation to his Jewishness than on his engagement with literature. It would have helped if the larger political and intellectual terrain were more fully present. More important, we do not get close to Howe as a literary critic, and there is very little close analysis of Howe as a writer. Not pursuing the substance of his work as a reviewer at *Time* misses an opportunity to examine the relation of intellect to mass culture at an important moment in the discussion of mass culture. Although Sorin has one accurate and well-phrased paragraph about Howe as editor of *Dissent*, there is insufficient

elaboration of his actual work with the magazine. He was very much a hands-on editor, copyediting and arguing with contributors in the margins of a text. But equally characteristic was his respect for the writers and their ideas; he lambasted them in the interest of clarity, accuracy, and fairness. The magazine survived because of that kind of intense involvement, and the details warrant explication.

While Sorin does not hesitate to judge Howe's achievements and mistakes, he steps back again and again, giving Howe the last word. Howe often reconsidered some of his harsher criticisms, particularly of individuals, whether of Ralph Ellison, or Hannah Arendt on Adolf Eichmann, or the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). This strategy reveals the fullness of Sorin's sympathy for Howe, which weakens the book, but it also shows the pattern of self-examination and reflection that marked Howe's life and character.

THOMAS BENDER
New York University

ANDREW GLENN KIRK. *Collecting Nature: The American Environmental Movement and the Conservation Library*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xix, 243. \$35.00.

Andrew Glenn Kirk has skillfully crafted an intriguing book from a seemingly prosaic topic. First and foremost, it is a history of the Conservation Library Center in Denver, Colorado. Created as a museum for Progressive-style conservation in 1960, the library was designed to house historical manuscripts, photos, and artifacts that might serve to inform contemporary environmentalists. Gradually that vision metamorphosed, in the 1970s, under federal government sponsorship, into a test site and information clearinghouse for alternative technologies and a center of social and political advocacy. The library's creation and transformation, Kirk argues, illustrates in microcosm the changing nature of the environmental movement between 1960 and 1975. The library's demise and closure in 1982, during the "Reagan revolution," is similarly illustrative of an altered political and environmental landscape. A brief epilogue provides a postscript about how Conservation Library Center materials became the Denver Public Library's Conservation Collection in the 1990s.

Kirk's narrative follows a familiar story line in which the early twentieth-century conservation movement was shaped by John Muir antimodern preservationists and Gifford Pinchot's utilitarian conservationism. Under the aegis of modernism and frightening new technologies of the post World War II era, the utilitarian ethos began to erode in favor of preservationist sympathies. Wilderness, which came to symbolize environmental purity, was the focal point for environmental activism and legislation in the 1950s and early 1960s. It is at this juncture that Kirk begins to suggest how the Conservation Library's history offers new

insights into the history of the environmental movement. Taking cognizance of the political, social, economic, and cultural transformations during the 1960s and early 1970s, Kirk delineates how those changes contributed to a paradigmatic shift within the Conservation Library and the larger environmental movement from an older, antimodernist way of thinking to a new post-scarcity ideology that embraced appropriate technology.

Few readers will question the author's contention that, as the conservation movement evolved into environmentalism, there was a broadening of concerns beyond wilderness, or that changes in the 1960s and 1970s profoundly transformed the environmental movement. Not everyone, however, will agree that the adoption of appropriate technology thinking was the most significant change in environmental philosophy or became the movement's dominant solution to environmental problems. Nonetheless, few can argue that Kirk's book does not offer a thoughtful and well-written treatment about the Conservation Library, its accomplishments, and its limitations. His use of biography to characterize impersonal processes, events, and the changing nature of the library and the environmental movement enlivens the text. Indeed, Kirk offers the most thorough and balanced treatment that exists of founder Arthur Carhart. By keeping his story rooted in historical context and eschewing bifurcated story lines in favor of intersecting lines of complexity and even ambiguity, Kirk shows how shifting human and nonhuman community relationships were inextricably tied together. Moreover, by integrating the role a library could and did play in the environmental movement, the author offers a unique contribution to environmental history. The result is a balanced and thoughtfully told story not only about the Conservation Library Center but about the larger environmental movement.

ROBERT BUNTING
Fort Lewis College

JOHN D. SKRENTNY. *The Minority Rights Revolution*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 473. \$35.00.

In this timely study of the minority rights revolution in America, sociologist John D. Skrentny asks why some groups were swept up in the revolution and others were not. Ranging from the 1940s through the 1990s, this book focuses most intently on the period from 1965 to 1975. Skrentny describes the revolution as a top-down movement that encompassed the development and enactment of federal legislation, presidential executive orders, bureaucratic rulings, and court decisions. His revolutionaries include Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, as well as elected and unelected officials. In a nuanced and carefully crafted argument, he first explains the 1940s roots of civil rights legislation. Subsequent chapters examine the expansion of minority rights to include affirmative

action in employment and education, bilingual education, minority capitalism, and Title IX.

In contrast to many historians, Skrentny argues that national security politics actually lent support to the civil rights movement. Conventional interpretations hold that domestic anticommunism crusades and the emergence of the national security state in the late 1940s and 1950s undermined civil rights activism. Labeled communists, civil rights leaders such as A. Philip Randolph had to fight for legitimacy. But Skrentny stresses the importance of "meanings" and "meaning entrepreneurs" in lending support to black civil rights during this era. Because President Franklin D. Roosevelt's four freedoms positioned the United States as an international champion of racial equality and human rights, it became necessary for American politicians to act against race discrimination. By the late 1940s, a failure to do so made the United States vulnerable to potent propaganda from the Soviet Union. In the battle against communism, the United States could ill afford to lose its moral superiority, a weapon it wielded to convince countries to reject communist doctrine. Hence, while Skrentny concedes that social movement, state-centered, and rational choice interpretations provide a partial understanding of the minority rights revolution, he argues that the meaning assigned to black rights in the context of national security and the legacy of the black civil rights movement of the 1940s and 1950s provide a better one.

In the late 1960s and 1970s, other groups benefited from the success of the black civil rights movement to the extent that they could portray themselves as analogous to blacks. Skrentny's chapters on policies such as Title IX offer a refreshing perspective on how federal administrators, judges, and politicians made decisions. As he points out, although not very exciting, decisions made at these levels had a profound affect on employers, educators, and groups of disadvantaged Americans. For example, his examination of the Equal Employment Opportunity Office and its creation of form EE0-1 to collect statistics on minorities reveals the way in which bureaucratic politics defined which groups became designated as "minorities" for the purposes of affirmative action. And his study of Title IX demonstrates that although politicians and administrators initially perceived women as analogous to blacks, when it came to making and implementing policy, the analogy broke down. In the final section of his book, Skrentny discusses how meanings assigned to various groups such as white ethnics and gays and lesbians left them outside the definition of "minorities" and consequently the minority rights revolution.

Skrentny's interpretation is original and provocative. He challenges long-held assumptions about how various groups achieved federal recognition. In many instances, he clearly illustrates that federal officials anticipated group desires and thus implemented policies and programs before interest group pressure began. Well researched, his study may trouble those who prefer a more heroic story of bottom-up activism

leading to the expansion of rights in the late 1960s. At times, he does seem to overstate the role of elites in policy change. Many of the civil rights gestures made by national politicians in the late 1940s and 1950s were rather feeble. Southern Democrats and a generally conservative environment during the Cold War stifled the creation of a permanent fair employment agency, for instance. In terms of periodization, Skrentny may want to modify his parameters for the revolution. If the minority rights revolution is defined in terms of policy and federal legislation, its beginning should coincide with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, not 1965 as he stipulates. But these are minor quibbles. This book will be of keen interest to policy historians and social scientists. It should also be necessary reading for contemporary policy makers struggling with affirmative action and other minority rights policies.

MARGARET RUNG
Roosevelt University

JUDITH EZEKIEL. *Feminism in the Heartland*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 339. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

In spite of the vast amount of literature on the so-called "second wave" feminism of the 1960s and 1970s, which includes surveys, memoirs, collected essays, and theoretical analyses, there are very few studies of the women's movement in smaller cities. Judith Ezekiel has written just such a study of feminism in Dayton, Ohio, based on local archival materials and oral histories. Careful not to generalize beyond her evidence, Ezekiel nevertheless revises some of our prevailing notions about second-wave feminism.

The author examines four distinct, chronologically overlapping women's organizations that were central to the Dayton women's movement during the 1970s. The first, Dayton Women's Liberation, was begun by a group of white women in their twenties and thirties. Their foundation was the consciousness-raising group; they eventually focused on mobilizing other women around women's issues. Although some of the feminists in the organization were lesbians, sexual preference was not a divisive issue.

Dayton Women's Liberation spun off the Dayton Women's Center, an institution that would soon eclipse the original organization. Activists involved with the center tended to be younger, unmarried, more educated women who often had a socialist feminist orientation. Operated by both a policy-making collective and a small paid staff, the center offered classes, referrals, and feminist therapy and served as a clearing house. However, the deteriorating economy, internal conflicts, and the mainstreaming of services such as rape counseling, career development, and battered women's protection caused the ultimate demise of the center in 1980.

A third group was Dayton Working Women, with a constituency made up of both clerical and blue-collar workers. This group organized women workers, de-

fended affirmative action, exposed sexist employment practices, and boycotted local businesses. Less focused on feminist analysis, it was allied with other regional and national working women's groups. The fourth group was Freedom of Choice, a coalition of feminists, liberals, and existing organizations such as Planned Parenthood. Founded in 1975 in response to the rise of a militant anti-abortion movement, it worked through petition drives and demonstrations to protect a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion.

From her study of these four organizations, Ezekiel concludes that the women's movement in Dayton was not a "miniature or toned down" (p. 242) version of the East and West-coast feminist movements, nor was it a movement rent by divisions between liberal and radical feminists. With its greatest successes stemming from its original focus on women's liberation and its collectivist, consciousness-raising structure, the Dayton women's movement offered a long-term, feminist vision.

Ezekiel's work is persuasive; however, like all good studies, it also raises some important questions. There are three groups that seem to have had ambiguous relationships with the Dayton women's movement, and each needs further analysis. Although the author has tried very hard to uncover information on black women's involvement, all the Dayton women's organizations remained overwhelmingly white. Dayton had a significant black population, the Women's Center was located in a transition neighborhood, and the feminist collective wanted to attract African-American women. The author suggests that they failed because they were not adequately antiracist, but no real evidence is offered to support this conclusion.

The relationship between lesbians and the various women's organizations is also ambiguous. Dayton Women's Liberation contained a few lesbians who had come out, and lesbians welcomed the Women's Center as an alternative to meeting in bars. Yet many, perhaps most, of these lesbians were not part of the Dayton women's movement, and they tended to form separatist organizations. Important and often divisive issues were raised by lesbian feminists in other cities; it would have been useful to have more analysis of the seemingly different situation in Dayton.

Finally, the role of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Dayton calls for further explanation. Local chapters were formed on three occasions during the decade, but none lasted. This leads Ezekiel to conclude that equal rights and the national program of NOW were unimportant to the Dayton women's movement. NOW was a national organization before it was locally organized, but in many cities the nucleus of the grass-roots feminist movement was the local NOW chapter. A closer comparison of NOW's programs with those of the Dayton Women's Center, for example, might have shown some striking similarities.

Ezekiel has written a very useful, detailed case study of a reasonably representative mid-sized midwestern

city. Enriched by nearly sixty oral histories and solidly based on a thorough reading of the primary sources, this book succeeds in modifying our understanding of second-wave feminism during the crucial decade of the 1970s.

SUSAN BECKER
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University of Tennessee

ELIZABETH FREEMAN. *The Wedding Complex: Forms of Belonging in Modern American Culture*. (Series Q.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xix, 288. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$19.95.

Separating the wedding from the marriage is the mission of literary critic Elizabeth Freeman. It is her contention that the wedding ceremony functions as performative since it is not necessary for marriage and enacts forms of belonging other than those attributed to state-sanctioned heterosexual monogamy. To divorce the study of weddings from the context of marriage, she argues, allows for a more complex examination of the varied ways weddings are used. Situating her study of weddings in literature and popular culture within Anglo-American wedding history, Freeman makes her case that the wedding is, in reality, the site for the expression of public forms of desire and attachment that are frequently dissonant within heterosexual tradition.

For example, the wedding—as opposed to the marriage—is a ritual that can and frequently does involve more than a man and a woman. The involvement of family, friends, flower girls, ring bearers, and others exceeds the bounds of state-sanctioned heterosexual law regarding marriage. In other words, while the marriage (and the children of that marriage) is legally organized by the state, the variety of relationships involved with a wedding ceremony is not. Consequently, to examine the wedding separately is to make these non-state sanctioned relations visible and to disclose their transformative possibilities. It is these possibilities that reveal other sites not contingent on state sanction wherein relationships of many kinds can become historically relevant and visible. As she summarizes, “I have held out the possibility that other forms of belonging, appearing fleetingly within the wedding, might offer some traction against the state’s control of kinship” (p. 210). This slippery slope is both central to and problematic for her study of weddings.

To examine these relations, Freeman offers critical readings of texts such as Carson McCullers’s *The Member of the Wedding* (1946), Su Friedrich’s film *First Comes Love* (1991), Hollywood films *Father of the Bride* (1950, 1991), *The Graduate* (1967), and *The Godfather* (1972), and literary works by Edgar Allan Poe, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Faulkner, and Vladimir Nabokov. Each work is set against the historical background, providing the reader with a history of the Anglo-American wedding. Freeman draws from a variety of historical works including John Boswell’s

Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe (1994), Nancy Cott’s *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (2000), and Amy Dru Stanley’s *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (1998).

Freeman analyzes the “forms of belonging” that develop through the wedding process. Drawing her theoretical frame from the works of Michel Foucault and Judith Butler, Freeman provides a close reading of the bonding relationships that emerge in the representation of weddings in literature and popular film. This exploration of the varied and nuanced interactions that occur in the process of wedding serves as Freeman’s greatest contribution. Rarely, if ever, have we had benefit of such an explication and all that it reveals about these “forms of belonging.”

Contradictory in Freeman’s analysis is her reliance on the theory of wedding as performative. Although she brings to light the significant social relations embedded within this practice, she overlooks the symbolic significance of the wedding for securing relations of ruling. Even with the historical reading she provides, the slippage from the material basis of marriage to the wedding as performative is troubling to this reader. The heterosexual imaginary is so powerful in relation to these practices that the average person can no longer imagine the wedding as unnecessary for marriage. It is true that there is significant benefit to understanding the material relations upon which couplehood depends. But to what end? To embrace a problematic that elevates these nuanced bonding experiences as holding the possibility for transforming the heterosexual imaginary and all that it secures—historically and materially—underestimates the power of the wedding in securing state-sanctioned marriage in the popular imagination. Freeman’s argument deconstructing couplehood for its reliance on other forms of belonging is compelling, if for nothing else than to make those forms visible and to encourage the reader to imagine possibilities. But to suggest that such forms hold the potential to undermine state-sanctioned marriage seems to me to underestimate the investment of the state and its forms of belonging within capitalism. Or it may be that I am too firmly situated within the heterosexual imaginary and can no longer see the wedding as performative.

CHRYIS INGRAHAM
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MICHAEL B. KATZ. *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State*. (Metropolitan Books.) New York: Henry Holt. 2001. Pp. 469. \$35.00.

The welfare state, writes Michael B. Katz, “codifies our collective obligations toward one another and defines the terms of membership in the national community” (p. 2). In this book, Katz explores the history of the twentieth-century American welfare system, paying particular attention to the meanings behind recent initiatives by legislators and policy makers to redefine

and rein in "welfare as we know it." A prolific scholar of the history of welfare and public policy, Katz has drawn on his expertise to generate an unsettling but ultimately persuasive account of the erosion of America's welfare state and the fragmentation of our political community in the late twentieth century.

Underpinning Katz's argument is the deleterious impact the free market has had on the provision of welfare to America's most needy. Trying to tame budgets and determined to distinguish between the worthy and the undeserving poor, policy makers have increasingly tied welfare to the workplace, making breadwinning the gold standard of productive citizenship. Only working Americans get the social protections citizens of other nations get from the state. Instead of eradicating welfare woes, this orientation has reproduced the social inequalities of the marketplace. The least educated, the poorest, the disabled, the homeless: all find themselves cut off from the best jobs and benefits and are more vulnerable to the vicissitudes of the market. Welfare-to-work schemes, encouraged by the 1998 Family Support Act and governors John Engler of Michigan and Tommy Thompson of Wisconsin, cut public assistance rolls but not poverty. Hoping to save welfare administration from bureaucratic wastefulness, federal, state, and municipal governments have outsourced welfare to private organizations, particularly churches. Katz deftly illuminates the limits of "transforming voluntary, faith-based organizations into the nation's primary safety net" (p. 162). In one case, a Mississippi governor asked each of the state's congregations to adopt a needy family. Two years later, only fifteen of the state's 5,500 churches had heeded his call.

Katz shows how this war on welfare has been fueled by a gradual but successful redefinition of what welfare, as a term and as public policy, means. For example, Social Security legislation drafted during the Great Depression originally shielded Americans from fear of impoverishment during old age, a fear that was realized for millions. Measured against this mandate, and taking into account the numerous legislative reforms that have extended its reach to incorporate a wider segment of the population (especially African Americans and women, largely excluded from the original welfare net), Social Security is a success. It provides basic subsistence for elderly Americans. As insurance, it is also a bargain, for it offers not only retirement earnings but disability and survivor benefits to those who may need them. Yet, as Katz demonstrates, current policy debates gloss over original intent in favor of a market rhetoric that recasts social security as a "get-rich" opportunity rather than a "minimum standard of support for all" (p. 242). By this standard, which privileges profits for the individual over social justice for all, Social Security fails. And this charge of failure, compelling to Americans steeped in a culture that takes for granted the commodification of everything, makes possible serious consideration of alternatives proposed by both Republicans and Dem-

ocrats: privatized payroll taxes and individual retirement accounts that promise (but may not actually deliver) higher retirement yields.

Katz is as thorough in his discussion of the blow-by-blows of policy formation as he is critical of their outcomes. Parts of the book are riveting, such as Katz's chronicling of the rise and demise of President Bill Clinton's 1992-1993 health insurance campaign. Readers cannot miss Katz's pessimistic prognosis for the future of the welfare state. But they are likely to yearn for more suggestions by this seasoned scholar on how we can escape the market morass. They may also want a less top-down approach to the history of the welfare state, for curiously absent in this book are the stories of people who have experienced welfare reform firsthand. Perhaps, in the spirit of the fabled "Harry and Louise" television advertisements that helped doom Clinton's bid for universal health care, we can better assess the failure of the market model by learning more about its human costs.

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CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

RICARDO D. SALVATORE, CARLOS AGUIRRE, and GILBERT M. JOSEPH, editors. *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since Late Colonial Times*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 448. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Law has occupied a peculiarly intangible place in Latin American historiography. Traditional legal historians isolate law from other realms of social and political practice; political historians sidestep the institutional and discursive intricacies of popular legal cultures; and social historians tend to view the law as an epiphenomenon of class ideologies and state domination. Most tellingly, while all historians claim to know something about the legal dispositions and juridical procedures that produced their archival materials, few have taken the *law* itself as a subject for historical inspection.

In this collection of essays, Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph have brought together new work that promises to break with this trend in the regional historiography. The volume opens with a prologue in which Joseph calls for increased attention to the "legal contact zones" where the "hybrid liberalisms" of Latin America were forged. Joseph also calls attention to the surprising continuity in the regions' legal traditions and predicts that increased attention to legal history will provoke a reassessment of "the significance of the watershed separating the region's colonial and national periods" (p. xii). In the introduction that follows, Aguirre and Salvatore provide a useful survey of the traditional fields of "legal history" and "colonial law." They argue that the "social history of crime" did not find an audience among Latin Americanists whose interests remained focused, until recently, on "more open forms

of conflict and social change" (p. 7). In the early 1990s, however, increased attention to poststructuralist concerns of power, knowledge, hegemony, and subjectivity, along with the turn to anthropology, led to a "more contextualized" form of political history in which the concept of law was "extended in multiple directions" (p. 10). They conclude by outlining an agenda for future research on such issues as popular justice, the interaction of women and popular sectors with judicial institutions, and the sorts of local-level legal experts and brokers described in Joseph's prologue as "legal lubricators."

The thirteen case studies that follow provide a sample of the sorts of issues and perspectives that can be opened up by a renewed attention to law. The essays are divided into three sections. The first, on "Legal Mediations," includes chapters by Charles F. Walker on indigenous legal strategies in late colonial Peru; Arlene J. Díaz on family law and the tensions between concepts of public and private in the 1873 Venezuelan civil and penal codes; Juan Manuel Palacio on oral contracts and legalism among small farmers in rural Buenos Aires; and Luis A. González on the uses of property law by Brazilian cane growers and workers under the Vargas regime. Taken as a whole, these four chapters make a strong case for the importance of legal discourses and practices to people's everyday lives. Walker, for example, provides a compelling argument that indigenous belief in the legal system, and their repeated recourse to it, not only helped Indians to contest specific legislative and administrative reforms, but, more importantly, "reshaped relations among local authorities, the state and themselves" (p. 37). For Walker, as for other authors in this section, law is both "repressive and redressive" in that it forms individuals as subjects of the state as it simultaneously affords them the languages and strategies for contesting state rule.

The four essays in part two document the importance of criminology as a social discourse. In her study of prostitutes and health crimes in Mexico City from 1867 to 1930, Cristina Rivera-Garza analyzes the "medical and social terrain" in which the syphilitic body came to be acted upon as a specific sort of criminal subject. In the process, she provides a brilliant reading of the "language of insurrection" through which sequestered prostitutes responded to criminological discourse (p. 162). Pablo Piccato's chapter maps the transformation of the category of *ratero* in Porfirian and postrevolutionary Mexico City, from a relatively benign form of neighborhood thief to the more daring and violent thieves whose collective identities emerge not from a particular technique or form of theft, but rather from their relationship with penal institutions and the police. Like Rivera-Garza, Piccato argues that criminological discourse emerges in "the permanently contested urban spaces" (p. 235) where popular and elite fears rub up against each other. The other chapters in this section discuss legislation controlling witchcraft and healing in turn-of-the-century

Brazil (Dain Borges) and the concept of "crimes of passion" in Argentina (Kristin Ruggiero).

The five essays in part three explore the "Contested Meanings of Punishment." Both Diana Paton's chapter on post-emancipation Jamaica and Salvatore's on the aftermath of the fall of Juan Manuel de Rosas in Argentina cite the persistence of public forms of physical punishment as evidence that "the development toward a disciplinary society was not longlasting" (p. 282). As in other essays in this volume, the divide between disciplinary and monarchical societies described in Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977) is used to invoke an implicit comparison with Europe, where the shift toward regulatory and normalizing forms of punishment was supposedly more marked. Curiously, despite its direct relevancy for the forms of medicalized discourses at stake in many of the chapters, only one author in the volume (Rivera-Garza) makes use of Foucault's later work on ethics, subjectivity, sexuality, and biopower.

Other essays in this final section provide examples of the "legal contact zones" where criminology was deployed and reinterpreted by its "disciplined" subjects. Aguirre, for example, offers an intriguing analysis of criminological and public health pamphlets, a short-lived philanthropy movement in 1920s Lima, and letters written by prisoners to the president of Peru. Donna J. Guy's chapter on the "rehabilitation" of homeless girls in early twentieth-century Buenos Aires reinforces Aguirre's emphasis on the importance of private philanthropy in the formation and implementation of state penal and welfare policies. Finally, Lila M. Caimari examines case histories in which Argentine inmates crafted idealized narratives of family in the gendered language learned from criminologists and penal reformers.

On the whole, the essays collected in this volume offer a suggestive glimpse of what can be gained by an increased attention to law as a site of cultural innovation. As such, they offer rich, and for the most part, highly readable texts for graduate and advanced undergraduate courses in Latin American history and anthropology. Detracting somewhat from the volume's appeal for classroom use is its heavily urban and Argentine focus. Of thirteen chapters, five deal with Buenos Aires and two with Mexico City. Only three discuss legal cultures in rural areas. Most puzzling of all, only one (Walker) focuses on an indigenous region. The inclusion instead of a chapter on the very different legal traditions of Jamaica is not explained. I was similarly puzzled by the afterword in which Douglas Hay advocates for "market democracies" as an antidote to medicalized legislation and racialized criminologies. The liberal market democracies (U.S. and United Kingdom) Hay cites as examples, however, were themselves advocates and promoters of the "sciences" of public hygiene and positive criminology. In this respect, Hay's conclusion that "the liberal state that believes in, celebrates and seeks to strengthen free markets will create a body of law more resistant to

medical and other explanations for human failing" seems oddly misplaced in a volume that so richly documents the close relationship between "the uneven advance of liberalism and the medico-legal state."

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FERNANDO MARTÍNEZ HEREDIA, REBECCA J. SCOTT, and ORLANDO F. GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, editors. *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba entre 1878 y 1912*. (Colección Clio.) Havana, Cuba: Ediciones Unión, Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba. 2001. Pp. 359.

Between the 1870s and 1912, Cubans experienced the gradual abolition of slavery, two wars for independence, the expansion of large-scale and technologically advanced sugar production, the transition from Spanish colony to a republic under American hegemony, and the violent, state-sponsored repression of an Afro-Cuban rebellion that resulted in thousands of deaths. The historiography on each of these topics is rich and promises to become richer. Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott, and Orlando F. García Martínez have edited a collection of nineteen excellent essays by Cuban, American, and (one) German scholars that exemplifies the high quality of the existing historiography for this period of Cuban history. The book also gives the reader a good idea of the direction of future research topics and trends. For these two reasons alone, the book will be essential reading for historians of Cuba. Yet this collection does much more than present innovative essays by leading historians. The contributors provide masterful lessons in historical methodology, how to read and combine a wide range of archival and other primary sources, and how microhistory can reveal new information about larger regional, national and international processes. In other words, the book will be of interest to anyone who is grappling with the problems of how to link meticulous archival research, microhistorical analysis, and macrohistorical trends in state formation, political mobilization, race relations, and colonial and neocolonial transitions.

This book is the product of a workshop held in the city of Cienfuegos, Cuba, in the spring of 1998. The workshop brought together scholars who were carrying out archival research into the local and regional characteristics of Cuban society. Indeed, the Cienfuegos area and central Cuba are the focus of most of the essays in the book, and the remarkable richness of the Cienfuegos archives comes through in several of the essays. The book is divided into four sections. Following a thoughtful introduction by Martínez Heredia, part one sets the tone with an essay by Scott. Scott details a fascinating case in which a fight over property rights was also a fight for citizenship rights and both struggles were fueled by anticolonial rebellion. An essay by Carlos Venegas Fornias examines how U.S. intervention in Cuba transformed architecture and, in

some cases, notions of urban space. Part two has four essays that discuss the political economy of the Cienfuegos region. What is especially noteworthy about this section is that we gain a heightened appreciation of how the expanding sugar latifundios in central Cuba adapted to preexisting agrarian social relations. All too often, the existing historiography gives the impression that the eastward expansion of sugar plantations was a uniform and inevitable process. It was neither, and these four essays provide a model for anyone seeking to write Cuban regional history.

The third section has eight contributions that analyze the complex interaction among race, nation, and political mobilization between 1878 and 1912. We are now accustomed to the idea that race and nation are social constructions forged within specific historical contexts. The essays in this part of the book apply this general principle to specific case studies. Through the meticulous use of archival evidence combined with sophisticated analyses of racial identity, Ada Ferrer, García Martínez, and Michael Zeuske show that there was not a continuous or linear struggle for political freedom and for racial equality. Their essays provide us with glimpses of the social composition of the Cuban rebel army and how that composition varied over time and place. The authors make a convincing case that we cannot impute a predetermined meaning to slave ancestry and that the actual experience of fighting in an anticolonial war shaped people's notions of freedom, racial identity, political alliances, opportunities, and exclusions both during and after the war of 1895–1898. The other five essays in this section by Alejandro de la Fuente, Jorge Ibarra Cuesta, Alejandra Bronfman, Martínez Heredia, and Blancamar Rosabal León discuss the connections among race, political affiliation, and clientism in the years after 1898. In the immediate aftermath of Cuba's second war for independence, powerful myths about racial equality became part of the political landscape; yet these myths were not simply elite-generated ideas that demobilized Afro-Cubans. It was certainly true that black and white Cubans from all social classes would be incorporated into a complex web of local, regional, and national patronage networks, but that incorporation was not always a top-down process, especially between 1898 and the 1920s. The Cuban state was too weak and wartime memories, loyalties, and alliances were too strong for anyone to monopolize political power. Political power before the 1920s was not centered in any particular national group or institution; rather, power was defused in a complex hierarchy of national, regional, and local networks of caciques and patron-client relations. The essays in this section remind us that notions of freedom, citizenship, and race were social constructs created within the context of wartime loyalties and day-to-day struggles that sustained powerful notions of honor, dignity, and the demand to be heard and to have a political voice.

The final section contains four essays that reflect on the larger issues and implications raised by all the

contributors. Two Cuban scholars, Ibarra Cuesta and Tomás Fernández Robaina, and Fernando Coronil and John H. Coatsworth from the United States, refocus the reader's attention on the big picture of both Cuban national history and Cuba within the Latin American context. If one of the purposes of microhistory is to show the linkages between individual or subaltern agency and larger historical processes, then the concluding section of this book helps make these connections. The Ediciones Unión edition reviewed here is sold out. Fortunately, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales in Havana has published a new edition of this stimulating and important collection of essays.

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STEPHAN PALMIÉ. *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 399. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

At the beginning of this remarkable book, Stephan Palmié relates an anecdote from his experience among practitioners of the Afro-Cuban religion often called *santería*. As an explanation of his interest in their affairs, his *santero* friends determined that he was being guided by the spirit of a dead slave named Tomás who had once toiled on the plantations of colonial Cuba. The idea of disembodied ghosts haunting historians forms a poignant and powerful motif for Palmié's project: a recovery of the invisible historiography of so many enslaved Tomases in the narrative of the Americas. Palmié argues that this imagery of ghosts is not inherently implausible or unrealistic. Rather, "the person he [Tomás] may once have been remains beyond historiographic recovery because the nature of the evidence we deem admissible simply erases his historical being and subjectivity" (pp. 8–9).

To make the invisible visible, Palmié offers an extended critique of Western representations of Caribbean history that render the "ghost story" of Afro-Cuban knowledge invisible except in categories of the irrational or nonmodern. Rather than being survivals of an African past, Afro-Cuban religions are thoroughly modern responses to the heterogeneity of Caribbean life: a science, and a history, of practice. Palmié examines three historical situations where Afro-Cubans constructed their own versions of their history and the ways in which these have been understood by academic and other interpreters. He begins with the case of José Antonio Aponte, a free Afro-Cuban soldier, artisan, and visionary of the early nineteenth century. In 1812, Aponte was put on trial as an organizer of a supposed conspiracy to liberate the island from Spain and free its rapidly growing population of African slaves. The principal evidence in a very flimsy case was a book of pictures that Aponte had assembled, a scrapbook of images that held profound meaning for him. While the actual book has been lost,

extant trial transcripts document Aponte's detailed explanations of the pictures and the place they held in his thought. Palmié's careful reading of this evidence allows us to enter into Aponte's world and with him find a stunning work of Afro-Cuban historiography. Aponte was constructing black history at the dawn of the nineteenth century, and Palmié argues that nearly all subsequent academic discussions of the import of Aponte's supposed rebellious or revolutionary consciousness are inadequate. Aponte's marvelous *libro de pinturas* has been ignored, and he has been trapped in a "tertiary discourse" in which the cultural and historical particularity of his vision has been ignored by academic historians in favor of a discourse of counter-insurgency that Palmié believes is a mere displacement of the Western narrative of the "passage from tradition to modernity, passion to reason, belief to knowledge, rebellion to revolution" (p. 95).

In his second case study of Afro-Cuban knowledge, Palmié takes up the often observed but underexplained distinction between two Afro-Cuban ritual systems widely called *Ocha* and *Palo*. The language and customs of *Ocha* are largely derived from the enslaved Yoruba peoples who were shipped to Cuba in the early nineteenth century, while those of *Palo* have their origins in Central Africa among people called Congo in Cuba. Yet Palmié finds the ethnographic quest for origins (and therefore essence) another misleading application of Western categories of difference. Although contemporary Afro-Cubans rigidly distinguish *Ocha* and *Palo* in ritual time and space, many people participate actively in both. Palmié interprets the distinction as another kind of historiography of practice: the maintenance of different means of coming to terms with the moral obligation to the memory of the dead.

Palmié's third case is another allegedly criminal affair: the trial of several Afro-Cuban men for the supposed ritual murder of a white child in 1904. Again actual evidence was lacking, but the response of the new Cuban republic to the prospect of black sorcerers in its midst is a fascinating example of the power of historical narratives of scientific progress to create, marginalize, and dominate others.

This truncated overview cannot do justice to the intricacies of Palmié's arguments or the huge cast of cultural theorists whom he critiques or marshals to defend his positions. In the prologue alone there are over 120 references, while the bibliography spans thirty-six pages. Yet this exhaustive, at times exhausting, discourse on cultural theory is always lucid and provocative. Palmié has set a new standard for the historiography of slavery and black culture in the Americas.

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PAMELA VOEKEL. *Alone before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico*. Durham, N.C.: Duke

University Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 336. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Mexican history crosses many fault lines, but perhaps none has generated more conflict than the rise of liberalism. This nineteenth-century political philosophy sought to wipe away the corporate legal and social identities inherited from Habsburg Spain and to replace them with a way of life based on individualism and legal uniformity. Pamela Voekel's book offers a significantly new way of seeing how liberalism came into being, and in so doing it successfully reopens dimensions of Mexican intellectual history that many scholars considered exhausted.

Voekel finds liberalism's origins in a mid-eighteenth century movement that she terms "enlightened Catholicism." Emerging from the Counter Reformation, this new strain of thought rejected baroque sensibilities that had centered on public piety and pomp and instead advocated modesty, humility, self-control, and the individual conscience. It was not exactly Protestantism, but it did share Martin Luther's desire to get back to the "primitive church" by casting out vanity and formulaic rituals that had little to do with genuine salvation. The reformers were a heterogeneous group of lower clerics, new professionals, and provincial merchants. Drawing on the work of Christopher Hill, Voekel argues that these second-tier elites, working in cooperation with such high-placed Bourbon officials as Viceroy Juan Francisco Güemes de Horcasitas, Conde de Revillagigedo, embraced the new philosophy to justify their break from previously dominant groups like the Mexico City merchants or the entrenched regular orders.

During those days before the op-ed pages, the growing religious quarrel drew its battle lines in the dust of the cemetery. In the baroque times of old Mexico, one's final resting place reflected one's station in life, a fact that led the upper class to stage ostentatious public funerals culminating in burial within the church walls. The baroque prescription for a happy afterlife included long processions, paid mourners, and eternal rest beneath the altar stones. Reformers demanded public cemeteries removed from the centers of population—as a health measure, perhaps, but, more important to their way of thinking, as a necessary reminder that all is vanity. They encountered some of the most strident resistance from the Franciscans, who supported themselves in part by selling coveted burial space in their chapels, or by furnishing Franciscan shrouds as lay burial garb, a practice widely considered a sure ticket to heaven. Well-heeled Mexicans also balked at the idea of being planted in the same ground as the city's lower classes, while many small-town priests depended on the revenues from high Mass burials.

Connected to enlightened Catholicism was the rise of the medical profession. Just as theological reformers rejected the baroque, late colonial doctors and surgeons rejected ancient medical authority, the idea

of a pure Spanish blood line, and knowledge of Latin as the basis of professional legitimacy. Instead they stressed empiricism, practical experience, and peer review through the Protomedicato, a board of medical examiners that licensed physicians. And just as reform theologians urged individual care of the soul, so, too, the doctors urged self-management of the body as the proper path to health. This new emphasis on personal responsibility for one's health cut two ways, since the urban underclass could now be blamed for its own poor health. Enlightened doctors also went after church burials as a supposed cause of plague and infection, for in that prebacterial age most people believed that it was the rank odors given off by rotting bodies that caused plagues and epidemics. Eventually the language and reasoning of the new medical experts merged with the antichurch burial program of the religious reformers.

This book clarifies a number of points that have troubled anyone working in the late colonial and early national periods, particularly regarding the attitudinal changes that swept Mexico in those years. As Voekel explains, early liberals such as José María Luis Mora and José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi shared much of the reformers' theological outlook: not antireligious, but certainly anti-baroque. The book adds to the growing body of literature that explores religion as one of the nation's most important cultural media and forms an instructive complement to works on early Mexican liberalism. The author bases her research on wills and municipal records of the Veracruz and Mexico City archives, but subsequent researchers will certainly want to consider Voekel's analysis when working in other regional archives. Finally, this book contributes to an extensive literature on the tension between Mexican visionaries and a wayward populace, documenting how easily reforms in some ways beneficial to the nation could veer into an authoritarianism fraught with class-based assumptions, and how the people can resist for both right and wrong reasons.

Some questions arise as to how Voekel's enlightened Catholicism evolved into the often anticlerical and even irreligious liberalism of the later nineteenth century. Although interesting, the material on the emergence of modern doctors and surgeons (chapters seven and eight) marks something of a departure from the previous, theologically based analyses. Voekel shies away from a more extended discussion of female attitudes toward the reforms. One also still suspects the influence of factors traditionally considered to have nourished the liberal movement. These included demographic growth, economic quickening, burgeoning cities, expanded communication and travel (especially after 1821), advances in literacy and scientific knowledge, the gradual rise of Spanish as a common language, and, although Voekel understandably downplays it, the influence of European intellectual influences *not* born of Catholic theological currents (Voltaire *et al.*) In other words, we still must bear in mind

the broader currents and the social context that gave resonance to the ideas of enlightened reformers.

But these questions do not detract from the overall importance of the book. When digging up the origins of a vast transformation in culture and mentality, we are likely to find tangled roots. Voekel's engagingly written study points us to new and unsuspected ones; it stresses intellectual developments within Mexican society itself, and is certain to occupy a place in the historiography of Mexican ideas and culture for a long time to come.

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JEFFREY L. BORTZ and STEPHEN HABER, editors. *The Mexican Economy, 1870–1930: Essays on the Economic History of Institutions, Revolution, and Growth*. (Social Science History.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 348. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

Mexico's first half-century of independence gives new meaning to the term instability. Seventy-five presidents in fifty-five years proved unequal to the tasks of keeping the peace, promoting economic growth, and inspiring investor confidence. Surprisingly, this dizzying political carousel gave way to the stable, albeit authoritarian, thirty-five-year dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz from 1876 to 1911 that, at first glance, righted the listless Mexican ship of state. For the first time in the nation's history, Díaz and his brain trust produced balanced budgets (and ultimately surpluses), sustained real per capita growth, made regular payments on its foreign debt, attracted more than two billion dollars in foreign direct investment to its export sector, and restored international confidence. Yet, as these well-researched essays argue, the Porfirian miracle came at tremendous cost, ultimately laying the groundwork for the catastrophic Mexican Revolution.

Jeffrey L. Bortz and Stephen Haber have edited ten essays, written by eight North American and Mexican economic historians, that examine the Porfirian economic reforms. These employ, with one exception, the methodology of the "New Institutional Economics." By analyzing a society's norms, laws, and cultural values, economic historians can better assess the relationship between the state and the private sector, how a property rights' regimen is implemented and codified, and how and under what conditions contracts are enforced. Collectively, these essays, through prodigious econometric modeling, corroborate much of what we suspected about the Porfirian state: that to promote growth and bring an end to chronic instability, the regime favored (i.e. granted entitlements and privileges to) "a subset of asset holders" (well-heeled entrepreneurs, regional elites, foreign investors, and government ministers and insiders) who obtained lucrative "commissions." This enabled powerful interests to forge monopolies and oligopolies, earning, to put it mildly, "economic returns above those that would prevail in a competitive economy" (p. 325). In his

trenchant conclusion, Haber labels the Porfirian state "crony capitalism," comparing it to post-1989 Russia, because it enabled a politically well-connected elite to garner windfall profits to the detriment of the rest of society.

As editors Bortz and Haber assert, "there was nothing laissez-faire about Porfirian Mexico" (p. 9). The anthology's core is six case studies of Porfirian interventionism. Essays by Noel Maurer and Haber, Maurer, and Carlos Marichal document the creation of a quasi-national bank, the Banco Nacional de México (Banamex), that enabled the state to borrow funds for economic development projects and renegotiate its foreign debt. Pablo Riguzzi analyzes mortgage banking reforms that enabled a "subset" of borrowers to obtain financing for their urban and rural properties. Sandra Kuntz Ficker and Edward Beatty show how foreign trade reforms enforced a selective tariff policy that protected certain industries while it streamlined Byzantine customs regulations and encouraged nascent import substitution industrialization.

Taken together, these essays lend substance to the anthology's argument that these reforms benefited a privileged group by restricting entry into the banking system and by artificially protecting the industries of a favored few. Two banks, Banamex, which essentially gave the government an open credit line to help compensate for inadequate tax revenues, and the Banco de Londres y México, accounted for more than sixty percent of all assets; they not only monopolized Mexico City financial markets but were the only banks nationwide that had the right to branch out across state lines. This commanding position was replicated in Mexico's regions; in most cases, only one bank was licensed in each state, ensuring that provincial bank stockholders, many of whom were powerful landowners, merchants, and industrialists, enjoyed first dibs on what was an exceedingly limited pool of capital. The capital-starved mortgage sector was cut from the same cloth. The Banco Hipotecario was founded by businessmen, who, in Riguzzi's words, "aspired to act like brokers of privilege" (p. 138).

Interestingly, Marichal's essay on how Banamex solved Mexico's persistent foreign debt problem seems out of place here, running counter to the general indictment of Porfirian financial and economic policies. The bank's stockholders included a number of prominent North American and European investors, Marichal relates, and since those financiers persuaded the international community that Mexico would make regular payments on its debt, foreign lenders were willing over time to restructure the debt on favorable terms, thereby restoring Mexico's international credibility. Although admittedly this reliance on one powerful bank carried high costs, Marichal contends that "it was not the state that gave credibility to the bank, but the reverse: the finance ministry acquired respectability because of its close ties to a powerful private banking enterprise that had a dual, domestic/international structure" (p. 111).

The two essays by Kuntz Ficker and Beatty illustrate that Porfirian tariff policy failed to deter manufactured imports while, at the same time, protecting the interests of a few domestic industrialists. By creating a cascading tariff structure that placed higher tariffs on finished goods, more modest rates on intermediate imports, and negligible tariffs on capital equipment needed to jump start local industry, these trade reforms actually contributed to a surge in imports at the same time that they sheltered certain industries, especially the textile sector, from foreign competitors. As a result, Mexican industry grew at the same time that its economy became more closely integrated to the United States and Western Europe.

Two essays on industrial labor by Bortz and Aurora Gómez-Galvarriato appear out of place. Their chronological emphasis is on the ensuing revolutionary period, although both provide an overview of Porfirian labor relations. It is especially puzzling, given the thrust of these essays, that this section of the book is entitled "Labor Relations Reforms During the Porfiriato." Bortz's analytical essay, the anthology's only nonquantitative offering, argues convincingly through a painstaking review of legal reforms that an empathetic revolutionary state in the 1920s made it possible for urban textile workers throughout Mexico successfully to challenge management on the factory floor—something that, he contends, would have been impossible in Porfirian times. Gómez-Galvarriato's econometric analysis of Orizaba's textile workers echoes Bortz's conclusions of working-class gains for textile workers during the revolutionary period and complements his discussion of laws, labor codes, and contracts with a quantitative analysis of real wages and productivity.

This volume's essays paint a vivid picture of a dictatorial state determined to buy political peace by rewarding a small group of influential elites, who created such resentment that their actions paved the way for revolutionary discontent after Díaz's ouster in 1911. It is ironic that the editors beat the dependency theory dead horse in the introduction, when the anthology's contents would make even the most dogmatic Marxist proud. Somewhere Rudolf Hilferding is smiling.

ALLEN WELLS
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CLAUDIO LOMNITZ. *Deep Mexico Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism*. (Public Worlds, number 9.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 354. Cloth \$57.95, paper \$22.95.

In a volume he calls a "cabinet of curiosities" (p. ix), Claudio Lomnitz gathers twelve essays, half of them published before, into a wide-ranging reflection on the role of time and space in forging Mexican discourses on the nation and the positioning of Mexican intellectuals in postrevolutionary political culture and in Mexico's public sphere. Written between 1993 and

2000, when Mexico's unraveling postrevolutionary political order finally came undone, these essays are animated by a desire to imagine a different future for Mexican politics. They range from broad historical reflections on the origins and character of Mexican nationalism, to attempts to map a Habermasian notion of public sphere onto a jagged Mexican political geography, to an examination of how Mexican intellectuals have intervened in debates over nationality in modern Mexico.

A Mexican scholar now teaching in the United States, Lomnitz combines an intimate knowledge of how Mexican intellectual production works with a certain political and analytical distance from the process of production itself. He inhabits this position of marginality consciously. Too theoretical for his Mexican colleagues and too politically engaged for the U.S. academy, he aims to produce "a certain kind of engaged critique, a kind of theoretical particularism that is well suited to the study of the national form" (p. xix). In contrast to other diasporic anthropologists such as Kirin Narayan and Lila Abu-Lughod, Lomnitz chooses an almost ironic sociological style that eschews ethnographic intimacy in favor of a more detached analysis of cultural forms. This choice is both a strength and a limitation.

One concrete payoff is Lomnitz's systematic critique of Benedict Anderson, in which he locates the origins of Spanish-American nationalisms not in secularization and the printing press but instead in colonialism and the nationalization of the Catholic Church. This longer genealogy permits a more full-bodied analysis of the contradictory notions and practices of nationhood: descent or "blood" versus political construction; horizontal camaraderie versus hierarchy, coercion, or dependence; the promise of individual, secularized rights versus old and new yearnings for political community. Ultimately, Lomnitz allows us to see nationalism less as an emotionally driven substitute for religion that, in Anderson's model, inspires men to sacrifice all in the name of an imagined community, and more as a "productive discourse" that "provides interactive frames" (p. 13) within which the state interrelates with other social systems, such as family, property, work, and the public sphere.

Lomnitz's studied detachment from the passions of Mexican intellectual engagement also permits him to explain certain apparently farcical moments in Mexican history, such as the ceremonious burial of the leg Antonio López de Santa Anna lost as a result of the wounds suffered in the 1839 "Pastry War" against the French, within a broader context of political culture. Placing Santa Anna's leg next to the contentious remains of other Mexican heroes—the innards of independence hero Guadalupe Victoria, desecrated by invading U.S. forces in 1848; Pancho Villa's skull, which "allegedly ended up in the Skull and Bones Society at Yale University" (p. 94); or Alvaro Obregón's lost arm, which became the centerpiece of a monument to him in Mexico City—Lomnitz suggests

that they are all symbols of a messianic physical sacrifice that, in the absence of more institutionalized forms, serves up the leader's body as the ground upon which the nation can be unified. Interestingly enough, the only exception to this rule that emerges in the nineteenth century is Benito Juárez, who as a Zapotec Indian was already a symbol of sacrifice in the name of the nation. Thus Juárez can become, in Mexican political mythology, the embodiment of the law and of bureaucratic efficiency—precisely because of his race.

There are costs to the particular gaze Lomnitz adopts. Rather than use Mexican cultural particularity as a position from which to critique the general applicability of a European-derived history of capital or of modernity—something that fellow Mexican anthropologist Guillermo Bonfil Batalla did to great effect in *México profundo: Una civilización negada* (1990) and many postcolonial intellectuals have done for other parts of the world—he deploys categories from that history of capital, including Michel Foucault's notion of governability, Jürgen Habermas's concept of public sphere, or Max Weber's definition of intellectual, in order to frame Mexico's cultural particularity in an inability to achieve full modernity. As Lomnitz's critique of Bonfil Batalla's concept of "deep Mexico" makes clear, his choice of categories is conscious, because he believes that Bonfil Batalla's passionate account of how "deep Mexico"—that is, "authentic" Mexico—was excluded by modernity can lead to a reconstruction of precisely the kind of authoritarian nationalism from which Mexico is just emerging. Lomnitz proposes instead "a well-grounded sociology" (p. 264) to explain the political exclusion of entire groups and sectors of the population. In such a spirit, he proposes that "deep Mexico" should be renamed "silent Mexico," where silence simply means a lack of public voice. The problem with such a renaming is that the word "silent" is no more objective or precise than "deep." Like "governability," "public sphere," and "intellectual," "silence" is constructed by valuing certain kinds of speech, intellectual discourse, and politics more highly than others. Until all such vocabularies of distinction are equally questioned, it will be difficult to transcend, as Lomnitz so convincingly argues we should, the national boundaries of our intellectual inquiries.

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JOSÉ MANUEL SANTOS PÉREZ. *Élites, poder local y régimen colonial: El cabildo y los regidores de Santiago de Guatemala 1700–1787*. South Woodstock, Vt.: Plumsock Mesoamerican Studies. Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica, with Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Cádiz, Cádiz. 1999. Pp. xxii, 416. \$20.00.

José Manuel Santos Pérez's book analyzes the role of local elites in city government in Santiago de Guate-

mala, capital city of colonial Central America. Santos Pérez argues that the elite men who occupied political positions in Santiago's *cabildo* (city government) in the eighteenth century strategically manipulated opportunities available to them to increase and finance their prominent social positions. The *cabildo* in Santiago de Guatemala was an important institution of local and regional authority and power, playing a key role in political and economic life in the Kingdom of Guatemala and controlling important taxes such as the *alcabala* (sales tax or duty tax) and the alcohol tax. Santos Pérez uses prosopography to broaden his study of *cabildo* office holders past their political activities to consider their larger economic and familial networks, writing that "the study of historical reality through a group of persons sufficiently homogenous permits us to join the economic to the social, and this to the political" (p. 9, reviewer's translation). His emphasis on identifying and analyzing the family networks of the political elite in the eighteenth century reveals the agency of local officials to shape colonial policy on the ground and highlights strategic ties forged between the city's established *criollo* (creole) families and newly arrived peninsulars from Spain, intent on establishing themselves within elite society in the capital.

Santos Pérez begins his study by outlining the economic and political context of eighteenth-century Central America and Santiago de Guatemala. The author takes into account not only the transatlantic economy but also local and regional markets and the roles that Santiago's local political elite played in them, arguing that the *cabildo* and its members functioned as an "authentic mouthpiece" for the city's merchants in dealing with policies to supply the city with foodstuffs, tax collection, and public works. Local elites gained access to *cabildo* posts through the purchase of offices. Many posts remained open in the early part of the eighteenth century. By the 1740s, however, as Central America's regional economy became revitalized in dye stuffs, mining, and cattle raising, the *cabildo* itself was reenergized as newly arrived Spaniards, attracted to the region by the growing economy, sought political office as part of their effort to integrate themselves into the capital's elite community.

Santos Pérez raises important larger issues for colonial Central American historiography regarding the length and scope of what has been called "seventeenth-century depression" in Central America. While bureaucratic and economic activities were important to elite status, he argues that what "really was the key to power" was the establishment and maintenance of family networks through strategic marriages and the transmission of wealth, the heart of this study (p. 122). Santiago's elite creole families could not practice strict endogamy and hope to survive; instead they chose to reinforce their wealth and status through marriage and economic ties to newly arrived Spanish immigrants. Santos Pérez uses his findings about family networks to highlight the role that kinship played in social mobility and access to political power to make a larger argu-

ment about the importance of local elites in maintaining the stability of the colonial system, even though local preferences were, at times, at odds with royal policy.

This is a very careful study of the *cabildo* and the men who governed through it, to which Santos Pérez adds detailed descriptions of their social, familial, and economic activities in the Audiencia of Guatemala culled from archival evidence gathered in Guatemala and Spain. Santos Pérez also fills an important gap in the historical literature on Santiago's local political elite, complementing Stephen Webre's study of seventeenth-century *cabildo* members ("The social and economic bases of *cabildo* membership in seventeenth-century Santiago de Guatemala," Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1980). However, I could not help but be curious about elite women in this historical context, and about the formal and informal economic, social, and political roles they played in strategic alliances between local families and Spanish peninsular men that city council records and other bureaucratic sources might not capture. Scholars could build on Santos Pérez's work to consider the role that race and ethnicity, in addition to gender, played in social mobility and the maintenance of elite status, and also how Santiago's Spanish elites, an ethnic minority of the city's population for the entire colonial period, made strategic alliances across racial and class boundaries in pursuit of their political, economic, and social goals.

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MARGARET POWER. *Right-Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle against Allende 1964–1973*. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xxii, 311. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$25.00.

In this important book, Margaret Power analyzes the history of right-wing women's organizations and describes their central role in the 1973 overthrow of the democratically elected Marxist government of Salvador Allende in Chile. A number of Latin American historians have placed gender at the center of scholarship on working classes, peasants, and state formation. In addition, they have written detailed studies of feminist and women's movements. Middle classes, elites, and conservatives, however, have received relatively little attention. Drawing on press accounts, congressional records in the United States and Chile, and extensive oral history interviews with female political activists, Power's book takes a significant step toward redressing this historiographical neglect.

Power takes on the somewhat unsavory task of writing the history of the conservative women who promoted the 1973 military coup and largely supported the regime of dictator Augusto Pinochet. Power focuses on the history of Poder Feminino (Feminine Power), a group that organized mostly upper and middle-class women affiliated with Chile's right-wing

and Christian Democratic (PDC) parties to oppose Allende. She also asks the larger question of why in Chile more women than men historically have supported conservative political candidates. She argues that throughout the twentieth century the Right and the PDC supported women's political rights and sought to mobilize their support, while the Left focused its attention on urban working-class men and on issues associated with labor and production that excluded women.

Power explores the ways in which Poder Feminino and its elite members sought to build a cross-class movement that incorporated working-class women behind a conservative maternalist gender ideology. Mobilizing women across class lines would discredit Allende's Popular Unity (UP) government by drawing on the putatively apolitical character of women's organizations, as well as the moral authority of women who defined themselves as mothers and custodians of the domestic sphere. For example, both upper and working-class women beat empty pots and pans, a symbol of their domestic identities, to protest food rationing and shortages during the Allende years. These conservative women legitimized their distinctly nontraditional political actions by invoking traditional ideas about gender.

Power also demonstrates that conservatives' efforts to build support among women were reinforced by U.S. foreign policy. Both right-wing Chileans and the architects of U.S. imperialism drew on the lesson of upper-class women's opposition to the social reformist government of João Goulart in Brazil, overthrown in a military coup in 1964, and sought to target women in their campaigns against Allende. U.S. financial support for the PDC, the Right, and groups like Poder Feminino was essential to building organized opposition to Allende. Power analyzes the role of advertising and the media, particularly the radio, in the presidential elections of 1964 and 1970. Sophisticated public relations "scare" campaigns, financed and designed with the assistance of the U.S. government, addressed women by employing gendered imagery of purported Marxist threats to the family.

Power's book paints a vivid picture of the Chilean Right's embrace of authoritarianism and violence. In exploring Poder Feminino's efforts to bring about a military coup against Allende, she shows that women were not the dupes of right-wing political parties or the United States but acted with independent initiative and agency. Here Power underlines that, despite their rhetoric of maternalist ethics, women on the Right promoted political violence and dictatorship as much as did men. The book adds to the historical literature on women and right-wing authoritarianism by scholars like Sandra McGee Deutsch, Victoria de Grazia, and Claudia Koonz.

Power's study raises a number of questions about the role of gender in the political processes of the 1960s that will have to be addressed by other historians. Power argues that most Chilean women embraced

a traditional gender ideology that identified femininity with maternity and the domestic sphere. To what extent did this ideological prescription actually correspond to the everyday experiences of Chilean women and men? Were there ways men and women built alternative understandings of gender or employed the formal precepts of this gender ideology differently, even while they operated within its parameters? It would also be interesting to consider the historical changes in gender ideologies and relations produced during these years. It could be that the virulence of the Right's hatred for Allende and the violence unleashed by the military coup resulted not just from the UP's threat to class hierarchy but also from its challenge to a system of patriarchy embedded in Chile's capitalist modes of production. Does the fervent assertion of traditional gender ideology as an instrument for attacking the UP suggest that Allende's opponents, male and female, feared both the demise of the class privileges of Chile's elite and changes in the traditional patriarchal social order?

Power has made a valuable contribution to the history of women and gender in Chile. Her book both explains the history of right-wing women's political activism in Chile and raises important questions about the role of gender in U.S. Cold War policy and the military coups in Latin America during the 1960s and 1970s.

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CHANTAL CAILLAVET. *Étnias del norte: Etnohistoria e historia de Ecuador*. Quito: Ediciones Abya Yala, with Casa de Velázquez, Madrid and Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima. 2000. Pp. 499.

This volume is a very welcome innovative and imaginative addition to the study of the indigenous past in the Andes. Chantal Caillavet organizes the twenty-three chapters—each a rigorously researched, data-rich, and documented entity in itself—under four headings. In the first section, on the ecological organization of ethnicities, she does detective work to locate the prehispanic location of Otavalo. In other chapters, she discusses salt production, the prehispanic exchange of seashells, the Inca frontier, and cannibalism, among other topics. Of particular interest are her analyses of historic toponyms and the settlement patterns of a chiefdom. The second section, on traditional textile production, discusses tribute cloth, female work, Otavalo's integration into the colonial market, and exchange and credit in the mining economy of Loja from 1550 to 1630. The third section, on the symbolic world of the northern Andeans, includes chapters on ritual (in which Caillavet discusses the body language of the Andeans), celebrations, and hair. The volume ends with analyses of primary sources and transcriptions.

This book should be required reading for historians,

anthropologists, and archaeologists for several reasons. First, it is a model of the ethnohistorian's craft. Caillavet's analyses are based on critical reading of the primary manuscripts found in thirty-six archives in six countries on two continents. She complements this with her own and others' ethnographic observations and also takes into account archaeological research. In numerous cases, she has personally verified the topographical information from colonial manuscripts. Second, Caillavet uses new ways to find the native voice, employing direct testimonies, but also toponyms and their translations. Place names, she argues, can be used to recreate linguistic frontiers and determine the strength of Inca control. They also testify to the scattered fields and settlement patterns of individual households and multiethnic resource sharing. Third, Caillavet admits cases where the data are ambiguous and conclusions indeterminate, like her doubts as to whether or not there was private ownership of land. Fourth, she follows the prehispanic and early colonial leads across modern, geographically defined national boundaries to depict better the presence of one ethnic group or another. Finally, she explicitly recognizes the biases of the standard chronicles, considered classics by many, and reminds readers that the discipline needs close and critical study of these manuscripts to understand more completely why they contradict each other and at times confuse.

The one problem with this book is the author's confusion of political jurisdiction and sovereignty with a bounded and locally recognized territory. *Cacicazgos* and *principalazgos* were defined as people under a political authority with a common ancestral heritage, regardless of where subjects lived. Numerous citations indicate that followers of one ethnic lord could live among subjects of another. Yet, the author seeks to define territories with fixed boundaries where, I would argue, none existed. The native conceived of his/her identity more through social and kinship networks than in relation to a coherent, contiguous physically defined territory. In other words, what we should be looking for are "social frontiers," not geographical ones.

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NANCY E. VAN DEUSEN. *Between the Sacred and the Worldly: The Institutional and Cultural Practice of Recogimiento in Colonial Lima*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 319. \$60.00.

The last decade has witnessed a boom in literary and historical studies about colonial Latin American women, especially in the arena of convent history and writing. Nancy E. van Deusen's book is a masterful study of the less-studied and poorly understood institutional and cultural practice of *recogimiento*. This key cultural concept of the early modern Hispanic world originated in Spain around 1500 as a spiritual method that soon became an important element of Hispanic

mysticism. *Recogimiento* was a process of prayer, moving from an active withdrawal of the mind from the senses to a passive or infused centering on God. Within several decades, the term was also used to describe a virtuous behavioral norm for women and to indicate the institutional practice of enclosing women in designated houses. Van Deusen argues that these three "rubrics of *recogimiento*" provide a complex axis for the study of gender relations in midcolonial Lima. More than thirty *recogimientos* were established between 1553 and 1713. By 1700, these housed a large percentage of the women living in Lima and included women of all social classes, races, and walks of life, ranging from pious holy women to divorcees, wayward women, and schoolgirls. Van Deusen explores the complex dynamics behind these institutions and broadens her focus to examine *recogimiento* as a spiritual practice and model of virtuous feminine behavior. *Recogimiento* was ubiquitous in colonial society, and it provided permeable boundaries between the sacred and the secular. Van Deusen argues that understanding the history of *recogimiento* in colonial Lima affords us a new understanding of gender relations and the processes through which European cultural practices were established in the New World (transculturation).

Culling an impressive range and number of primary sources—from ecclesiastical litigation records and foundation papers for *recogimiento* houses to theological tracts and moral treatises—van Deusen paints a highly sophisticated, nuanced portrait of how a single concept and practice permeated colonial society in Lima. The author situates her study within the work of Latin American social and cultural historians' work on gender history (e.g. Irene Silverblatt, Steve J. Stern), on the concept of honor (e.g. Ann Twinam, Patricia Seed), and on convent history (e.g. Kathryn Burns, Asunción Lavrin), among others. The theoretical framework adapts notions about language and culture from Raymond Williams, institutional power and discourse from Michel Foucault, gender relations from Judith Butler, and transculturation from Fernando Ortiz. Van Deusen's method highlights the intricate and important dialogue between "ideal, normative, and individual interpretations of *recogimiento* in official discourse and conjugal politics" (p. 3).

The book analyzes the historical trajectory of *recogimiento* from its roots in early modern Spain to its transculturation in the first two Spanish colonial viceroyalties. Chapter one concisely yet thoroughly traces the origins of *recogimiento* in Francisco de Osuna's early sixteenth-century spiritual treatises and its transference to Mexico. From 1524 to 1550, Franciscan friars, Spanish lay holy women, and Nahua families transformed the spiritual practice of *recogimiento* into a distinctly American practice by trying to establish schools for Nahua girls. Although this attempt was ultimately unsuccessful, *recogimiento* had been introduced to the New World and would evolve into a practice and institution that would affect the majority of women living in colonial Spanish American urban

centers. Chapter two continues to trace the history of *recogimiento* as it became established in Lima. Taking as its focal point the foundation of the first *recogimiento* for mestizas, San Juan de la Penitencia, in 1553, the chapter reveals the close alliance between these institutions and the efforts of officials to incorporate women of mixed races into the social political order. Three of the last four chapters examine the establishment of distinct types of *recogimientos*: a house where divorcees and sexually deviant women were deposited (1589), a school for the daughters of the elite (1619), and a *beaterio* (house for holy women) for a variety of inhabitants including penitents, asylum seekers, and wayward and holy women (1670). In every case, the author carefully examines sources and teases out the complexity of issues involved in dealing with *recogimiento* as a spiritual practice, an institutional practice, and a highly prized virtue. Van Deusen also examines divorce and annulment litigation from 1580 to 1650 in order to better understand the "discourse of *recogimiento*." As women's testimony in these documents make clear, women often used the concept and practice to define their own lives. Examining the ecclesiastical records of more than 500 women, van Deusen explains how *recogimiento* evolved and how, by the eighteenth century, it became less of a spiritual practice and more of a disciplinary measure.

Van Deusen deftly studies the dynamic interplay of cultural codes in the context of gender relations and institutional practices and affords us a more complex understanding of colonial Lima. We see more clearly the interrelated functions of institutions that were built to protect and discipline women—convents, *recogimientos*, and *beaterios*—and the institution of marriage and spiritual marriage that set out ideal feminine and spiritual behaviors for women. The words and language found in rules, treatises, and testimonies tell the intricate and changing story of gender relations in a city that was being forged in Spanish America. This book will be essential reading for students and scholars studying gender relations and colonial Peru.

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LILIA ANA BERTONI. *Patriotas, cosmopolitas y nacionalistas: La construcción de la nacionalidad argentina a fines del siglo XIX*. (Sección de obras de historia.) Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 2001. Pp. 319.

European immigration to Argentina has long been a subject of research interest. The volume of European immigrants between the 1870s and World War I overwhelmed the native population, particularly in the metropolitan centers located in provinces associated with the dynamic transatlantic economy. In 1970, Carl E. Solberg first revised the notion that European immigrants found an unobstructed welcome in what

had heretofore appeared as a historically xenophilistic society (see *Immigration and Nationalism: Argentina and Chile, 1890–1914*). Solberg's study concentrated on the effects on nationalism presented by the challenges of leftists and labor organizers among immigrants. Three decades later, Samuel L. Baily added a richly comparative framework in a study that focused on the daily lives of Italians in New York City and Buenos Aires during the era of mass migration (*Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914* [1999]). Lilia Ana Bertoni's contribution consists of a detailed study of the role played by the idea of immigration in shaping public debates on Argentina's national identity.

Bertoni borrows from the fields of international law, discourse studies, and material culture to depict a growing debate among members of the intelligentsia and political elites over Argentina's sense of itself. In the 1880s and 1890s, Argentine nationalists sensed the dangerously corrosive effects of cosmopolitanism and were concerned about a future devoid of identity and national cohesion. They felt the urgent need to establish the foundations of a nationalism that, while still welcoming Europeans who wished to contribute to Argentina's development, would grant primacy to the national community over ethnic enclaves. Bertoni argues that by the 1880s, the mood of the political elite was swinging away from liberal social planners who, since the 1850s, had forged ahead with their project of an open country, receptive especially to Western Europeans who arrived with the entrepreneurial spirit to improve their socioeconomic situations. This virtually unfettered welcome—the foundation of a larger developmentalist project based on a model of freely contractual exchange—had been codified as a principle in the 1853 constitution and subsequent laws that promoted immigration and extended privileges to immigrants.

Europeans established informal mechanisms and institutional channels within their enclaves that reconstituted linguistic and patriotic traditions. This was especially prevalent among Italians, who stood out as the largest European ethnic group and who were seen as existing apart and aloof from their host country. Additionally, Italians were beginning to claim special status under international law that would place them under the protection of Italy and beyond Argentine jurisdiction. In effect, the principle of an international legal system in which the nation of birthplace provided portable sanctuary to its emigrants challenged Argentina's domain within its own boundaries. This principle was espoused by European powers proclaiming the right to defend their citizens living abroad in countries where their protection could not be guaranteed. The Argentine delegation to the South American Congress on International Law that met in 1888 in Montevideo made its own position clear: national sovereignty extended to all individuals residing within the territorial boundaries of the nation, whether they were born in the country or arrived as immigrants.

Argentina's intellectual and political leaders defined the larger challenges of the fast-growing immigrant communities in the context of forging and reinforcing a national identity. Childhood education was seen as the most important vehicle for establishing cultural commonality and patriotic affinity. The legislative and executive branches moved aggressively, starting in 1884 with the enactment of national compulsory education, to expand educational institutions responsible for shaping curricula in civics, the Spanish language, geography, and history—fields that emphasized a single linguistic currency and Argentine content.

Less benevolent measures were also enacted. For example, in the province of Santa Fe, where authorities perceived immigrants as posing political challenges to their hegemonic rule, electoral rules accorded immigrants the right to vote in municipal elections. In 1894, following disturbances that involved some immigrants, Santa Fe's authorities eliminated the municipalities' right to establish electoral rules that permitted immigrants to vote. Other aggressive measures included refusal to allow the seating of provincial deputies elected to the national congress who were sons of immigrants, along with the growing use of a corrosive political discourse that associated any criticism of Argentina's political or social systems with anti-Argentine sentiments.

Finally, Bertoni explores the construction of social organizations and the state-sponsored material culture within public space as tools to inculcate affinity with the nation. These activities reinforced the use of the Spanish language in and out of school, added a patriotic and martial flavor to national holidays, created patriotic organizations and orchestrated parades, and commissioned public works depicting historical figures and patriotic dates.

This is a story of nation building and contested identities told in great detail and lucid prose. It presents the protagonists' conflicted view of Argentina's past and concerns about the future. It is a timely story in light of the discordant perspectives voiced by Argentines in their current difficult conditions.

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MATTHEW B. KARUSH. *Workers or Citizens: Democracy and Identity in Rosario, Argentina (1912–1930)*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2002. Pp. viii, 264. \$49.95.

This is a new attempt to explain Argentina's unfulfilled promise. The weakness of its democratic system has been a common theme in analyzing the country's "deviation" from its grand destiny, one of its many manifestations being its nonpluralistic politics. From this point of departure, Matthew B. Karush sustains that the absence of pluralism in Argentina's democracy was manifested in the refusal to allow the legitimate political representation of working-class interests. This hypothesis is tested in the city of Rosario (province of

Santa Fe) between 1912 and 1930. As the book's title suggests, Karush argues that after the passing of the 1912 electoral law, which made universal suffrage secret and compulsory, the political elite pursued a hegemonic project that aimed to transform workers into classless citizens. In Rosario, however, politicians encountered a working class with a strong identity that refused to be transformed. The failure of the elite's hegemonic project had significant consequences: workers were pushed away from party politics and the elite, disenchanted with democracy, supported the 1930 military coup. For Karush, the consolidated identity of the working class in Rosario became, therefore, an insoluble obstacle in a political system based on a nonpluralist vision of democracy that had its roots in the very foundation of Argentina.

The book is divided into six chapters through which the main argument, presented in the introduction, chronologically unfolds. Chapter one presents the founding visions of the country's nonpluralistic democracy drawn from the discourses of Juan Bautista Alberdi and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. What made their vision nonpluralistic, it is argued, was that neither author was concerned with the representation of diverse interests. Instead, they insisted on the need to create virtuous citizens who would share a belief in a single, national interest. Chapter two describes the social, economic, and political landscape of Rosario. The city's characteristics conspired against the idea that a self-conscious working class could have possibly existed during this period. A newer city whose population quadrupled between 1869 and 1895, Rosario was still a relatively small place with a total population of 192,000 by 1910. Almost half of its inhabitants (forty-seven percent) were foreign born, a large percentage of its work force was rural, and seasonal migration was high. Social mobility was also high: immigrants and their Argentine-born descendents predominated among the wealthy sectors of society, and by 1910, fifty-nine percent of the real estate was owned by foreign-born immigrants. The manufacturing sector was small, employing only fifteen percent of the total work force, while two-thirds of the 649 "factories" employed fewer than ten workers. As Karush points out, this small, ethnically, linguistically, and socially heterogeneous working class "did not conform in any sense to the classical image of an industrial proletariat" (p. 44). He argues, however, that these structural constraints were overcome by a wide circulation of cultural artifacts (*criollista* literature, films, tango lyrics) that had the effect of reinforcing a working-class identity.

Chapters three to six offer rich, detailed, and well-documented analyses of politics in Rosario between 1912 and 1930, and of the difficulties encountered by political parties and factions when faced by the working class. The story focuses on the two main parties of the city, in particular on a small group from the Radical Party lead by local politician Ricardo Caballero. His success in attracting working-class support

was feared by his rivals inside and outside the party, as it was thought to encourage labor conflicts and class-based violence. These fears increased when labor conflict peaked in 1918–1919, landmark years for the increasing disillusion with the new democracy among many members of the political elite.

This is a well-researched, well-written, and well-argued book. The author's reading of Alberdi and Sarmiento could be questioned, as the nonpluralistic nature of Argentina's democracy between 1916 and 1930 has been traditionally associated with ideas sustained by the Radical Party (in power throughout these years) rather than those of the country's founding fathers. And, more significantly for Karush's argument, this reviewer remains skeptical that music, literature, and film had the effect of reinforcing working-class consciousness to the extent of overriding the structural constraints on its development that existed in Rosario during this period. The mere existence and popularity of certain cultural elements does not allow us to conclude without further evidence that such artifacts had the described effect on those who consumed them. These issues, however, do not invalidate the chief hypothesis of a book whose main strength is to be found in the author's analysis of the worries of Rosarino politicians when faced with mass-electoral politics. Not only did they fear the potential mobilizing power of the working class (proven many times during these years) but also that a faction or a group would attempt to use such power for electoral purposes. Karush excels in his reconstruction of the dilemmas, fears, responses, and outcomes of a political elite suddenly confronted with new rules in the game of party politics. The fact that he chooses to do so during a period of the country's history in much need of further research and in the still almost unexplored area in Argentina of regional politics is an additional bonus.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

NICOLE LORAUX. *The Divided City: On Memory and Forgetting in Ancient Athens*. Translated by CORINNE PACHE and JEFF FORT. New York: Zone Books. 2002. Pp. 358. \$30.00.

In the spring of 404 B.C.E., the Athenians surrendered to Lysander, the Spartan general, and, for them, the Peloponnesian War was over. Athens had been a democracy since 507 (with one brief interruption in 411), but now the victors suppressed democracy and installed a pro-Spartan oligarchy. The new regime was mild at first, even popular, but its need for money soon drove it to violent extremes. When it was overthrown in the winter of 403–02, it came to be remembered as the reign of the Thirty Tyrants. The overthrow was not without bloodshed. A group of democrats exiled in Boeotia invaded Attica, and full-scale civil war erupted. When it became clear that the democrats had

the upper hand in the fighting, a herald stepped between the opposing lines and called for reconciliation. The outcome was that both parties swore an oath "not to remember past evils" (*mnesikakein*). Each individual citizen took the oath, and democracy was restored. Over the years, the oath held up, preventing serious recriminations and the possible reemergence of civil war. Today, historians use the word "amnesty" of the decision by the Athenians to forget past evils. Whatever the intention, amnesty was the effect. Nicole Loraux takes on the daunting task of explaining this remarkable reconciliation.

As Loraux argues, there were times when the Greeks thought of their city-states as extended families. This means that the miasma of civil war was not merely the stain of political murder; it bore implications of fratricide. At the conclusion of hostilities, the problem was to find a way of bringing about domestic peace. The resolution to forget past evils is both simple and problematic: simple because it leaves little doubt as to its intended effect, problematic because the conscious act of forgetting is a contradiction in terms. For Loraux, both the Greek attitude to civil war and their strategy of resolution deserve unique attention. Her approach is to set the problem in what she calls "the city of anthropology" (17–18). This city "renews its identity in the atemporal return of ritual gestures . . . it is discourse on the human whose essential propositions, taken up again and again, are used to separate the normal from the strange or else lend themselves to the mixed signals and distortions that provoke thought." Loraux's anthropology takes the reader on a sometimes bewildering ramble through literature and inscriptions from Homer and Aeschylus to Sigmund Freud.

What Loraux calls an anthropology I would call an exploration. Like many explorers, Loraux frequently wanders down blind alleys. It is the journey that is important, however, and much is discovered along the way. This book is impressive, a mass of astute observations not all of which blend into a coherent thesis. The scholar will treasure the wealth of documentation (most of which is in the endnotes), which the publishers have made as difficult as they can to locate on a random basis. The publishers have also spared little cost cutting in the preparation of the index (less than 3.25 pages), which completely ignores the seventy-seven pages of endnotes.

I value the anthropology but am less convinced by Loraux's conceptualization of the historical problem. It is not clear that the Athenians really needed to forget the "fratricide" of civil war. Citizen had killed citizen during the struggle against the Peisistratid tyranny from 514 to 510. Far from choosing to forget, the Athenian state erected a statue to commemorate the murder of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Before 403, *mnesikakein* "call evils to mind" was used not of civil war but of the catastrophic losses the Athenians suffered as a result of the debacle in Sicily in 413. Indeed, when the oligarchs reached

reconciliation with the democrats, both sides had much to benefit from forgetting: the oligarchs did not want their collusion with the Thirty remembered against them, and the democrats needed their opponents to forget the dismal record of the democracy in managing the Peloponnesian War. Occasionally, democracy had disintegrated into mob rule, and the people had been gulled again and again by demagogues. It was this rather than citizen blood that the democrats needed to put behind them if they were to reestablish popular government in the coming years.

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ANDREW WOLPERT. *Remembering Defeat: Civil War and Civic Memory in Ancient Athens*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp xviii, 190. \$42.50.

Regime change is never easy. It is a trauma to the body politic, and, as with any trauma, the body uses selective memory to help the healing process. Andrew Wolpert finds this creative use of memory at work in the ways the Athenians remembered the brief civil war (403–402 B.C.) and amnesty that followed Athens's defeat in the Peloponnesian War. During this time, Athens was ruled by an oligarchic regime known as the Thirty. Subsequently, the oligarchic revolution was treated as an interlude, the violence and lawlessness of which only underscored the deeper continuity and legitimacy of democratic traditions. Wolpert argues that the public discourse that emerged once democracy was restored in 402 relied on the manipulation of memory. Publicly the Athenians agreed not to recall wrongs committed under the tyrannical regime of the Thirty. (Amnesty, after all, means "not remembering.") Thus the state was preserved from an endless cycle of recriminations and revenge. The community shared the fiction that everyone had been opposed to the Thirty and did not admit that many had been complicit or passive. Individually, however, Athenian litigants could and frequently did refer to deeds done under the reign of the Thirty.

The first half of the book, entitled "The Historical Setting," begins with a conventional survey of the sources for the civil war itself: Xenophon and Aristotle. Wolpert then discusses modern treatments of the legal issues at the heart of the oligarchic revolution. This is a vexed area in Greek history, because the military and political upheavals in Athens in the last decade of the fifth century occurred at the same time as a comprehensive overhaul of the Athenian legal code. Try to imagine the United States completely rewriting the Constitution while waging (unsuccessfully) a world war. Wolpert's contribution is disappointing, consisting of little more than a cursory review of some of the better-known scholarly opinions accompanied by the occasional demur. Noel Robertson, for example, has argued a minimalist line for the rewriting of the Athenian legal code, suggesting that the *anagrapheis* (recorders) were merely making fresh copies

of existing laws for the state archives. Wolpert observes: "Much of the interpretation is quite convincing, but still the evidence is so incomplete that many questions cannot be answered, making it difficult to reach such a definitive conclusion" (p. 40).

Scholars such as Martin Ostwald, Mogens Herman Hansen, and Raphael Sealey have offered bolder interpretations, arguing that the legal reforms of 403 mark a defining moment in Athenian history. It was then that the Athenians introduced a distinction between *nomoi* (laws) and *psephismata* (decrees). The popular assembly could now only pass the latter, while the former could be initiated in the assembly but had to be ratified by a board of *nomothetai* (law givers). Many see this reform as signaling the democracy's absolute adherence to the rule of law. Wolpert partially endorses the view that this was momentous, but his own interpretation adds little to the picture: "Here I part company with those who emphasize continuity, and I agree with Hansen and Ostwald that 403 was a watershed year for Athens, but not because institutional arrangements were drastically reconfigured; rather, it was the beginning of an age that the Athenians marked as substantially different from the preceding period" (p. 42).

It may well be that the Athenians thought that the restored democracy was a new age following the lawlessness of the Thirty, but it is hard to see why so nebulous a business as the Athenians' feelings—a mixture of fear and expectation—should trump critical institutional changes as the key to our understanding Athens after the civil war. Affect does not supersede agency.

The underlying problems of Wolpert's analysis emerge more clearly in the second half of the book, on civic memory. Focusing exclusively on the speeches delivered after the amnesty, Wolpert asserts that the public show of unity was a fiction necessary for social cohesion. Perhaps, but Wolpert's unwillingness to look at other genres produces an interpretation of public discourse badly skewed. For example, Wolpert discusses the Thirty's restrictions on customary burial, suggesting that this was more than "a byproduct of the regime." It was a way of appropriating the *kleos* (glory) of the dead. "In a perverse way," claims Wolpert, "lawlessness legitimized their regime" (p. 127). But Wolpert ignores the rich discourse over burial in classical Athens: who controls burial is a concern central to Sophocles's *Antigone*; the failure to bury is the prime marker of social breakdown in Thucydides's treatment of the Corcyrean *stasis* (Thuc. 3.80–82); and the inability to bury is one of the dehumanizing effects of the plague that nearly destroyed Athens in 429 B.C. Read in context, therefore, the restrictions on burial look like the very purest intimidation, not legitimation.

In general, the argument of Wolpert's study is sound, but the scope of his inquiry is so narrow that it delivers less than it promises.

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STEVEN H. RUTLEDGE. *Imperial Inquisitions: Prosecutors and Informants from Tiberius to Domitian*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xiii, 416. \$90.00.

Steven H. Rutledge states his aim at the outset: to discuss the phenomenon of informers in the historical context of the early Roman Empire. He takes notice of Roman law where appropriate but stresses that this is not a history of Roman legal procedure. The period under discussion is limited to the years between A.D. 14 and 96, but quite rightly Rutledge delves into the republican precedents for informers, since they derived from a continuing tradition deeply rooted in Roman society. When the republic fell, informers adapted themselves to the imperial context, where new laws to control adultery and displays of wealth gave them great scope for their particular line of work. As Rutledge reminds us, Cicero would have understood the methods and motives of the typical *delator* of the early empire, although the Romans of the republic would have used names like *index* or *quadruplator*.

Informers suffered from a bad press, but Rutledge shows that much of it derives from the senatorial bias of the surviving literature. Class prejudice and senatorial snobbery played a large part in the portrayal of informers, who were generally tarred with the same brush whether they were supposedly sniveling slaves and freedmen or renegade senators bringing charges against other senators; these last Tacitus hated most of all. Informers have been blamed for turning potentially oppressive regimes into nightmarish tyrannies where no one was safe. Rutledge demolishes this deeply ingrained theory by a critical examination of the *delatores* and their activities. He analyzes the rewards that informers could expect to gain under the emperors and concludes that surprisingly few of them achieved political advancement. Nor did they always get rich quick, although Rutledge documents cases where emperors sought to limit the rewards of informers. The profit motive was surely one of the less savory aspects of the mindset of some *delatores*. Their other motives were probably quite varied, ranging from spiteful self-seeking, through an impartial interest in justice, to a genuine concern for the protection of the emperor.

Rutledge stresses that the task of the would-be *delator* was not necessarily an easy one. In the republic, to bring about a successful prosecution was the way to win political recognition and advancement, but if everything failed, ambitious young men like Julius Caesar would simply go on to try something else. Republican Romans acted alone, but under the empire *delatores* had to bring their information to the emperor or to the consuls, and these men then decided whether to use it or not. Even if a trial was arranged, there was always the possibility that it could go wrong. As Rutledge points out, a failed *delator* was a *calumniator* who could be punished and his career brought to an end. Conversely, Rutledge also points out that one man's justice could be another man's *delatio*. It was all

a question of perception and interpretation. There was never a standard default-type *delator* in the imperial Roman world; the title meant different things to different people. By their very nature, informers did not necessarily wish for wide publicity, and in many cases no such person is named in the historical record, but Rutledge deduces from various documented episodes that behind them there are detectable traces of informers at work.

There are minor quibbles, which do not detract from the book, such as the inference (p. 17) that juries of the republic consisted of senators, *equites*, and *tribuni aerarii*; they did, but not before Pompey and Crassus reformed the courts, and the *tribuni aerarii* (whatever they were) did not survive Caesar's reforms. More could have been said about the various attempts to restructure the courts. The best part of the book is the prosopographical survey of known *delatores* with full references from ancient and modern works. The documented trials brought about by known and unknown *delatores* are listed, with their results, in appendix one. This is a very welcome, well-written, user-friendly book that fills a gap in our knowledge. In each main text section, Rutledge adopts recommended practice for speakers and lecturers: tell them what you are going say; say it (bristling with references); then draw it all together in a brief summing up. All self-respecting libraries should buy this book.

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J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUETZ. *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 479. \$99.00.

This challenging book is geographically and chronologically broad, and it builds on J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz's lifetime of research into diverse aspects of late antiquity. Liebeschuetz synthetically examines "the Roman city," which he defines as the fundamental unit of the Roman Empire, surveying cities from ca. 400 to ca. 650 from Britain to the Black Sea, Spain to Syria, and the Rhine to the Nile. As the book's title proclaims, Liebeschuetz perceives more change than continuity in these years, and changes for the worse. He deliberately diverges from Averil Cameron and others who tend to investigate particularized features of a fragmented late antique world and who resolutely shun the loaded term "decline." Nor is this a sweeping overview of a single phenomenon of that world, like the works of Peter Brown. Yet Liebeschuetz's breadth and detailed complexity demand that we all reckon with this provocatively "old-fashioned" book.

In 416 pages, Liebeschuetz assesses the physical components of individual cities and the institutions supporting and supported by "the Roman city." His introduction scans inscriptions, legislation, papyri, and coinage—his more difficult sources. Turning then to archaeology, Liebeschuetz argues for urban depopulation and abandonment of monumental secular build-

ings in East and West alike. He considers recent evidence from more than one hundred cities, contending that cities declined physically everywhere, but less quickly in the East than the West. Noting the impossibility of assigning specific causes, he canvasses local conditions and imperial decisions (e.g. the settlement of barbarians and Justinianic building patronage, both of which he downplays). Despite sixteen city plans, maps, and reconstructions, this may be the book's most arduous chapter. Archaeological data for this period are uneven, as he notes, not least because of diverse scholarly traditions in the many modern countries the empire once included, and typos creep in the packed narrative (e.g. Carnutum should read Carnuntum, p. 77).

Subsequent thematic chapters in his two major sections, "The End of Classical Urban Politics" (generally quantifying change) and "A Society Transformed" (probing qualitative differences), tend to alternate between Greek East and Latin West. In "Post-curial Civic Government," Liebeschuetz argues that the late antique city was run by "notables," which significantly altered functioning within cities themselves and with the empire. (The term, borrowed from A. H. M. Jones, indicates the "vaguely defined, self-appointed group of magnates [not formally appointed councillors], making decisions and nominating officials in . . . privacy" [not in public; p. 405].) In "The Rise of the Bishop," Liebeschuetz turns to Gregory of Tours and others to maintain that bishops' relatively high literacy and administrative apparatus fostered their secular use. After "Civic Finances in the Cities of the East," heavily weighed toward Egypt, Liebeschuetz ends his first section with the lively "Shows and Factions," arguing that late antique spectacles deliberately demonstrated imperial might and benevolence.

In the fascinating "Transformation of Greek Literary Culture," insightful literary exegesis combines with that of two striking mosaics to delineate a "demotion of activities centring on classical literature." This, Liebeschuetz contends, concurred with more "Christian activities centred on the Bible" (p. 246) and eroded the bases of communal political activity. He returns to factions in "Conflict and Disorder in the East," relating them to growing disunity and religious division. He sees the ensuing beginnings of renewal in the East under Muslim Arabs as "the culmination of a long-term trend, the emancipation of the Near East from the Greco-Roman culture and government" (p. 317). Liebeschuetz then assesses analogous topics in the West, with the illuminating "Decline of Classical Citizenship" in place of the second faction chapter.

Throughout Liebeschuetz stresses the interdependence of factors for the physical and ideological decline of the "Roman city," and he concludes by pointing to the Antonine plague, Constantine's conversion to Christianity, the rise of notables in cities, and the state's shift to collecting taxes directly rather than through cities and their councils. His insistence on the realities of lived life—including physical comfort, in-

tellectual stimulation, community, dependence, and their opposites—is compelling yet unsettling. As Liebeschuetz forcefully affirms a distinct identity of the late antique city and period, he provokes comparisons with our own.

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MATHEW KUEFLER. *The Manly Eunuch: Masculinity, Gender Ambiguity, and Christian Ideology in Late Antiquity*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. x, 437. \$45.00.

As its title suggests, this book is about a paradox. In the pagan culture of the Roman Empire, manliness was perhaps the ultimate virtue (the Roman term *virtus*, virtue, deriving from the term for man, *vir*, also signifies manliness). Much of the behavior enjoined on their followers by Christian leaders—sexual self-restraint, the passive endurance of suffering—must have seemed far removed from this masculine ideal. Yet Christian writers, according to Mathew Kuefler, succeeded in appropriating at least some elements in this rhetoric of masculinity and transforming them between the third and fifth centuries into a powerful instrument of persuasion in the drive to secure adherents from among the empire's traditional elite.

The first part of Kuefler's study sets out at some length the roles played by conceptions of masculinity in the pagan Roman Empire, particularly in later centuries. Kuefler rightly emphasizes the contested nature of masculinity in Greco-Roman culture, making good use of historical studies of manliness published in the 1990s. Metaphors of construction imply too rigid a notion of gender identities for his liking. Invoking Judith Butler's idea of performativity, he stresses rather the process by which gender identity is created. Kuefler explores the way metaphorical notions of masculinity and threats to masculinity were used by Greek and Roman writers to articulate anxieties about a range of threats to their social and political position. Military threats to Roman superiority were frequently presented as crises of manliness, as in Dio's early third-century account of Boudicca's rebellion in Britain as an emasculating challenge to Roman manhood.

Kuefler offers a particularly enlightening account of the part played by eunuchs in ancient discourses of gender. These figures revealed the division between the manly and the unmanly as arbitrary and constructed. In particular, Kuefler explores the high rank enjoyed by individual eunuchs at the imperial court as a frequent focus for elite anxiety (exemplified in Claudian's attack on Eutropius). The ambiguous gender of these powerful figures functioned as a symbol of the emasculation of the aristocracy under increasingly autocratic emperors.

The second and more substantial part of the book charts the transformation of this rhetoric of masculinity, as the Roman Empire was gradually over taken by

Christianity. Here Kuefler draws on Peter Brown's *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (1988), as well as on the work of Elizabeth Clark. Kuefler's study is nevertheless highly original in its focus on metaphors of masculinity and offers a cogent analysis of ways in which Christian teaching and classical modes of thought were integrated.

Some Christian writers offered a notion of masculinity so radically interiorized that the passive suffering of the Christian martyr could be seen as a new kind of quasi-military virtue, Kuefler argues. Although they never raised their swords in battle, these individuals were soldiers of Christ. Patient endurance was the new *virtus*. One might develop this further and point out that in pagan Roman culture the word *patientia* also has connotations of sexual passivity and hence effeminacy, making an even stronger contrast with this new Christian usage.

But how new is this? Kuefler acknowledges in a brief parenthesis that there is a Stoic flavor to some of the material he discusses, but much more could be said about Stoic influence. For the Roman Stoic Seneca, the philosopher is a soldier or gladiator fighting against vice or against the ills of fortune. This ideal could be put into practice by the would-be philosopher undergoing torture, or even lying on a sickbed. This is a *patientia* very close to that enjoined by Christian writers.

Yet Christian texts were certainly breaking new ground in their use of the eunuch as a spiritual ideal, a positive image of self-sacrifice and renunciation. At least some early Christians, most notably Origen, appear to have been inspired by these texts to castrate themselves literally. For most of the Latin Church Fathers, however, there was a crucial distinction between unmanly eunuchs who castrated their bodies and those manly eunuchs who castrated their spirits alone, leaving their bodies intact. While some details of Kuefler's argument might be contested, the overall argument of this book is highly persuasive. The forging of a new ideology of masculinity can be seen as contributing a significant element in the appeal of Christianity to the traditional elite of the Roman Empire.

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BONNIE EFFROS. *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and Afterlife in the Merovingian World*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2002. Pp. xiii, 255. \$45.00.

The last two decades have witnessed a remarkable resurgence of interest in various aspects of death, burial, and mortuary rituals of the early Middle Ages. Bonnie Effros's compelling book is the latest contribution to a long series of thought-provoking monographs (by scholars such as Fred Paxton, Megan

McLaughlin, and Cécile Treffort), as well as numerous papers by historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists published in recent years. As she clearly states at the beginning of her book, the "main objective of this study is . . . to examine burial custom primarily through written sources of the Merovingian period" (p. 5). Whenever possible, Effros also juxtaposes the information yielded by her written sources against archaeological evidence and thus provides a fuller picture of the issues at stake.

The chapters of the books are arranged "topically by the sorts of surviving evidence for rites employed by early medieval families" (p. 6). In the first chapter, Effros combs through the sources for the clothing, personal possessions, and vessels that were deposited with the dead during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. She convincingly argues that, rather than indicating the person's ethnicity or social status, these grave goods reflect a complex set of ideological decisions made by the deceased's relatives and close friends. In the second chapter, Effros searches the legal sources (lay and ecclesiastical) for any mortuary regulations. She finds very few, and, as she rightly concludes, the church was rather indifferent to the ways in which people buried their dead. This conclusion, of course, is not at all new, but Effros manages to demonstrate it quite nicely and to connect it with her assertion that mortuary rituals and practices were largely a family matter. I particularly liked her short discussion of what may be termed "Merovingian mummification" (pp. 70–75). The third chapter is devoted to Merovingian funerary epigraphy, and the next two chapters are dedicated to the changes in burial and liturgical practices, which Effros believes were the result of changing depictions of the afterlife and the growing fear of purgatorial suffering.

Effros vehemently insists throughout the book that the changes in burial practices had nothing to do with better Christianization of the Merovingian population. I think she is absolutely right in doing so. However, the linear process she describes—from rites that were centered on the physical remains of the dead, through the commemoration and care for the soul of the deceased in what she calls "a church-centred rite," to the *libri memoriales* and the prayer confraternities of the Carolingian period—needs more evidence and a bit more refinement to be convincing. Effros criticizes scholars (myself included) for exuding great confidence in very little evidence (p. 141). This may well be true, but her argument from silence is no less precarious. I still believe that some of the "liturgical" changes that Effros is willing to accept for the mid-eighth century were already in practice long before the date of the first manuscript that survives to tell us about it.

Like any book of this kind, there are some inaccuracies and omissions. For example, the *Paenitentiale Parisiense simplex* (mentioned on pp. 53 and 65) is the very same penitential appended to the Old Gelasian Sacramentary; Effros ignores much of the recent scholarship on the *Visio Baronti*, which she uses quite

extensively to construct her argument; and, given the stress that she puts on the family and its role, Régine Le Jan's book, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VII^e-X^e siècle): Essai d'anthropologie sociale* (1995), is conspicuous in its absence from her discussion. These reservations aside, this is an important book that will be extremely useful for both students and scholars interested in the topic. Effros is familiar with both the primary and the secondary sources, and her clear and precise style brings some life to this gloomy and rather morbid chapter of Merovingian cultural history.

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ALAN HARDING. *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 392.

Alan Harding has been thinking creatively about law and the state throughout his long career as a historian. His earlier studies took medieval England, particularly its later centuries, as their focus. The current book, however, shows how Harding's interests have broadened both chronologically and geographically: it covers all of Western Europe in its sweep and, beginning with the Germanic successors to the Roman *imperium*, carries the development Harding wants to trace into the early modern era of Niccolò Machiavelli, King James I, and the Puritan revolutionaries. His sources include not only the treatises of classical and medieval academics and leading thinkers but more regularly the ideological, theoretical, and hortatory pronouncements to be found in working documents of law courts and assemblies, Parliament, and parlement. Harding must feel, with justification, that this book represents his own magnum opus. Specialist scholars and advanced students will find it of immense interest and usefulness.

The state, as Harding insists (against much imprecise usage), did not always exist but evolved slowly as a concept. He announces at once that a key to this development is "the ambivalence which allows the word to signify both the ordered community which is to be loved and the regime which does the ordering and may be hated for its coercive power" (p. 2). He finds a crucial stage achieved in both by the second half of the thirteenth century but begins his story with earlier roots in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon royal court practice, especially as related to protection of property and attempts to secure social peace. In this era, the inquest and semiprofessional judges emerged; feud was circumscribed. At least a model for a legal order appeared, even if Carolingian enforcement was necessarily thin.

The growth of what Harding unhesitatingly terms feudal society brought a devolution of jurisdiction to seigneurs and emerging towns. To counter "feudal violence and rapine" (p. 75), the peace and truce of God emerged, in time linking the hope of peace in Europe with military success against Islam. Harding

follows in considerable detail the recovery of royal jurisdiction in the German lands, in France, and in England through the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The regimes taking shape by the mid-thirteenth century in England and France were powerful enough to generate widespread interest in reforming them, as seen in the inquests carried out on both sides of the Channel, inviting complaint against royal officials. Another sort of reform came from what Harding justly terms the "bill revolution." This involved the opening of royal courts beyond procedure initiated by writs to oral complaints or informal written "bills." In the process royal jurisdiction reached a significantly broader social range "far beyond his traditional jurisdiction as feudal suzerain" (p. 162). Parlement emerged in France and Parliament in England as law courts, the English institution, of course, taking on additional political and fiscal roles.

The expanding protection of property especially advanced the authority of the nascent state. Specific chartered freedoms of lords and towns became, as this state authority grew, rights of "classes of individuals" that came to be thought of as estates (p. 221). The legislation that flowed from the French and English crown in the thirteenth century was largely directed to these estates.

The two meanings of state that Harding is following fused, he argues, in England and France in the later Middle Ages. Each realm had become a "continuous and continually reformable entity" (p. 253). If France was too large a country to rely on an estates general, it could yet be termed both *respublica* and *policie* with a modern sense of state, regime, and commonwealth having come together (p. 293). The transformation of the term state in the crucible of sixteenth and seventeenth-century conflicts dropped its trailing phrases "of the king" or "of the realm" or even "of the commonwealth." In this final chapter of a long evolution, Harding sees humanist ideas as less significant than the "longer and more conspicuous development of a public culture based on the administration of justice" (p. 337).

The book is well titled: it gives an account of the legal and intellectual foundations of the state. Harding does not offer here a complete overview of the complex process that created the European state, and he makes no claim to outline all the interlocking dimensions by which the European state emerged. Such topics as public finance or military power and patronage, for example, have no place here. The concentration on *Ideengeschichte* may in fact distort the actual process of state building somewhat, flattening out some highly significant differences in the chronology by which royal power and systems of law emerged in various parts of Europe. Likewise, this focus may reduce the tensions and paradoxes that inevitably emerged as kings and their advisors worked to enforce law and order—topics that Harding himself explored in his earlier writing. But the achievement of this book

through its broad reach and rich evidentiary detail merits unstinting praise.

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BRUCE R. O'BRIEN. *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 305.

The *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* is the most popular of several twelfth-century collections, compiled by descendants of the Norman conquerors, that claimed to record laws of the defeated Anglo-Saxons. Given the language barriers between French-speaking and Latin-writing Normans and their new English-speaking and writing subjects, these attempts were far from successful. Since the nineteenth century, most legal historians have held low opinions of such compilations of pre-Conquest law, and the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* was largely neglected until a German scholar, Felix Liebermann, edited it early in the twentieth century. Bruce R. O'Brien considers the *Leges* "the most focused" (p. 30) of its contemporaries recording pre-Conquest law, and he seeks to rescue it from obscurity with a new critical edition and its first English translation. O'Brien's book consists of two parts: an introduction, virtually a monograph in itself (130 pages), plus a Latin text with an English translation on facing pages (45 pages).

In his introduction, O'Brien reconstructs the environment that produced the *Leges*, assessing the Norman settlers' impact on twelfth-century England (chapter one). Here he follows recent historiographical tendencies that stress continuity over revolutionary change, noting that reconstructing the laws of Edward the Confessor in writing "bound together and comforted both rulers and ruled" (p. 18). O'Brien then tries to date the work and identify its anonymous author, not as an individual but by background, residence, education, and goals (chapter two). His proposal for the date is sometime shortly after King Stephen's 1136 charter of liberties for the English church, and he supposes the author to have been a lesser clerk at Lincoln Cathedral, possibly an episcopal steward. Although he describes the writer as "a foreigner, an immigrant" (p. 60), it is unclear whether he means a foreign-born clerk or merely a French-speaking cleric of Norman stock who was not yet genuinely English. As O'Brien admits, most of his conclusions about authorship are largely conjectures. He also examines the author's sources and method of composition before surveying the content of his work to expose what it says about English law in the century following the Conquest (chapter three). The scope of the *Leges* is limited, not treating land law at all but covering the Peace of God or Peace of the Church, the King's Peace, and means for ensuring peace. Such subject matter indicates that it was a clerical creation, useful to the twelfth-century English church's efforts to preserve its independence, especially in the face of

King Henry I's attacks. Finally, O'Brien surveys the fate of the *Leges* in later centuries. An early thirteenth-century revised version found favor with King John's clerical and baronial opponents, and it influenced some of Magna Carta's clauses. Among seventeenth-century opponents of the Stuarts, it won a place alongside the Great Charter as part of the "ancient constitution" (chapter four). The *Leges*, supposedly granted by William the Conqueror in 1070 at a council of twelve spokesmen for each county and approved by "English nobles who were wise men and learned in their law" (p. 159), lent support to arguments for Parliament's antiquity and for parliamentary limitations on monarchical authority.

O'Brien follows Patrick Wormald's vision of post-Conquest English legal history in stressing continued influence for Anglo-Saxon law and custom among the Normans and in rejecting "the Angevin leap forward" as a revolution in English law. Such a view, finding royal justice making a powerful impact on local courts long before Henry II's legal innovations, undermines S. F. C. Milsom's once-influential thesis that England between the Norman Conquest and 1154 was a "truly feudal society" with justice largely handed down in lords' courts following feudal law and custom. Everywhere in the *Leges*, however, the presence of royal justices at baronial and episcopal courts is noticeable, undermining the notion that lords' courts before Henry II's time were independent of the king.

Throughout, O'Brien displays mastery of the manuscript sources, basing his Latin text on fourteen surviving manuscripts, and command of the secondary literature; copious notes acknowledge both past and current scholarship, both Anglo-American and European works. He has rendered important service to students of early English law with his critical edition and serviceable translation of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*. Although O'Brien's book is hardly for beginners, all medievalists will value his introduction for placing the *Leges* in its historical context, as well as in the context of today's studies of Anglo-Norman and Angevin law.

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JOHN V. TOLAN. *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xxiii, 372. Cloth \$52.50, paper \$22.50.

John V. Tolan is well known to medievalists for his work on Peter Alfonsi, the Spanish Jew who became a Christian and moved to England and then France in the early twelfth century. Alfonsi made Christian scholars of northwestern Europe aware of the Talmud, the rudiments of Islam, Arabic and Hebrew literary treasures, and scientific knowledge of al-Andalus. His negative views of both Judaism and Islam had a major impact because his works were so widely disseminated.

Tolan has conceived this new book as an acceptance of Kathleen Biddick's "invitation to medievalists . . . to

engage complex temporalities of postcolonial histories" (pp. 281–82). The book is in dialogue with Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993). In his conclusion, Tolan carefully outlines the possible pitfalls of Biddick's approach and the need to move away from static, timeless views of both Orient and Occident. Different views of Islam have to be analyzed in the full context of time and place. Yet, although Tolan does so, he seems to interpret conceptions of Islam very much according to Said's paradigm. We read, for example: "refusing to acknowledge the . . . irreversible nature of the advent of Islam, they [Eastern Christians] imposed the familiar forms of the old Christian Roman commonwealth on . . . Islam, casting their adversaries . . . in . . . despised roles . . . The negative 'orientalist' portrayals of Islam that Said denounces . . . have their origins in the defensive reactions of Christian 'orientals,' unwitting subjects of the new Muslim empire" (p. 67). Alfonso X of León-Castile's (1252–1284) policy toward Muslims is seen as "a clear example of the kind of discourse that Edward Said decried in nineteenth-century apologists for British and French empire: a derogatory portrayal of Islam as a basis for the military and political domination of Muslims" (pp. 174–75). These statements do not seem to me to advance the notion of nonstatic positions between Christians and Muslims and make one wonder whether it is wise to apply a politically charged paradigm to this kind of highly emotive material. The paradigm Tolan has chosen to adopt would seem to overshadow his obvious sensitivity to ambiguity and change in Christian images of Islam.

Tolan's model for Christian attitudes toward Islam is the reactions of early Christians to the Roman Empire. But early Christians did not just vilify the empire. In Romans 13, Paul taught that political authority came from God. The idea of a Christian society running parallel to temporal society gave Christians a way to accommodate themselves to the sway of pagan imperial oppression. Augustus's *Pax Romana* was considered by some as having assisted the spreading of the Gospel. Augustine's response to the Gothic sack of Rome was to regard the success or failure of cities on earth as irrelevant in God's unfolding plan for the chosen and the damned. These views coexisted with the starkly negative views Tolan discusses and allow us to appreciate the possibility of a more varied response by medieval Christians to the many ways in which they experienced Islam. As Tolan explains, Christians were exposed to the military might of Islam as well as to the world of Islam in which there usually was room for Christians and Jews. Within Latin Christendom, Muslims formed a minority together with Jews and heretics. However, Islam also provided many Christians with their first conduit to the marvels of Greek science.

Tolan's book is full of interesting details on individual thinkers' views on Islam and provides a welcome addition to Norman Daniel's *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960). Medieval negative ideas

about Islam were undoubtedly carried into the modern period. But the popularity of Alfonsi's retelling of the tales of the Near East and the impact of Arabic science are also important and resonate with modern fascination with Arabic culture. The truth of the matter is that the more we learn about medieval Europe, the more we realize that terms like "Orient" and "Occident" obfuscate the realities of the dynamic interactions among Christians, Muslims, and Jews in the Middle Ages.

ANNA SAPIR ABULAFIA
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TOMAŽ MASTNAK. *Crusading Peace: Christendom, the Muslim World, and Western Political Order*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 406.

Tomaž Mastnak argues that crusading ideology still underpins much Western thinking about Islam and sets out to examine how this has come about. Mastnak attributes to the Peace and Truce of God movements a more central role in the genesis of the crusades than the work of Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (1993), suggests is likely, but he is undoubtedly correct in claiming that in 1095 Urban II linked the First Crusade to the ideal of peace within Christendom by urging Western warriors to fight the infidel rather than their fellow Christians. Mastnak traces the way in which holy war against the enemies of the church, of whom the Muslims were perceived as the most important, was coupled with a vision of Christian peace throughout the next three centuries. Yet he nowhere explains that the crusade movement was part of an ongoing war between Christian and Muslim powers dating back to the rise of the Arab Empire in the seventh century; nor does he give any consideration to the effects of those conquests on the indigenous Christians who, from the ninth century at least, were treated as second-class citizens by their Muslim rulers and were subject to petty discrimination. Yet these were factors that helped to shape the medieval West's reaction to Islam. Mastnak's treatment of the causes of the First Crusade is equally minimalist: its launching, he writes, "had little to do with the circumstances in the Near East, or, more specifically, with anything happening in Jerusalem, and was sought neither by the local Christians nor by the Latin visitors to the city" (p. 119). Given the Seljuk annexation of Asia Minor, the appeal of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus to the pope for military aid, and the complaints of Western pilgrims about the dangers of traveling to Jerusalem, this statement is seriously misleading.

Mastnak's whole account is written in this way: he will not accept that Westerners associated with the crusades were ever well intentioned. He cites St. Bernard of Clairvaux's praise of the Knights Templar who killed Saracens instead of their fellow Christians

but fails to explain that their order had been founded to safeguard pilgrims in the Latin Kingdom who were being killed in large numbers by Muslim marauders. He refuses to accept that there was anything very enlightened about Peter the Venerable's commissioning of a translation of the Qur'ān, because he only wished to use it as an aid in converting Muslims. Yet Mastnak says nothing about Islamic claims that the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth was reported more accurately in the Qur'ān than in the Gospels (which few Muslims were prepared to read), an attitude that made any meaningful exchange between the two religions very difficult.

Mastnak is determined to attribute the worst motives to the supporters of the crusades. When relating how Pope Gregory IX initially condemned Frederick II for regaining Jerusalem by treaty in 1229, Mastnak writes: "crusading had ceased to be a movement for the 'liberation of the Holy Land' and had become instead a movement for the extermination of the infidels" (p. 152). He does not mention that the papacy made no objection in 1241 when a similar peace was negotiated by Richard of Cornwall at the end of a crusade that, like that of Frederick, had involved no fighting, although this would seem to show that the papacy's quarrel was with Frederick II, not with his method of conducting a crusade.

Mastnak is completely baffled by men like Ramon Lull, who wanted to convert the Muslim world by peaceful means yet who also supported the crusade movement. He does not believe that the Muslim authorities would have prevented Christian missionaries from preaching freely in their lands, writing of "an *alleged* Muslim prohibition against Christian preaching" (p. 191; italics mine), yet it was a capital offense in Muslim countries for a Christian publicly to criticize the Prophet Muhammad or his teaching, or to convert a Muslim to the Christian faith. Such restrictions led men like Lull to argue that a crusade was needed to replace Muslim rulers by Christians, who would then allow the peaceful evangelization of their Muslim subjects. This may not be an admirable policy, but it is a perfectly coherent one.

Finally, Mastnak says nothing about the military power of the Ottoman Empire in the early modern period, although fear of this militant Islamic state must surely have played some part in perpetuating crusading ideology in the Western world. Crusading never developed in a vacuum; it evolved as part of a response by the Christian West to Islamic military power, and it cannot be justly evaluated if that fact is completely ignored.

BERNARD HAMILTON
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MEGAN CASSIDY-WELCH. *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*. (Medieval Church Studies, number 1.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2001. Pp. xiv, 293.

Thirteenth-century monasticism has for too long been ignored at best, and reviled at worst, by ecclesiastical historians; it is frequently portrayed as lying in the doldrums between the glories of the twelfth century and developments in the later Middle Ages. In part, this neglect can be attributed to the 1215 legislation forbidding the foundation of new orders that provided a terminus ad quem for studies of religious communities, in part to the emergence of new expressions of the religious life typified above all by the friars and the beguines that seem to represent a new, more urbanized spiritual world in which pastoral care was privileged above solitude and contemplation. This book by Megan Cassidy-Welch attempts both to challenge an interpretation of change as representing inevitable decline, and the false dichotomy between the Cistercian "ideal" of the age of Aelred and Bernard and the "reality" of increasing compromise and laxity. This revisionist interpretation is to be welcomed, provided that it is emphasized that there was a shrinkage in Cistercian benefactions and recruitment in the thirteenth century and that the rhetoric of decline was a contemporary one that may well have influenced potential patrons, although many other factors played their part.

If houses are machines for living in, monasteries are machines for living the spiritual vocation, each individual component having a specific function within the communal complex while also possessing its own meaning as part of the whole. Nowhere was this more apparent than among the Cistercians. The articulation of space within the precinct was a response to the metaphorical and allegorical interpretations of the monastery as garden and grave, paradise and prison. Using architectural and archaeological evidence as well as normative Cistercian legislation and decisions of the General Chapter, together with contemplative works of thirteenth-century Cistercian authors such as Stephen of Sawley and Matthew of Rievaulx, Cassidy-Welch presents a carefully nuanced interpretation of space and its uses in all areas of the monastic complex, demonstrating how a multiplicity of spiritual meanings were given physical shape and translated into stone.

The analysis is less convincing where it is less focused, as it is in the chapter on the *conversi*, which is for the most part a reworking of standard treatments together with an account of Sinnulph, a lay brother in twelfth-century Fountains abbey, which fits neither into the study's structure or chronology. The discussion of lay burials within Cistercian abbeys could usefully have been expanded. There is no recognition that the privileged few burials described were solely of patronal families and major benefactors and that, in general, the laity continued to be excluded from monastic burial spaces. Moreover, the account of the burial (in the mid-twelfth century) of Wulfric of Haselbury is thoroughly muddled. Wulfric was an ancho-rite and priest, not a layman; he died and was buried in Haselbury church, not Ford abbey; and the monks of that Cistercian house played no part in his burial.

The author has chosen as her focus the abbeys of Yorkshire, that regional epicenter of English Cistercian monasticism. The choice is sound, for in no other area of the country is there such a wealth of textual sources or such impressive physical survival. There is already a substantial secondary literature, notably Joan Wardrop's study of Fountains abbey and the work of Peter Fergusson on Rievaulx, although unfortunately Janet Burton's definitive study, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (1999), appeared too recently for its conclusions to be considered here. There are, of course, dangers in this regional sample. How far it is legitimate to extrapolate from developments in a localized area to the order as a whole, or just within the British Isles, even in an order as centralized as the Cistercian, at least in theory, was? Moreover, these communities were among the wealthiest and best endowed in the country, and it is unclear whether the architectural change and sophistication found here were also apparent in smaller abbeys elsewhere.

This volume is the first in a welcome new series, "Medieval Church Studies," that aims to integrate the detailed analysis of textual and nontextual sources with recent methodological and theoretical approaches. While Cassidy-Welch's analysis is grounded in recent theoretical discussions of memory and space and their meanings, the intended synthesis has not been fully realized, and as a consequence there is some unevenness in her treatment of the material. Nevertheless, even if ultimately unconvincing, this is a most stimulating, thought-provoking interpretation that will be required reading for all historians of medieval monasticism.

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NIGEL SAUL. *Death, Art, and Memory in Medieval England: The Cobham Family and Its Monuments 1300–1500*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 287. \$45.00.

In England the taking of rubbings of monumental brasses in country churches is typically regarded as a hobby pursued by teenagers or by adults of an antiquarian turn of mind. It is not usually considered to be a practice worthy of a professional historian, least of all one of the caliber of Nigel Saul. This is, of course, a very narrow and inadequate view. As Saul shows in this highly original and perceptive study, there is much to be learned from brasses about the relationships, self-valuations, achievements, and ambitions of the noble and knightly families who were at the heart of the political society of medieval England. His work is one of a number of significant recent publications on the commemoration of the dead, such as Anne McGee Morganstern's *Gothic Tombs of Kinship in France, the Low Countries and England* (2000) and Clodagh Tait's *Death, Burial and Commemoration in Ireland, 1550–1650* (2002).

Saul takes as his source material the splendid series of brasses commemorating the Cobhams, a knightly family that flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: nearly twenty brasses in the parish church of Cobham in Kent, another important collection in the church at Lingfield in Surrey, as well as examples in other churches associated with different branches of the family. Two members of the family, Reginald Cobham of Sterborough and his cousin, John Cobham of Cobham, achieved honor and prestige through service of the crown in its French wars and were summoned to Parliament as peers. Another member, Thomas Cobham, made a career in the church and was elected archbishop of Canterbury in 1313. Yet success was to remain elusive. The family did not retain its place in the peerage or at the pinnacle of the English church. John Cobham died without a male heir, while Thomas Cobham was forced to make way for Walter Reynolds, Edward II's preferred candidate for Canterbury, and had to be satisfied with the see of Worcester. The Cobhams in their various branches were in the end country gentry, who were powerful in their localities but remained on the fringes of real power in the kingdom of England.

The Cobham monuments at Cobham were on a smaller scale than the royal mausoleums at St. Denis and at Westminster, or the series of Despenser tombs in Tewkesbury abbey, but in their way they were just as important. They signified the respect of the living for the dead members of their families and the prayers for their souls in purgatory, but they were also a statement of the self-valuation and social status of the Cobhams. The brasses were carefully grouped in the chancel of Cobham church, rather than in a series of side chapels, so as to make maximum impact on those who saw them. In 1362, John, Lord Cobham, who appears to have been the instigator of this arrangement, also founded an adjoining college of clergy, in effect a chantry on the grandest of scales, to provide prayers for himself and his family after their deaths. Saul argues that the very fact that John Cobham had no male heir to succeed him may have been an additional spur to his extravagant investment in piety: he was determined that if the family line were to die out it would be remembered. As Saul demonstrates in his fascinatingly detailed and very readable book, John Cobham and his family were and indeed still are remembered.

Saul has, however, done more than this. In his examination of the social status and political roles of the various branches of the Cobham family, he has provided us with a valuable addition to his previous studies of those locally—and sometimes nationally—important families who merged into the fringes of the nobility (*Scenes from Provincial Life: Knightly Families in Sussex, 1280–1400* [1986] and *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* [1981]). Thanks to him, we know a great deal more

about the inner workings and dynamics of these county communities.

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DEAN PHILLIP BELL. *Sacred Communities: Jewish and Christian Identities in Fifteenth-Century Germany*. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Brill. 2001. Pp. xi, 301.

This is a marvelously daring book. It offers the challenging thesis that because they were separated from Christian communal (civic) bodies, which first perceived themselves in sacralized terms and then became increasingly independent of clerical control, Jews in late medieval German states failed to sink permanent roots there. The sacrality of the Christian community, Dean Phillip Bell argues, lay in its laicizing (not secularizing) the concept of the community as *Corpus Christi*, or the body of Christ. This vision makes some sense of the myriad attacks, ritual murder accusations, and host libels that plagued German Jews in the later fourteenth through the early sixteenth centuries: communities were purifying themselves of the “unsacred,” as it were. The same vision also helps us to understand why even in Martin Luther’s more “civil” society, as distinct from Catholicism’s ideal social structure, Jews would remain outsiders. (Within the Jewish communities themselves, a similar formative process is said to have taken place. Yet one is tempted to wonder whether the author’s concept of Jewish “Sacred Communities” derives more from the classical Jewish definition of communities as *kehillot kedoshot* [literally, sacred communities] than from the community’s being a Jewish variant of the Christian community as earthly embodiment of the *Corpus Christi*.)

Nonetheless, despite its overall credibility (the idea of lay domination over the clergy does seem over argued), this challenging thesis has not been well proved. The pitfall, if there is one, is Bell’s considerable, but thinly spread, erudition. Discussions of canon law and medieval philosophy stop short; attempts to intertwine Stephen Greenblatt and Mary Douglas abandon the central argument; a penchant for philosophizing or theorizing frequently substitutes a historical setting or takes the place of rigorous, textual proof; and it is only after some seventy pages that Jews themselves become the book’s real subject and the principal thesis is presented clearly. When Bell finally discusses Luther, it is in a single page, and the expected link to a civil-sacred society never appears. In addition, the use of *responsa* (rabbinic *consilia*) is spotty, and sometimes literal. *Responsa* dealt with individual cases; generalizing requires fine textual and intertextual analysis.

The interrupted discussions tend to obscure conclusions. At the end of the chapter on Jewish-Christian relations, the reader is told that: “A close look at the individual contexts of the converts and informants mentioned by Joseph [of Rosheim] reveals a complex

social environment with serious gaps in social and even religious cohesion with the late medieval Jewish communities." Were this an opening sentence followed by detailed examination, we would be intrigued. Ending, as it does, a brief exposition, its suggestiveness leaves the reader in a quandary, which is not helped by what immediately follows: "One great benefit of a more broadly, internally conceived community was that it could easily include Jews dispersed geographically. If the community itself was based upon inherent sanctity more than daily interactions it is not difficult to see how communal identity could become regional." The rhetoric is wonderful, the meaning elusive.

The book has three sections: "Christian Community," "Jewish Community," and a single chapter entitled "Comparison and Conclusion." The material in the first section is theological and legal; the latter is skimmed. By contrast, the discussion of libels and accusations well summarizes earlier work. Turning to the Jews, the author suggests that like the German municipality, the Jewish one, too, was relying ever more heavily on nonclerical leadership. Yet this is a difficult argument that neglects the nonsacral character of the rabbinate, and, in contrasting Jewish with Christian structures, views the church too locally. Very helpful, though, is the review of German scholarly writing on Jewish population, the expulsions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the relocation of Jews from cities to smaller towns and rural settings—this last anticipating, somewhat, what would take place in sixteenth-century Poland. The discussion of Jewish-Christian interaction surveys well-known polemics. We are thankful for a list of Jewish professions in trade and crafts, aside from lending.

The final chapter proposes to compare Luther, radical reformers, Germany, and Spain, a task too large for twenty pages. What the book lacks most is a basis in (previous) article-length studies by the author dealing with specific issues in depth. The synthesis here would be far more credible—and clear. More preparatory work might also have eliminated surprising details. Bernardino of Siena is said to exemplify the notion of the sacred community, but Bernardino was, first, a Franciscan and, second, not a German. The appeal to Bernardino seems, further, to counter the thesis of lay or civil sacrality. Sources are sometimes veiled. Many notes contain only partial titles, and important cross-references are missing. The chronicle of Friedrich Closener is mentioned one hundred pages after a first reference to Closener himself, and because of the citation system, it took many minutes to relocate Closener in the thirteenth century and a few minutes more to find out exactly what he had written and where to find it.

These reservations apart, which mostly concern presentation rather than content, Bell deserves credit and thanks. The book offers a synthesis in an area where no other yet exists, either in English or in German (the broad recourse to German literature is impressive). But in its exuberance, this book is ultimately one of

many beginnings. Development and endings are few and far between.

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WALTER STEPHENS. *Demon Lovers: Witchcraft, Sex, and the Crisis of Belief*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 451. \$35.00.

This is an erudite and charming publication, written in a brilliant style. Walter Stephens scrutinizes late medieval and early modern demonologies in considerable detail, starting with Johannes Nider's *Formicarius* (around 1435) and ebbing out somewhere in the seventeenth century, with the *Malleus Maleficarum* serving as gravitational center. Stephens challenges the assumption that demonologists were primarily concerned with power relations or gender politics. In order to prove this point, he moves one particularly exciting subject of demonology to the center of attention: sexual intercourse between demons and women. The author of the *Malleus*, Heinrich Kramer (Institoris), does indeed devote a couple of chapters to discussing demonic love. According to Stephens he was not interested in sexuality, nor in women, and not even in witchcraft, but rather in proving that devils were capable of assuming material bodies. His concern thus was not pornographic but metaphysical. In reaction to a crisis of belief, Kramer and his colleagues attempted to demonstrate the existence of spirits. Dealing with "demon lovers" was "an attempt to maintain belief while fighting off skepticism" (p. 27). The subject could provide "eyewitness proof" for the reality of metaphysical effects, with the sacrament of transubstantiation being the godly counterpart of devilish transformations. The conclusion that the real "demon lovers" were the demonologists themselves, since they needed these stories to reassure themselves of the validity of Christian doctrine, characterizes the author's elegance.

However, there are a number of serious problems with this book. First, although ingenious and plausible, Stephens cannot prove his interpretation. Fewer than ten percent of the *exempla* in the *Malleus* refer to demon lovers, and all of them are either nonspecific ("everyone in Como says") or ludicrous. Most of the contemporary examples concern cases of *maleficium*, or love magic. Second, to explain "why a society produced texts about witches for so long and why it did things to people identified as witches" (p. 29), demonic love is hardly suitable. To use Ockham's razor: if these theologians claim to be concerned about witchcraft, why should we not assume that they were indeed primarily concerned about witchcraft? Most of their contemporaries were, and the Dominicans clearly tried to exploit this widespread uncertainty. Kramer's concern was more the witchcraft *heresy*, and it should not (be forgotten) that he participated in trials against Waldensians, Conciliarists, Hussites, Taborites, and women who desired the Eucharist too frequently, as

well as against Jews (ritual murder case at Trent in 1475). Kramer was a persecution specialist, whose obsessions might be described in terms of "purity and danger." Third, and most important, Stephens's book fails to put demonologies in context. Referring to Richard Rorty and Umberto Eco, Stephens considers it a waste of energy to explore the empirical author's intention. By reconstructing the "intention of the text" (p. 28), which seems to speak mysteriously for itself, he renders it possible to construct an *implied* author's intention, "the type of individual who would or could have written such a text." According to Stephens, "textual evidence" allows us to track "precisely" the revisions of the *Malleus* in the process of writing. Inconsistencies are supposed to prove that demonic sex "is the thematic keystone of the entire book" (p. 49). However, his speculations about a protracted process of revision are hot air. The "empirical" *Malleus* was assembled hastily within hardly nine months and bristles with inconsistencies. Contradictions and mistakes of all kinds are frequent, and even the gender of the witches varies continuously. According to the contents, forty-eight questions were to be treated, but Kramer completely messed up this structure and arrived at eighty-six chapters (with only four dedicated to demonic love) unevenly distributed over three "parts," two of which were subdivided further. Large chunks of text are not mentioned in the contents, the headings hardly ever match, and chapters are lacking, some wrongly numbered with cross-references usually leading nowhere. This was indeed a work in progress. Stephens exaggerates the importance of demonic love and underestimates the practical difficulties of compiling such a massive text ("scissors and paste-editing," p. 46) under extreme time pressure and premodern conditions. "When Kramer sent the *Malleus* to press" (p. 51), he was presumably forced to be physically present in the imperial city of Speyer, where the book was printed by Peter Drach in 1486, as we know for sure from his account book (not 1487, as Stephens claims repeatedly). We can only guess why Kramer wrote such a desperate book under desperate conditions, putting his scholarly reputation at risk. Apocalypticism, it seems, is a good guess, if we take the author's apologia seriously. If the end of the world is nigh, you do not care about grammar.

Evidently it is the right of a literary scholar to emphasize the dignity of texts, but equally clearly historians may reject the assumption that it is possible to make sense of texts without putting them into context. "Reading between the lines" is clearly necessary since many arguments displayed in demonologies serve tactical purposes. This, however, can only be demonstrated by contrasting the constructions of authors like Kramer with archival sources. In his *exempla*, Kramer grossly distorts the original court cases, which dealt exclusively with maleficium or love magic. Demons—and "demon lovers"—are basically *absent* from the depositions of accusers, suspects and witnesses, as well as from expert opinions, and court sentences of

Kramer's inquisition trial at Innsbruck. The worrying contrast between the judicial records and the inquisitor's fantasies drove contemporaries to the conclusion that Kramer had gone mad, as Bishop Golser asserted in autumn 1485. Kramer's largest inquisition ever was a crushing defeat. As a result, he started writing the *Malleus*, providing his version of the story, and in it we read of a triumphal success and of a world full of demons. The proceedings against the inquisitor, including Kramer's apology, were published by Hartmann Ammann in 1890 and have been scrutinized by Heide Dienst more recently. The introduction to a new translation of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (ed. Günter Jerouschek and Wolfgang Behringer, 2000) suggests that Kramer was considered a maverick even within the Dominican order, because he distorted quotations from authorities, forged documents, and had a quarrelsome temperament. Jacob Sprenger, the supposed co-author of the *Malleus*, was a bitter enemy of Kramer, whom he tried to restrain wherever possible. Maybe Stephens missed all these publications because of his lack of interest in context. It seems to me, however, that the context wrecks Stephens' argument, despite all its erudition and its many striking ideas. By rendering context unimportant, this book proves congenial to its subject. Kramer could be seen as an ancestor spirit of postmodernism. For him, reality was at once unimportant and unintelligible. However, as we can see from the results of his reasoning, fantasies can prove dangerous.

WOLFGANG BEHRINGER
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VALENTIN GROEBNER. *Liquid Assets, Dangerous Gifts: Presents and Politics at the End of the Middle Ages*. Translated by PAMELA E. SELWYN. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2002. Pp. 248. \$49.95.

The early history of the Swiss Confederacy is not commonly a central element of the standard political narrative of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The battlefields are rife with Swiss soldiers and their pikes but, like the Fugger family's gold, the Swiss are usually minor actors, hidden behind popes, emperors, and reformers. One of the many virtues of Valentin Groebner's book is that it places the early Swiss Confederacy where it belongs, in the middle of Europe. The Swiss and south German cities do not appear here as the main actors in the political scene but as models of a governmental culture based upon gifts and their discourse. In the process, Groebner convincingly demolishes Max Weber's belief in the birth of a salaried, independent bureaucracy in the sixteenth century. City government and ideology were to remain gift based well into the modern era.

The anthropology of the gift, invented by Marcel Mauss and nurtured by generations of anthropologists, has long been uncritically incorporated into the understanding of history. Groebner, however, is the first to

critique the Maussian interpretation of gifts from a historical point of view. Stripping the nostalgic perfection surrounding the mythical "gift society," Groebner shows that gifts were anything but straightforward means of human contact. No less devious than money, gifts were flexible and fluid (often quite literally, they were wine), assuming the shape of the enclosing vessel. Historians who adopt anthropological models, claims Groebner, must beware lest they adopt them as universal, ignoring the historical context.

From within the specific context of Swiss and south German cities of the later Middle Ages, Groebner illuminates the actual working of gifts on several levels: politically, symbolically, and socially, gifts were channels of power and identity. The decision to bestow gifts was shrouded in the deepest secrecy of town council meetings, but the granting was a public display of status for both giver and recipient. The rituals and discussions surrounding gifts reveal a complexity of symbolic and cultural layers. Much to the author's credit, he did not content himself with surveying urban accounts and protocols, but dove deep into the underlying moral structures of public life, as embodied in literary and theoretical sources. Gifts and their distorted mirror images—bribes—bore many associations of embodiment, sexuality, and xenophobia. Bribery and sodomy were both perceived as foreign (French or Italian) practices, geared to perverting the honest Swiss. This discourse goes far back in European history. Groebner traces it to medieval moral, didactic, and encyclopedic literature, as well as visual sources from prints to frescoes. "These are unusual genealogies for a political topos" (p. 145), he notes. The book, remarkably, analyzes the reality derived from the cultural topos of gift and bribery to fifteenth-century urban politics and traces the actual application of these elements. Thus, the acceptance of bribes was often punished with the cutting off of hands, for gifts accepted from polluted hands of corrupt magistrates were forbidden. There were even two different words in contemporary vernacular to denote legitimate, open gifts as opposed to secret bribes: *schenck* (literally, something poured out) and *miet*. In 1510, the Basel town council allowed its envoys to accept pensions from the emperor, as long as those were turned over to the city treasury, but three years later such pensions were declared illegal (pp. 117–19). There were other such reversals of policy, defining and redefining gifts given and accepted as either *schenck* or *miet*.

Within the context of Swiss history, the book's main significance is the stress laid upon the importance of the money flowing into the Swiss cities from various foreign rulers. "The political structures of the early modern Swiss confederacy emerged along with and by means of these payments" (p. 96). Rather than viewing this flow as a corrupting, weakening influence upon the simple, honest Swiss, Groebner asseverates its central importance to political formation.

At the same time, this book is of central import far beyond its immediate topic. Other than its insights

upon historical anthropology and the history of public administration, its greatest significance lies in the rethinking and contextualization of political history as a discipline. "The history of political terms must thus be written as the history of their flexible and ambiguous deployment, adaptation and redefinition" (p. 147). How political history uses terms and symbols, and how those terms and symbols shape political history, lie at the basis of this book. How this happens within the specific Swiss late medieval context is the factual proof for a subtle and perceptive theoretical framework.

Not the least of the book's virtues lies in the translation. It is one of the very few I have read in which the German original does not peek through the cracks of the English. It is fluent, lively, and faultless. In general, the production (in these days of scarce copyediting) is more than praiseworthy.

The book's title, wisely, refers to gifts and their significance rather than to Switzerland. It is to be hoped that readers will indeed see the unquestionable value of this book beyond its specific geographic context. Any historian interested in the interplay of ideas and political practice anywhere and at any time ought to profit from reading Groebner's work.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

PHILIP BENEDICT. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xxvi, 670. \$40.00.

This book is the first English-language synthesis of Reformed Protestantism in nearly fifty years, and it replaces John T. McNeill's *The History and Character of Calvinism* (1954), which students and teachers of the Reformation have relied on for half a century. But Philip Benedict has done much more than simply update an old classic; this is a substantially different kind of book. Not only is it replete with a scholarly apparatus of more than a hundred pages of references to primary and secondary sources in various European languages—McNeill's book was virtually devoid of notes or references of any kind—but Benedict has also taken account of the sea changes in the methodology of Reformation studies since 1954. His subtitle, despite its ambiguities, underscores that historians are now as interested in the laity as in the clergy, and as interested in the ordinary men and women who made up the various confessions of the Reformation as in their leaders and institutional churches. Benedict's book is as much about Calvinism as practiced as it is a study of the ways it was preached and taught. It embodies the various methodologies of social historians of the Reformation of the last forty years or so, without ever assuming that the religious can be either equated with or totally explained by the social.

In a big book such as this, which aims to deliver a synthesis and overview of the various and sundry

churches that made up the Reformed tradition over two centuries, one might not expect to find any central arguments or cohesive themes tying the various strands of the narrative together. In fact, Benedict attempts to stress several themes that are laid out for the reader in the introduction. One of these is his revision of the idea—common not only to McNeill's book but also to much of the traditional historiography of the Reformed tradition—that something distinctive about Calvinism played a prominent role in the advent of modernity. This argument has most often followed one of two forms: that Calvinism was distinctly linked either to the origins of democracy or to the rise of capitalism. Yet throughout the book, Benedict insists that despite a number of seeming correlations between Reformed piety in one form or another and either democratic tendencies or economic advances, in fact there existed very little spillover of either democracy or capitalism outside religion. In short, Benedict argues persuasively that Reformed believers tended to share the same general economic and political outlooks as their Lutheran and Catholic counterparts. Benedict goes to great lengths to argue that Calvinism certainly helped shape European and Western values since the sixteenth century, and he believes its history is still relevant in a world where institutions and the media have become almost entirely secularized despite growing numbers of dogmatic fundamentalists of many major religions. Nevertheless, he argues that the link between Calvinism and modernity has been crudely exaggerated by much earlier scholarship.

A second theme that emerges in the book is the diversity of Reformed institutions, beliefs, and practices that was already emerging even before the death of John Calvin in 1564. Benedict's theme of diversity contrasts sharply with McNeill's emphasis on fragmentation. What McNeill viewed as a regrettable and lamented collapse of unity and coherence around essentialist Calvinist doctrines (such as predestination) and practices, Benedict sees as a more positive sign of adaptation, where various Reformed churches were forced to accommodate their institutions and practices to local political pressures simply in order to survive.

Benedict divides his book into four parts. Part one recounts the origins of the Reformed tradition, emerging as it did out of the split between Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli over the Eucharist. The second generation of reformers—Calvin in Geneva and Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich—thus forged a church built on a middle way between Lutheran consubstantiation and Zwinglian sacramentarianism. In Geneva, this new church also pioneered the institution of the consistory, in the process redefining the relationship between church and state as well as promoting greater moral discipline in the community. Part two analyzes and explains the expansion of the Reformed faith outside Switzerland to the Netherlands, France, England, Scotland, the empire, Poland-Lithuania, and Hungary in the second half of the sixteenth century. Once again Benedict stresses the theme of diversity to useful

effect, showing how adaptation of Reformed ideals to local situations allowed Calvinism to become the most dynamic form of Protestantism by century's end. Part three, titled "The Transformation of a Tradition," focuses on the theological disputes over predestination that sundered many of the Reformed churches in the seventeenth century into various factions, especially in the British Isles. Finally, in part four Benedict analyzes the impact of Calvinism on the laity in terms of the so-called "reformation of manners," social and moral discipline, and the practices of lay piety.

Benedict has been able to take advantage of the last forty years of scholarship by social historians of the Reformation—and he has made significant contributions to this scholarship himself—to inform his audience in ways that McNeill never could. His book is a laudable achievement. Although I expected to find greater coverage of the French Huguenots in these pages, especially given that Benedict is one of their most capable historians, overall the book is well balanced and for the most part a pleasure to read. Let us hope that Yale University Press will quickly issue a reasonably priced paperback edition so that it can reach its intended student audience.

MACK P. HOLT

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WOODRUFF D. SMITH. *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. x, 339. \$24.95.

If you have your finger on the pulse of historiographical fashion—that is, if you have served on too many search committees or read too many review articles—you may already be bored with consumption. Production's once neglected counterpart has become all the rage over the past fifteen years, and its modishness shows few signs of abating. Woodruff D. Smith's book draws on many fine recent monographs to analyze Western European consumption of the early modern period's archetypal new goods: cotton and pepper, sugar and coffee, tea and tobacco. The book begins with an excellent question: a question originally posed, as the most arresting ones often are, by a student at the end of class. Teaching about imperialism, Smith had just finished his lecture on the enormous eighteenth-century expansion in European imports of colonial goods produced by slaves. "But why did people in Europe *want* all that sugar?" asked a student (p. 2). Offering a few commonplaces about biological proclivities and economic laws, Smith hoped he had satisfied the student's curiosity. But the question remained.

This book's strength lies in its willingness to address this question, in its effort to bring human motivation into the history of economic and social transformation. Although hardly the first book to do so (in some senses, this was already the question that motivated Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* [1920]), Smith's is notable in the tenacity with which it worries the question and in the somewhat

cumbersome ingenuity with which it answers it. In a word, people wanted all that sugar because it was part of various practices—coffeehouse debate and negotiation for men, tea-table conversation and domesticity for families—that constituted respectability. Smith maintains that being respectable and *respected* was the hallmark of modern elites (newly constituted in this period) and that this concern distinguished them from earlier groups who relied on the simple assertion of status for power. Pointing toward the Habermas-inspired analysis that is now so firmly part of eighteenth-century studies, Smith stresses that the new category of “respectability” was something that happened in the public sphere (even if it was a measured and sensible private life that was being respected). Consumption of certain goods was an appropriate—sometimes an outright necessary—part of a particular social identity.

In his introduction, Smith goes to great lengths to insist that he rejects any monocausal explanation for the transformation of consumption patterns in early modern Europe. Finding vague references to “culture” insufficient, he wants to replace them with more precise accounts of the workings of specific cultural contexts. In an elaborate, if slightly dense, first chapter, he stresses the importance of attending to multiple contexts and of recognizing the effects these contexts may have on each other. Hence, his “cultural contexts” cannot be fixed once and for all: they must themselves be subject to historical analysis.

Admirable, albeit somewhat abstract, in theory, Smith’s approach becomes more problematic in practice. The body of the book consists of five chapters focused on specific concerns identified as “cultural contexts” (gentility, luxury, virtue, masculinity, femininity) and on their eventual combination in the making of a new context, that of respectability. These themes unquestionably reverberate throughout the literature on early modern consumption, but their resonance may be as much a product of late twentieth-century historiography as it is of early modern preoccupations. Smith’s synthetic, often descriptive, account is at the mercy of the secondary sources on which it is based. Much of the material Smith presents is culled from detailed monographs; his book hence provides a useful introduction to some of this quickly proliferating literature, but it has a more difficult time developing its own innovative line of argument.

This weakness derives in large part from Smith’s choice of sources and his manner of analyzing them. He reads canonically literary sources—such as Samuel Pepys’s diary or Samuel Richardson’s novels—in a largely symptomatic fashion (such, for instance, that *Measure for Measure* and the two parts of *Henry IV* provide the necessary evidence for a widespread “public discussion” (p. 39) about the relation between honor and magistracy). Smith seems to recognize the limitations of using a single text to exemplify a more widespread cultural context, but he does it nonetheless. A few citations from Pepys’s diary are enough to

establish a “pattern” (p. 31); two texts making no references to each other, Benjamin Franklin’s *Autobiography* and a seventeenth-century Dutch cookery/health book, serve to establish an eighteenth-century “discourse of virtue” (p. 116). With this as its approach, it is perhaps not surprising that the book’s eventual account of consumer desire is sadly devoid of affect. Demand for plain white cotton cloth, we are told, arose from “an intersection between the context of gentility and the contexts of luxury and virtue” (p. 60).

In its inclination toward model building and its attempt to establish cultural contexts as “rules of the game,” this book ends up echoing the very social-science history that Smith avowedly eschews. It is schematic accounts such as these that threaten to make us all bored with consumption.

REBECCA L. SPANG

University College London

NORMAN JONES. *The English Reformation: Religion and Cultural Adaptation*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell. 2002. Pp. xv, 253. \$29.95.

Norman Jones is a distinguished historian of the English Reformation with two well-received monographs already to his credit. In *Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion, 1559* (1982), he investigated afresh the Elizabethan religious settlement of 1559. His subsequent book, *God and the Moneylenders: Usury and the Law* (1989), analyzed changing attitudes toward the lending of money at interest. The present study is a more general work of synthesis, although it, too, is based on original research. Rather than attempt yet another history of the Reformation in England, Jones is more concerned with how the different generations and institutional groups in society adapted culturally during the sixteenth century to the religious alterations of the time.

The project is certainly an exciting one. Jones broadly accepts the modern revisionist argument that the changes were imposed “from above,” by successive governments, on the more-or-less unwilling mass of the nation. As to what that Reformation itself involved, Jones reiterates his earlier account provided in *Faith by Statute*. According to this view, a loosely textured *via media* obtained in religion, its outward manifestation being a “politique conformity.” It is not always clear, however, to what the individuals concerned were adapting or indeed whether they were instead progenitors. Certainly on one possible reading the English Reformation was a fairly radical Protestant affair, first instituted under Edward VI and then effectively restored, after the Marian interlude, with the accession of Elizabeth I. One hallmark was a sweeping iconoclasm, including the official destruction of altars, and another the adoption of Swiss Reformed theology. While “church popery” was an option for some, for others and probably the majority the choices remained relatively stark. Moreover the concept of a

via media is employed by Jones in two different but overlapping senses, to mean both the Elizabethan settlement of religion and the mental half-way houses in which he suggests many people took refuge after the event.

Jones has assembled a mass of fascinating material to illustrate the various strands of his overall theme. After an introductory section, the book begins with a chapter devoted to individuals who can be shown to have made conscious choices for and against Reformation as opposed to doing the bidding of authority. The resulting and sometimes painful divisions caused within families are then discussed in chapter three. As with his later treatment of "conscience," Jones also points out the potentially subversive consequences—in this instance for patriarchal authority. Conversely a practical tolerance of religious differences among relatives was a strategy probably adopted more often than not. In chapter four, "Dissolutions and Opportunities," he goes on to investigate some of the effects of the massive property transfers of the Reformation era. Granting that many communities were able to claw back property for acceptable reformed purposes, he suggests more controversially that the dissolutions taught people to put their own individual interests first. At the same time communities, like families, had by and large to learn to live with divisions in their midst (chapter five).

This process, so Jones argues, was facilitated by the moderate policies adopted by the Elizabethan regime, although he admits that the net effect was that Catholicism gradually withered away. In chapter six he claims that the official abolition of a religion of good works, involved in the switch from Catholicism to Protestantism, required "public virtue" to be reinvented. One casualty of the process, we are told, was the idea of "commonwealth," which had been so prominent during the Edwardian Reformation. This is in fact a reworking of the hypothesis that Protestantism was the handmaid of capitalism. Not unlike Max Weber before him, Jones sees the doctrine of predestination at work in this development. "Private" virtue, too, it is argued, had to be relearned (chapter seven), not least due to the novel role ascribed to conscience as part of the personal encounter with the Bible. The author rounds off this challenging and important book with a consideration of the rise of religious skepticism, depicted as a reaction to the competing certainties of the Reformation. Jones is to be congratulated for injecting new life into an old subject.

NICHOLAS TYACKE
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ALASTAIR BELLANY. *The Politics of Court Scandal in Early Modern England: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xvii, 312. \$70.00.

In 1613, Sir Thomas Overbury, political minder and mentor to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, during the latter's rise from Jacobean pretty boy to serious royal statesman, was arrested and sent to the Tower, where, a few months later, he died. Two years later, a story emerged that Overbury had been poisoned, probably by the countess of Somerset. The scandal led to nine trials for murder in 1615–1616 that resulted in four executions, the imprisonment of the Somersets, and a turnabout in court politics with the fall of one favorite (Somerset) and the rise of another, George Villiers, later duke of Buckingham.

The affair has been much studied for its titillating detail, its implications for the high politics of the Jacobean court, and for the artistic production (plays, masques and verses) and personnel (including Ben Jonson, John Donne, and Thomas Middleton) surrounding the affair and the Carr circle. Alastair Bellany's analysis begins where others have ended. Rather than a retelling of the details of Overbury's murder, or an investigation into the guilt or otherwise of those implicated in the scandal, he sets out to examine "the construction, circulation and political meaning of images and perceptions of the affair" (p. 16). At his disposal in this rich, interdisciplinary study are not only the archive-grubbing skills of the traditional student of high politics but also the literary critic's techniques in scrutinizing the cultural productions in which the story of the affair was disseminated, investigated, and contested, including nineteen printed publications reporting or reflecting on the case in 1615–1616 (including engravings and woodcuts) and a multitude of manuscript newsletters, separates, verse libels, and ballads.

From a careful but traditional reconstruction of the court politics of Overbury's death and Somerset's downfall, Bellany proceeds to show how news of the scandal spread, noting the various media of dissemination from the ritual of court proceedings and public executions through the oral, scribal, visual and printed forms of circulation of news. His analysis of Jacobean news culture is rich and detailed, demonstrating how the credibility of individual reports could be tested by the sophisticated reading strategies of the consumers of news, and concluding that the audience for news in Jacobean England was "large, geographically broad and socially varied" (p. 132).

From there Bellany seeks to recapture the Jacobean meanings of the affair. Rather than dwelling on what a modern audience might find scandalous, he decodes the politics of the representations that circulated so widely, showing the diverse and ambiguous meanings they carried. The Overbury poisoning could be used to link the court to a range of terrifying transgressions including witchcraft, corruption and popery, lust, luxury and gender disorder, and the inversion of the true patriarchal order. It could also be used to bolster the authority of the king as the religiously orthodox (and Protestant) would-be victim of another popish plot, a "powder poison" likened to the "powder treason" of

1605, or as "Great Britain's Solomon," the wise but merciful instrument of justice. Yet the role of the king remained profoundly ambiguous, even though he was not directly implicated by anyone in Overbury's murder. Did his eventual clemency to the Somersets speak of royal mercy, or royal partiality? Did the existence of a popish plot at court suggest the lengths to which the forces of Antichrist would go in order to strike at so orthodox a prince, or indicate a king so governed by his passions that he was unable to control his own household? It was, suggests Bellany, the Overbury affair that raised these questions and began the process that forged a link in the perceptions of many subjects between the court and popery, and thus the Overbury scandals "deserve a place in the politico-cultural origins of the Civil War" (p. 211).

Although Bellany's evidence linking the Overbury affair with the fear of popery at the outbreak of the civil war is rather thin, and the "afterlives" of the affair in the 1650s suggest rather a reinvention of the scandals for the very different polemical purposes of justifying (or decrying) regicide, this book is both a detailed, sophisticated, nuanced, and sensitive reading of one short episode and a standard-bearer for what Bellany calls (p. 23) a new kind of "ethnography of early Stuart political culture."

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WILLIAM T. LYNCH. *Solomon's Child: Method in the Early Royal Society of London*. (Writing Science.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 292. \$60.00.

This book is an attempt to analyze the early years of the Royal Society of London (founded in 1660) through the prism of its inheritance from the work of Francis Bacon. Bacon's description of "Solomon's House" in the *New Atlantis* (1627) was taken up self-consciously by early fellows of the Royal Society in the creation of the rhetoric and iconography of a new scientific institution. Despite much that has been written about the influence of Bacon's ideas of scientific practice, William T. Lynch's study is genuinely original. It tries to trace the legacy of Bacon's method in the writings of five prominent figures in the formative years of the Royal Society. The works discussed are John Evelyn's *Sylva* (1664); Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665); John Wilkins's *Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (1668); Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667); and John Graunt's *Natural and Political Observations Upon the Bills of Mortality* (1662).

Lynch argues that these books provide particularly powerful representations of the effects of different aspects of Bacon's method. What he calls "the specular view of objects" was predominant for Evelyn, whereas Hooke was more concerned with the "generative dimension of Baconian method" (pp. 30–31). This distinction helps Lynch to explain why Hooke's specula-

tions as a natural philosopher did not necessarily force him into opposition to more inductive Baconians. In the work of Wilkins, the specular and the generative were combined, according to Lynch, in the construction of an artificial but genuinely philosophical and real language, for which Bacon had once hoped. Sprat responded to the criticism of ordinary language that Wilkins's work implied and sought to demonstrate that the new philosophy had been liberated from the idle constraints of rhetoric. Lynch argues that the program of religious and political reformulation that is never far below the surface in Sprat's writing was taken up more directly in the tradition of political arithmetic, embodied by Graunt and also by William Petty. In their writings, the science of the Royal Society was deployed for the control and regeneration of the state in a way that reflected Bacon's original intentions for natural philosophy.

This argument succeeds in giving a greater degree of methodological coherence to the work of the early Royal Society than has usually been noticed. Nevertheless, there are some fairly serious problems with Lynch's case. It pays little attention to what Bacon thought himself; more seriously, it uses modern interpretations of Bacon's ideas as if they had been current during the mid-seventeenth century. Although Evelyn, Hooke, Wilkins, Sprat, and Graunt are presented as Baconians, Lynch does not really attempt to discover what they knew of Bacon, or how they understood him. Lynch has used the Evelyn archive in the British Library to good effect, and his treatment of *Sylva* is probably the best part of the book. He tends, however, to assume Evelyn's centrality to any Baconian work of surveying and investigation. Michael Hunter showed over a decade ago that the story of the committees of the Royal Society was more complicated than this. Although Lynch does consider the contribution of Sir Robert Moray, he has given too little space to prominent fellows who did not happen to write big books. Curiously, though, the figure whose role in the organization and practice of the Royal Society he most neglects is Wilkins. Here Lynch's refusal to deal with the reception of Baconian ideas and his relative ignorance of the archives conspire to create a misleading impression. This clouds his treatment of Hooke and Sprat and may explain his reluctance to engage with the work of Robert Boyle, who was, by the mid-1660s, unquestionably the most significant natural philosopher associated with the Royal Society.

In the end, Lynch is more interested in proving a case about Baconianism than he is in the history of the early Royal Society. That is a pity, since he has novel things to say that would have been enhanced by consideration of the broader picture, however familiar some of its features might be. Although the book's structure has been carefully thought out, Lynch should also have paid more attention to questions of accuracy and style. The text is marred by dozens of errors of

proofreading and some more substantial mistakes, for example in the discussion of statute law (p. 185).

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DONALD A. SPAETH. *The Church in an Age of Danger: Parsons and Parishioners, 1660–1740*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 279. \$64.95.

Donald A. Spaeth's account of the Church of England in Wiltshire between 1660 and 1740 has been eagerly awaited and does not disappoint. Recent revisionist studies of the eighteenth-century church present a more optimistic and sympathetic portrayal of its pastoral work than previous literature. Spaeth's monograph is particularly timely, as it reverts to a less optimistic interpretation, but one argued out in full awareness of the opposition's case.

Spaeth's argument is pithily summarized in his closing sentences: "The defensiveness and mental rigidity of the Church . . . and its clergy [by 1740] did not bode well for the future . . . [T]he main danger to the Church came from within" (p. 259). Yet in 1660, he argues, few wished to pursue their spiritual life outside the confines of the established church; in effect, the church had profligately alienated a fund of popular goodwill, with the key to its travails found "in the nature of relationships between the people and the clergy"; indeed, the problems it faced were "more psychological than structural" (pp. 9, 10).

Spaeth's argument is pursued through a close reading of the parochial history of the diocese of Salisbury, where conditions favored the church's pastoral efforts. His early chapters vividly portray the Wiltshire clergy (a variegated constituency, many of whom were positioned uncomfortably somewhere between the lay elite and rural poor), and the "arenas of conflict" in which the parish disputes that are his main theme were played out, the ecclesiastical and secular courts. Spaeth's sure-footed account of the often complex jurisdictional framework in which conflict was structured distinguishes his work. Few accounts of parochial dissension are illuminated by so clear an understanding both of the exact standing of clerical participants and of the various choices in terms of litigation open to the contending parties. These analyses inform a chapter on "The Management of Disputes" that is especially enlightening in its account of the role of different elements in parish communities in sustaining clergy/lay antagonism.

Subsequent chapters investigate the issues that generated significant tensions, often illustrated by well-chosen analyses of individual disputes. Spaeth makes much of presentments concerning pastoral neglect as evidence of lay demand for due Anglican provision. He argues that these were ultimately more significant than the more familiar and lurid charges involving clerical scandal, although the latter often formed part of more

complex disputes, sometimes with sectarian dimensions. The central importance of tithe in disrupting relations between cleric and parish is reaffirmed, not just as a grievance in itself but as the origin of legal cases that won the clergy an unenviable reputation as litigious termagants. Another key theme is the negative impact of the church's drive for uniformity, not just on nonconformists but on the very sense of parish community it sought to restore. Moreover, a fear of sectarian overtones discouraged pastoral initiatives that might have bolstered the church and, as a chapter on popular religious observance argues, distanced clerics from a lay understanding of Anglican practice that "owed as much to the Interregnum as to the Prayer Book." The laity still demanded clerical legitimation of rites of passage but found clerical efforts to assert control over worship in the church, in particular over the role of lay musical participation, objectionable: here clerical reaction resulted in a missed opportunity for building on popular commitment.

How convincing is Spaeth's overall thesis? He demonstrates the ubiquity of clergy/lay disputes but does not always convince that these should be understood as so directly affecting lay attitudes to the church as an institution or as being as fraught as the examples highlighted. As Spaeth is well aware, legal sources are problematic both in terms of representativeness and as the basis for accounts of the motivations and roles of participants. Historians of the late Hanoverian church may find Spaeth's account of the situation by 1740 overly pessimistic, perhaps because as with many other studies it implies too monochromatic an understanding of the dynamics of a successful popular religion. But this is a book to enjoy arguing with: the revisionists must now raise their game.

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FRANK M. TURNER. *John Henry Newman: The Challenge to Evangelical Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 740. \$35.00.

Based on impressive research in primary sources including manuscripts, this book portrays John Henry Newman's challenge to evangelical religion during the Tractarian Movement from 1833 to 1845. Frank M. Turner depicts the movement as being in opposition to the Erastian influence of the English state between 1833 and 1836, and to evangelical religion. From 1836 to 1839, it went from criticisms of contemporary evangelical religious practices to criticisms of historic Protestant doctrines such as supremacy of the Bible. After 1839, Newman, the Tractarian leader, went through a gradual conversion to Roman Catholicism that culminated in 1845, and he engaged in ascetic practices. Turner rightly observes that Newman's own account of his religious opinions in *Apologia Pro Vita Sua* (1864) is an intellectualized one and that his emotions are largely absent from it.

Turner's portrayal has considerable strengths but

also some weaknesses. At times he oversimplifies. For instance, he asserts that "Asceticism, not antierastianism, lay at the core of Tractarianism" (p. 109) and that "The Tractarian argument was quite simple. The sacraments were necessary for salvation; episcopally ordained clergy held the sacraments; only by receiving the sacraments from such clergy could a person be assured of salvation" (p. 175). Despite such oversimplifications, his primary argument that Newman and the Tractarians opposed evangelical religion and that their emotions were involved seems sound. As an example of the latter, Turner shows that Newman as a Tractarian sometimes engaged in name calling. After Turner's work, there can be no more hagiography of Newman during his Tractarian years.

While Turner's effort to give a psychological dimension to Newman is commendable and I applaud it, he at times engages in psychologizing on the basis of insufficient evidence. For example, he attempts to psychoanalyze Newman's anger: "It was the potential evaporation of his personal coterie persuaded of the hopelessness of the situation for Catholics in the English Church that accounts for Newman's otherwise puzzling explosive anger over the Jerusalem bishopric" (p. 397). And "The anger and frustration that he felt over those possible or actual conversions [of persons in some manner close to him] arose in part from the fundamental frustration of an adult who could not imagine a role for himself other than that of an older sibling" (p. 597). Despite his effort, Turner does not really provide us with Newman's psychology.

Other aspects of Turner's work are worthy of note. He observes that Newman's mind had a radical side. He had provided powerful critiques of the Bible and natural theology as bases for Christian faith. Turner notes that religious and cultural criticism derived from Tractarianism informed Matthew Arnold's later views on cultural anarchy. I might point out that Arnold's style was indebted to Newman as well. Newman and the Tractarians "helped to break the Protestant religious-cultural mold into which they had been born, and because that mold determined so much of English life and values beyond religion, they prepared the way for wider cultural transformations" (p. 641). There was indeed a radical side to Newman's mind; Turner's observations are feasible.

This book is not the definitive work on Newman during his Tractarian years, but any writer on the subject will henceforth have to take it into account. It is a very good complement to Turner's edition of Newman's *Idea of a University* (1996). While the latter is useful not only to scholars but also to upper-level students, the present book addresses scholars.

WILLIAM SCHOENL
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PHILIP SALMON. *Electoral Reform at Work: Local Politics and National Parties, 1832-1841*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) London:

Royal Historical Society and Rochester: Boydell. 2002. Pp. x, 302. \$75.00.

Since J. H. Plumb published *The Growth of Political Stability in England: 1675-1725* (1967), the historiography of British politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often has seemed preoccupied with combating the influence of Sir Lewis Namier. The Namierite school emphasized the continuity of British political processes from the Glorious Revolution to the reforms of 1884-1885, thus minimizing the role of party and ideology. For the period of the Great Reform Act of 1832, the bearer of Namier's mantle was Norman Gash. In *Politics in the Age of Peel* (1953), Gash portrayed a measure that made little difference because the bases for conducting elections after 1832 were the same as those Namier had identified for 1760: influence and corruption. Even a revisionist like Frank O'Gorman, who has devoted his career to asserting the importance of party to politics between 1760 and 1832, does not see the Reform Act as much of a watershed.

Philip Salmon sets out to demolish this view that the Reform Act did not matter. On the contrary, he claims that "seemingly minor provisions . . . concerning the payment of rates and the registration of votes had a dramatic impact upon the political life of the nation" (p. 238), launching a modern electoral system. First, the registration process itself, which involved getting supporters on the register and getting opponents off it (and for the individual voter, getting and keeping himself on the register), necessitated the development of party organization at the local level and so increased politicization of the electorate. As a result, by 1839 *The Times* claimed that "a general registration resembles a general election in most points" (p. 239). The initiative for forming these organizations usually was local; indeed, hints of central dictation were resented and often backfired. Nor could they simply depend upon the local landed elites. While the elites (and the candidates) provided money, activists were necessary for the ongoing registration work. Thus, the effect of reform was to weaken the influence of land in the election process and provide a decisive break from the period before 1832.

Paradoxically, the Conservatives were much more successful than the Liberals in developing these local organizations. Tory landowners were more willing than the Whig magnates to accommodate the new electoral landscape by adapting their traditional role as a center of sociability to the needs of party organization, as well as by contributing money. Not only were the Tories better organizers, however. Salmon shows that, contrary to expectation, the composition of the new electorate actually favored them. Thus, after the initial success of the Liberals in 1832, the Conservatives did much better in the contest to add new voters who would support their party. Furthermore, these key results—the centrality of registration, the increased importance of party and party organization, and the bias of the system toward the Tories—were just as

evident in county as in borough constituencies. Hence, Salmon goes beyond the recent work of John A. Phillips, who focused exclusively on the boroughs and discounted change in the counties. Using several quantitative surrogates in sample counties, Salmon argues that only about ten to fifteen percent of county votes can be attributed to deference to a landowner; most were party votes, just as they were in the boroughs.

Finally, Salmon claims that the same provisions in the Reform Act that politicized national elections help to explain an increased partisanship in local politics. The payment of rates and taxes was a prerequisite for both the parliamentary and municipal vote, thus assuring that Poor Law and parish elections (including control of the offices responsible for collecting taxes and rates) became part of the party battle. Furthermore, municipal and parliamentary registration procedures were nearly identical, while there was a large overlap in the electorates: roughly fifty to seventy-five percent, depending on the borough. The effect was to turn the municipal register and municipal elections into objects of struggle by party organizations whose initial *raison d'être* was parliamentary. Indeed, municipal elections came to be seen as harbingers of what would happen in a general election.

The argument is persuasive and engagingly written. The Reform Act really did change things. However, there is sometimes an excessive use of overblown language to convey novelty and importance when we are looking at changes that progressed slowly. Salmon himself admits that all he describes did not last long; political passions had muted by the 1850s. In a coda, he argues that the long-term effects were still dramatic, explaining the Conservative split of 1846 and the development of radical pressure groups modeled on the Anti-Corn Law League. Yet the modern political system still took the rest of the century to evolve. So what Salmon is describing is a beginning: an important but still small beginning in the development of modern party politics in Britain.

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MURNEY GERLACH. *British Liberalism and the United States: Political and Social Thought in the Late Victorian Age*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xix, 311. \$68.00.

The transatlantic commerce of ideas has fascinated British and American historians since the eighteenth century. Focusing on the west-to-east aspect of this commerce, Murney Gerlach has written a book about American influences on British Liberal political and social thought in the late Victorian era. The author is particularly interested in describing Liberal leaders' views of American events and their sympathies for the American people and democratic institutions. He also details the ways in which things American—including personal friendships, methods of government, and modes of behavior—influenced the thought and action of Liberal leaders.

Gerlach focuses on the relationships of British Liberals to their American connections in the period between the settlement of the *Alabama* claims in 1871–1872 and the Venezuelan boundary dispute of 1896–1897. He seeks to correct some misrepresentations in British and American history of the late Victorian era. Gerlach points out that, in many works of British history, the subject of the United States appears as a minor theme in the 1870s and 1880s, touching mainly on the subjects of Irish agitation, federalism, and free trade. Gerlach also challenges the notion that British Liberals grew disillusioned with American democracy in the 1880s and 1890s.

Gerlach offers a fresh perspective on the topic of American influence on Britain. Although many historians have examined James Bryce's travels and personal connections in America, most have overlooked the American connections and travels of the generation of Liberals that succeeded William Ewart Gladstone. Their experiences were especially informative and important because of the critical constitutional issues facing Britain during the Liberal ministries of the 1880s and 1890s.

Gladstone stands out in this work as the colossus of transatlantic liberalism. He took pains to praise what he called, in one article, "Kin Beyond Sea." He described the bright prospects of the American democratic experiment, the ingenuity of the Constitution, and the dynamism of the American economy. Gerlach points out, however, that while Gladstone enthusiastically praised the American Union from the late 1860s onward, he had originally sympathized with the Confederacy during the American Civil War.

In the 1870s, British Liberals, including Gladstone, tended to favor the American Republicans. The Republicans had been the party of union and the party that favored constitutional assimilation of the former slaves. The Republicans' approach to Reconstruction as well as their greater resistance to Irish-American agitation appealed to the Liberals.

Gerlach observes that British Liberals' perceptions of American politics had become far more nuanced by the 1880s. During the Liberals' political ascendancy, from 1880 to 1886, they formed a congenial relationship with the American Democrats. This new connection owed much to the close personal relations many Liberals enjoyed with the American "Mugwumps," the genteel reformers who abandoned the Republicans in 1884 over party corruption, civil service reform, and the presidential candidacy of James G. Blaine. In the next six years, from 1886 to 1892, while the Liberals were out of power, private connections between the reformers in both countries expanded. Periodicals such as the *North American Review* played an important role in fostering these ties, as did the reformist efforts of Andrew Carnegie, who was more supportive of social reform in Britain than he was at home. British Liberals were especially keen at this time to consider how American federalism might be made applicable to the situation of Ireland and to the empire generally.

In their last Victorian ministries, from 1892 to 1895, the Liberals confronted not only the withdrawal of Liberal Unionists over the question of Home Rule but also the growing impatience of younger Liberals who favored social reforms similar to those advocated by the American Progressives. In the American presidential election of 1896, British Liberals, now in political eclipse, turned back again to favor the American Republicans. They lacked any sympathy for, or understanding of, the Democratic Silverites, or the "boy orator of the Platte," William Jennings Bryan. At the end of the century, not only the Liberals but Britons generally found that American and British foreign interests were more closely intertwined than ever before. Gerlach points out that, even before the rapprochement over the Venezuela boundary dispute, the British and the Americans were celebrating their common destiny. This arose out of the transportation and communications revolutions, Anglo-Saxon racism, military association, and economic interdependence.

Gerlach has supplemented this work with informative biographical appendixes and an extended bibliography. Transatlantic history is filled with works that make broad generalizations without supplying specific details about personalities, correspondence, and individuals' reflections. Gerlach offers his readers the critical flesh and blood connections that forged durable transatlantic links.

ANDREW W. ROBERTSON

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VINCENT MORLEY. *Irish Opinion and the American Revolution, 1760–1783*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 366. \$65.00.

The question of Irish public opinion in the eighteenth century has been a relatively neglected one, the key work remaining R. B. McDowell's *Irish Public Opinion, 1750–1800* (1944). Moreover, apart from Maurice O'Connell's *Irish Politics and Social Conflict in the Age of the American Revolution* (1965), in-depth studies of the impact of the American Revolution on Ireland are something of a rarity. For both of these reasons, Vincent Morley's book should be warmly welcomed by all students and scholars of late eighteenth-century Ireland.

The book is certainly ambitious. Traditionally, political studies of eighteenth-century Ireland have focused on the views and actions of the Protestant ruling elite. In contrast, Morley consciously attempts to widen his perspective by examining the reaction of less exalted figures, in particular the Catholic poor who made up the vast majority of the population. The chief strength of the book is in the wide range of sources consulted. Newspapers, sermons, pamphlet literature, and, most controversially, Gaelic poetry have been utilized to supplement traditional sources such as parliamentary debates and the correspondence of key political actors.

A major theme of the work is the extent to which traditional generalizations about Irish responses to the American war require qualification. Historians have normally portrayed the Protestant dissenting community as being the most pro-American group in Ireland, the Catholic community (at least at elite level) as being most loyal, with the Anglican community lying ambiguously in between. Morley convincingly demonstrates that public opinion was far from static between 1775 and 1783, the attitude of Anglicans, in particular, being very much determined by changing diplomatic and military circumstances.

The most contentious aspect of the book is the claim that the Catholic community was seriously divided in its response to the American Revolution. Although Morley confirms the traditional view that the Catholic clerical and landed elite was consistently pro-British, he argues forcefully that the majority of Irish Catholics adopted a staunchly anti-British stance throughout. Although this view is hardly novel, finding evidence to support it has proved more problematic. Morley uses references to the American war in contemporary Gaelic poetry to argue that lower-class Catholics retained their traditional anti-British attitudes. While such sources are no doubt an invaluable insight into the *mentalité* of sections of the Catholic community, the very nature of this evidence requires that it be treated with some caution. In contrast to his meticulous approach to the interpretation of other sources, Morley tends to accept the evidence of poetry at face value. This is an established debate and need not detain us here, but this reviewer was struck by the ambiguous nature of the content of a number of the examples cited. Moreover, even when the message of the poetry is clearly anti-British, the language was firmly rooted in the tradition of Jacobitism. Whether such sentiments can be regarded as evidence of nationalism, as the author claims, is a moot point. The praise offered to Protestant patriots in some of the poetry also raises serious questions about the contemporary function of such rhetoric.

In stressing the antigovernment stance of the Catholic masses, Morley is on stronger ground when discussing the phenomenon of "soldier houghing." From 1773 on, there were numerous examples of soldiers being attacked and mutilated, especially in the cities. While this appears to have been a response to recruitment campaigns (and thus may indicate little more than an understandable aversion to the prospect of being sent to serve abroad), Morley does offer other evidence to support his case that there were persistent and serious tensions between the military and the civilian population (pp. 255–57). The notion that this should be regarded as evidence of a popular Catholic "nationalism," however, is weakened by Morley's admission that there was a reluctance to enlist among "all sections of the population" (p. 137), including those in Ulster.

Morley concludes that developments in Irish politics were inspired more by the example of the American

colonists than by their political thought. More important, perhaps, the circumstances of the American war enabled a small group of (always unrepresentative) patriot politicians to wrest significant economic and constitutional concessions from a weakened British government. At the same time, it is important not to underestimate the significance of the changes in Irish political culture in this period. As Morley makes clear, the debates over free trade and legislative independence and the experience of Volunteering further encouraged the emergence of a politically conscious and active middle class. A small minority of these people, moreover, raised issues that were truly revolutionary in potential: demands for parliamentary reform, calls for Irishmen of all religious denominations to unite to oppose British domination of their country, a willingness to contemplate a further relaxation of the penal laws, and (admittedly for very few) the notion that the connection with Britain might be severed. These ideas would reemerge in a more systematic and widespread manner following a revolution that certainly did inspire major changes in Irish political thought—that of 1789.

PADDY McNALLY
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MICHAEL HOPKINSON. *The Irish War of Independence*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2002. Pp. xxi, 274. \$39.95.

Michael Hopkinson's book is the first narrative account of the 1919–1921 period in Irish history since Dorothy Macardle published her partisan *The Irish Republic* in 1937. Although there have been a great many detailed studies of local events, leading personalities, and specialized themes published since, this is the first attempt to draw them all together. In many ways, Hopkinson has succeeded. Written in an accessible style, his book provides an excellent summary of British and Irish politics leading up to the War of Independence, offers a satisfactory account of the events during the war, presents much new material on the making of British policy leading to the establishment of a dominion in southern Ireland and devolved government in the North, and makes some thought-provoking judgments. Nevertheless, in addition to some minor quibbles over the number and precision of referencing, I have some important objections to the book's structure, focus, and content.

The choice of January 1919 as the starting point of the war is out of step with recent historiography, which has favored January 1920. The traditional importance assigned to the coincidence of the first meeting of the Dáil, the self-styled Irish parliament, and the shooting of two policemen in Tipperary in January 1919 has been superseded by the moment the leadership of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) allowed outright attacks on the police, thus creating a real warlike situation in which there were two competing authorities with armies that openly fought each other. Hopkinson does

not acknowledge the significance of this and lets the war effectively start in July 1920. In his treatment of what he calls the "Beginning" period from January 1919 to June 1920, military events are largely ignored. Three out of the four major chapters in this section actually deal with developments in British administration, security forces, and policy and just one with the activities of the Dáil.

This overemphasis of the British side is a major defect of the book. There is indeed a large section on military events in Ireland in the final year of the war, but this rarely moves beyond an often incomplete catalogue of the highlights of fighting in the various counties. Although obviously aware of the plethora of recent studies, Hopkinson does not make adequate use of them, leaving a lot of loose ends in the treatment of local issues. The lack of analysis in this section means that the big questions that concern Irish historiography of this period—namely the unequal distribution of IRA violence, the relationship of republicans with democracy, the role of women, and the motivation and social background of the IRA fighters—are barely touched on.

In contrast, Hopkinson's treatment of British policy, particularly the attempts to come to a peaceful settlement, is far better and based on many unused sources. It reveals interesting new perspectives on the attitudes of leading English and unionist politicians as well as events like the meeting of Eamon De Valera and Sir James Craig in May 1921. The resulting attempt at might-have-been history does bring out important questions, in particular concerning the necessity of the use of force by the IRA and the implications for twentieth-century Irish history if peace had been made in 1920.

Another problem with the structure of the book concerns the position assigned to events in present-day Northern Ireland. Unlike the minimal IRA activity in Britain discussed in the body of the work, IRA operations in the North are without clear justification, confined to the section on "Consequences" and mainly described as a reaction to southern events. This "partitionist" approach gives a misleading impression of the objectives and possible outcome of the struggle and certainly does not do justice to the IRA's perception of the struggle as an all-Ireland one, nor to the level of activity in the North.

In effect, Hopkinson has failed to make a clear choice between writing a synthesis of the available knowledge and presenting new research. As a study of the making of British policy this book is most rewarding, but as a full treatment of the War of Independence in all its complexity, it is unsatisfactory. I have read more than I knew on high politics and the opinion of various major players on the English and unionist side, but less than I should expect from the author on Irish affairs. It will be interesting to see whether the analysis contained in this book holds up after study of the Bureau of Military History papers finally released last

March, which contain more than 1500 statements of IRA activists and much original source material.

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MARY HALAVAIS. *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon*. Electronic book. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Site access \$195.00.

The title of Mary Halavais's impressive first book refers to a protest that the city of Teruel made to the Inquisition in 1484. Deciding that they would not submit to inquisitors who had just arrived with plans to begin an investigation of their citizens, the town council sought to explain their opposition. "The Holy Father and the King Our Lord are millers," the council stated, "and their ministers are those who bring the wheat to the mill, and the city is the grain to be milled, and there is good reason for the grain to know whether it will be milled, or threshed, or what will be done with it" (ch. 1, epigraph). In this statement of political philosophy, the town council not only asserted the city's right to know what inquisitors planned to do with its people but also described itself as a homogeneous and unified community. Its citizens were grains of "wheat," clearly as important to the authorities as they were to the community. For ten months, the town council kept inquisitors outside the city, resisting the Inquisition's attempt to disrupt the peace in which Jews, Muslims, and Christians of this community were living together.

Halavais skillfully organizes ten well-written chapters to support this argument. She opens with a description of Teruel in the fifteenth century, citing archival and notarial records that describe the *convivencia*, "a pattern of accommodation and cooperation," that members of the three monotheistic faith communities had established among themselves (ch. 1, par. 5). But chapter two analyzes the arrival of the Inquisition in Teruel and the town's strategies to defend itself from outside authorities' attempts to question and divide their community. Showing that the town defined itself and its citizens very differently from the inquisitors, Halavais questions the customary ways that historians have accepted "categories imposed upon Aragon by the Aragonese Inquisition" (ch. 2, par. 6). The author's careful reading and analysis of local documents presents an important example of a multicultural community and its resistance to the imposition of the Inquisition.

Noting that Teruel could be considered an exceptional case, Halavais extends her study to notarial records from two nearby villages to provide even more support for her argument of local *convivencia* and resistance to the Inquisition. She brings to life the communities of Baguena and Burbaguena just north of Teruel in the Jiloca river valley, reading notarial records for information about births, marriages, deaths, property, and business transactions. These

documents show a high degree of peaceful interaction between Old Christians, those without Jewish or Muslim ancestors, and the "newly converted." It should be pointed out, however, that notarial documents are much less likely to reflect tension or conflict between these groups than secular or ecclesiastical court records. Moreover, notaries used formulaic phrases and forms that may have veiled any evidence of cultural tensions.

After the middle of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition of Aragon and the archbishop of Saragossa played stronger roles in disrupting the *convivencia* of these villages. Warning of the contagion of heresy, they called on parish priests to be more suspicious of outsiders and to list their parishioners separately as Old Christians and newly converted. Some parish priests resisted this attempt to make them define their people by religious heritage, and Halavais shows how these priests were more likely to categorize parishioners by their performance of religious responsibilities. Nevertheless, outside authorities were able to impose on these villages their identification of Moriscos, or those with Muslim forebears, as suspect heretics and traitors. Archival evidence clearly demonstrates this imposition, even though it does not explain the process by which authorities were able to separate the grains of "wheat" that the town council had presented as a homogeneous community in 1484.

Halavais has carried out an impressive amount of research in local and provincial archives, but the sources that she so clearly analyzes have significant limitations. They cannot present the larger picture of what was happening between a growing central monarchy and its concerns with Ottoman Turks, Muslim corsairs, and Morisco bandits. Moreover, geographic and topical limitations of local records concerning two villages and a city of southern Aragon present only a small part of the many interactions between Christian authorities and the geographically and culturally diverse Morisco population in the kingdoms of early modern Spain. Halavais's evidence cannot tell us of the violence, struggle, and tragedy of a people that included not only those who accepted assimilation but also those who sought to maintain their own culture through both resistance and accommodation. It cannot tell us of the increasing suspicion of Moriscos following the dispersion throughout Castile of some 50,000 Moriscos of Granada after the unsuccessful rebellion of 1568–1570. Nor does it tell us of the heartbreak of having to leave behind many Morisco children younger than seven years as authorities expelled their families in the early seventeenth century.

Yet this book is remarkable for what it does tell us. Challenging common assumptions about diversity and community, Halavais provides an important piece of the larger puzzle of how diverse people lived together and what changed their relationships in the early modern period. She and the Gutenberg-e project of Columbia University Press deserve congratulations for

publishing such a fine contribution to historical scholarship.

MARY ELIZABETH PERRY
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SEBASTIAN BALFOUR. *Deadly Embrace: Morocco and the Road to the Spanish Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 349. \$35.00.

Morocco has played a crucial but often overlooked role in the history of modern Spain, leaving a deep impression on Spanish politics, society, military affairs, and culture. Sebastian Balfour's well-researched and compelling study helps to remedy this historiographical oversight. The book should be of interest to scholars of Moroccan history, but it will appeal primarily to historians of Spain and of European colonial and military history.

The book begins with the developments leading up to 1909, the year of a well-publicized armed attack by Moroccans, the "Tragic Week" of antiwar and anticlerical rioting in Barcelona, and the creation of a Spanish expeditionary force of around 40,000 men. Balfour argues that the Spanish losses during the summer of that year did not constitute a "predictable tragedy" (p. 18), as critics claimed, but rather a flawed understanding of the enemy and the nature and conditions of the war. He takes a similarly antideterminist stance elsewhere in the book, stressing the importance of specific decisions, policies, and actions for the Moroccan war. The book then turns to the period of Spanish military expansion in Morocco beginning around the time of the establishment of the "protectorate" in 1912, including discussion of the sometimes schizophrenic approaches the Spaniards took when dealing with Muley Ahmed el Raisuli, the colorful leader of the Beni Arós tribe. The book also describes how conflicts between and within Spanish governmental and military bodies affected many other aspects of Spanish actions in Morocco through the 1920s.

Balfour's work does not cover the more technical aspects of military history in great depth, as he freely acknowledges. Nevertheless, it provides useful descriptions and analyses of several important campaigns, especially with regard to the political-military decisions that influenced battlefield events and outcomes. It devotes a chapter to the military disaster that began near Anual in late July of 1921, when Spanish forces suffered more loss of life—around 10,000 men, according to Balfour—than other European powers had suffered in better remembered colonial debacles at places like Isandhlwana and Adowa. Especially interesting is Balfour's strong case for a reevaluation of Manuel Fernández Silvestre, whom most historians have portrayed as a blunt and impetuous general with little respect for any approach to Moroccan resistance other than the use of brute force. Balfour, in contrast, argues that Silvestre acted from a more complex combination of "a colonial zeal backed by humanitarian concerns" and a belief that Spain's "civilizing

mission" entailed more than just military dominance (p. 65). What Balfour calls the "secret history" of chemical warfare against Moroccans figures prominently in his discussion of the post-Anual period of Spanish military recovery and eventual victory. Going beyond the pioneering and—surprisingly enough—often overlooked work by Rudibert Kunz and Rolf-Dieter Müller on what these authors call "the first 'aero-chemical' war in history" (*Giftgas gegen Abd el Krim: Deutschland, Spanien und der Gaskrieg in Spanische-Marokko 1922–1927* [1990], p. 13), Balfour uses archival and published sources along with interviews with surviving Moroccans to tell the story of brutal counterinsurgency tactics employed against military and civilian targets, including the use of chemical weapons and terror attacks from the air.

The book also examines cultural and racial perceptions behind Spanish actions. It argues that Spanish rightists shifted the traditional role of the Moroccan Other as enemy to the "godless" leftists of the Second Republic and Civil War, a process also studied by María Rosa de Madariaga, whose work treats many other subjects of Balfour's book as well. Another chapter explores the everyday life and thought of the Spanish soldiers, making use of archival and published sources along with his own interviews with veterans. Balfour necessarily bases some of his arguments here on conjecture, as he acknowledges. But the vivid picture he paints is very convincing in general, although he fails to make full use of recent historical scholarship on the experience of war at the more individual, psychological level.

The last part of the book examines the place of Morocco and the colonial officers in the politics of the Second Republic. It then turns to the Spanish Civil War itself, arguing that the Moroccan experience shaped the conduct, course, and propaganda of the conflict in various ways. This part of the book is not as fully developed as what comes before it, but it does address interesting and important questions of strategy, tactics, and the suppression of resistance on and behind the front lines.

Taken as a whole, Balfour's book on this fascinating but largely neglected topic—especially in English-language scholarship—is a very worthwhile and compelling read.

GEOFFREY JENSEN
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ANGELA JACKSON. *British Women and the Spanish Civil War*. (Routledge/Cañada Blanch Studies on Contemporary Spain, number 5.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xii, 316.

Angela Jackson breaks new ground in her study of British women during the Spanish Civil War. The rebellion led by General Francisco Franco in 1936 against the democratically elected Second Spanish Republic stirred thousands of women and men in Great Britain to act in support of the republic. Most

conspicuous were those who volunteered to fight in the International Brigades. In addition, however, were women who served as nurses, administrators, journalists, and in a number of other capacities. Thousands of others remained at home but worked ceaselessly on committees, organizing food drives and caring for Basque children who found refuge in Great Britain. Jackson points out that these women remain not just hidden from conventional studies of the period but also "hidden from feminist history."

The author draws on a wide variety of sources and places them on a carefully constructed theoretical foundation that helps to display a broad range of experience, stretching from the artist, Felicia Brown, who was killed in battle, to the women who toiled for the cause of Republican Spain without leaving Great Britain. Jackson's intention is not simply to locate these often remarkable women in a particular time and place but also to contribute to "remembrance studies," or the way in which the past is shaped into a narrative that brings coherence to the fragments of intensely lived experience. Therefore, she pays scrupulous attention to the way in which interviewees organized and recounted their experiences. Most important, she brings her subjects into better view by emphasizing the way in which gender affected their attitudes toward Spain, particularly the manner in which melioristic motives drew many to humanitarian work and, therefore, into politics. As Jackson stresses, however, there was nothing inevitable about the response of women to the plight of Republican Spain. Rather, some British women fell into its "gravitational field" because "the conflict was a reflection of their varied concerns." Jackson is excellent at revealing these concerns.

The danger of analyzing the experiences of these women in terms of categories of motives and behaviors is that it can dim the often passionate individuality of their experiences. Jackson turns resolutely away from the biographical approach taken by Paul Preston in *Doves of War: Four Women of Spain* (2002). As a result, her canvas is stretched wide, with a range of subjects from different classes, occupations, and political backgrounds. Unfortunately, only rarely do their faces come into sharp focus. When they do, however, it is typically the result of Jackson's painstaking research, perhaps a wonderfully revealing letter, a poem, an interview, a journal entry, or a heart-stopping photograph.

More might have been said about the political culture in which British women lived in Spain. Jackson believes that, in contrast to many of the male volunteers, most of the women were uninterested in "the machinations of political parties." If they were indifferent, however, it was at their own peril. Lack of interest in politics or naïveté, or both, could have baleful influences on the lives of those who might well fall victim to those machinations. The best example is that of the estimable Nan Green, who, although a dedicated Communist, was subject to party villification because of a brief romance she had with a convalescing

brigader who was accused of being a Trotskyist and later deserted. Particularly condemning was a charge that she possessed a letter filled with criticisms of the Soviet Union. Another example is the nurse, Lillian Urmston, who served heroically in Spain. She called herself "politically disinterested" and believed she was the only one of her cohort not to become a communist. As a result, however, she was forced to endure accusations of being a spy, as well as other indignities.

Moreover, one's attitude toward the party in Spain could cast a long shadow. After the war, Urmston believed that she was purposefully excluded from International Brigade reunions. In the early 1980s, while conducting research on the medical services in Spain, she was denied access to parts of the International Brigade archive at the Marx Memorial Library in London because of the lingering political stigma (a censorship that would be unthinkable today). So, as careful and sensitive a listener as Jackson is to the stories of the British women in Spain, she may not have heard all that could have been said about the political world in which they lived.

Frida Stewart wrote toward the end of her life: "The most significant moment in my life was the day the ambulance took me across the border into Spain." Jackson helps us understand why this was so. She has written a fine and valuable study that helps us gain a new understanding of what Spain meant in the lives of a generation of British women.

JAMES K. HOPKINS

Southern Methodist University

JOAN MARIA THOMÀS. *La Falange de Franco: Fascismo y fascistización en el régimen franquista (1937-1945)*. (Así fue: La historia rescatada, number 47.) Barcelona: Plaza and Janés. 2001. Pp. 398.

The history of the Spanish Civil War and the Franco dictatorship was for years weakened by determinist analytical structures and, in some cases, by ideological bias. In effect, Francoists in Spain and Republican sympathizers in exile continued the conflict after 1939 as a "war of words." For a decade or more, the former depicted the war as a crusade against atheist communism while the latter reconstructed the conflict as a simple struggle between "democracy" and "fascism." The "fascist" label was so firmly tied to Francisco Franco's state political organization, in order to condemn the regime as a whole, that even by the 1970s historical study continued to be fixated on taxonomic considerations. Joan Maria Thomàs's book reflects the general drift of the historiography since the early 1980s away from functionalist approaches and toward the historicization of the recent past in Spain, especially in relation to the civil war and the dictatorship.

The basic argument of this in-depth political study of the Franco dictatorship's state movement is twofold, the first part being reflected in the main title and the second in the subtitle. In April 1937, the Spanish fascist party, the Falange, was unified from above with

the Carlist political organization centered in Navarre. All other political formations in Spain were prohibited. The new organization thereby effectively became "Franco's Falange," and the dictator, "Spain's savior," was declared the party's Jefe Nacional. The party grew rapidly during the civil war, partly of course as a function of this unification, but at the same time it lost many prewar affiliates at the front. It has been estimated that there were some 36,000 members in July 1936, rising to 240,000 in 1937 and 650,000 by 1939. There was a concomitant dilution of radicalism, and Franco was installed not through the action of the party, but through his military triumph (albeit one achieved with the assistance of Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini). The fascist party, despite its early stated objective of emulating the Duce's success in Italy, never came very close to conquering the Spanish state. Rather, during the civil war, Franco's nascent state, supported by the army, economic elites, the church, civil servants, and lawyers, managed to conquer the Falange. Throughout the Franco years, the Falangist "revolution" always remained *pendiente* (awaited or pending).

In essence, the new party, FET y de las JONS, represented a marriage of statist "historic fascism," originating in rural Castile in the early 1930s, with Catholic Carlist traditionalism. The latter had incubated as a political force and as a somewhat hermetic culture for decades prior to the brusque reforms of the Second Republic to which it so profoundly reacted. A major part of the story of the internal conflict of the state party revolves around Falange-Carlist tensions that Franco was able to exploit. This ongoing conflictual situation, and the complex mechanisms of conflict resolution, are described, possibly in greater detail than ever before, in the four substantive chapters of the book.

The second part of Thomàs's argument (outlined in chapter one) supports the application of the notion of "fascistization" to the Francoist state. This key concept has been used to interpret the positioning of the party within the new configuration of political power. Francoism was not installed as the result of the hegemony of a fascist mass party. However, in effect, the Falange from 1936 and again as the state party from 1937, contributed to the "fascistization" (the use of fascist symbols, for example) of much of the rest of the coalition of power. Thomàs explores such themes as political repression, the justice system, women, youth and student organizations, intellectual life, and the press in relation to the influence of the party. The last was relatively superficial, and the zenith of fascist influence was reached as early as the second half of 1941. The conclusion is that Francoism in the period 1937–1945 was much more than an authoritarian regime, although much less than totalitarianism (p. 33).

The main problem with this book is the one that affects historical study of the Franco years in general: the old functionalist accounts may only be replaced with descriptive accounts (formerly a weakness of

some of the taxonomic obsessives). Meaningful comparisons rest only partly on description. Analysis of the intersection of state and society (possibly through a cultural approach to the reception and representation of doctrine and policy) seems to offer the greatest insights. This approach need not be determinist or merely descriptive.

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PALOMA AGUILAR. *Memory and Amnesia: The Role of the Spanish Civil War in the Transition to Democracy*. Translated by MARK OAKLEY. New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. xxii, 330. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

For scholars, studying memory and amnesia is an abstract but rewarding intellectual exercise. For others, like contemporary Spaniards, memory has greater, more personal meanings. Witness, for example, the "Association for the Recovery of Historical Memory" recently created to locate and exhume the mass graves of those killed by Francisco Franco's Nationalists during the Spanish Civil War. It has taken over twenty-five years since the death of Franco for Spaniards to confront the ghosts of that war, and many have done so with trepidation.

It is the relationship between the painful memories of the Spanish Civil War and its effects on the Spanish transition to democracy (1975–1982) that Paloma Aguilar tackles in her book. Using sources of official culture such as newsreels, monuments, textbooks, and newspapers, Aguilar contends that the Franco regime created and transmitted a collective historical memory of the Civil War that provided a cautionary tale for those who facilitated the transition. In other words, the many political groups who fashioned the transition—most of whom, she argues, were born during or right after the war—worked to achieve consensus and reconciliation so that a civil war would never happen again. Aguilar convincingly argues that the players in the transition consciously drew lessons from their perceptions of the past. Her work provides a novel way to study "authoritarian régimes and processes of political transition" (p. xxii).

The first chapter discusses memory studies and their implications for the Spanish transition. I find this chapter most problematic, mainly because I have ceased to believe that one can use memory as a category of historical and political analysis. To be fair, Aguilar carefully shows the complexities of studying memory, and she is aware of how difficult it is for scholars to discuss and quantify individual and collective memories. But then she tries to quantify memory in the next chapter by timing the number of minutes that newsreels explicitly or implicitly mentioned events related to the Civil War. In 1964, Spanish viewers saw the most minutes (sixty-seven). Can one hour of propaganda sprinkled throughout a year's worth of movies really transmit a collective historical memory? How can we actually know how people interpret what

they see on a movie screen? The narrative would have worked better if, instead of memory, Aguilar had used a concept like narrative representations.

As a study of the success of Francoist propaganda, this work is stellar. Chapter two traces the evolution of Francoist construction of historical narratives about the Spanish Republic and the Civil War. By looking at state-produced newsreels and documentaries, monuments built for the victors, parades, political science textbooks, and works written by Francoist historians, Aguilar demonstrates that Franco had to both legitimize his illegitimate rise to power and find ways to continue justifying his rule in the latter years of his regime. To establish his legitimacy, official culture portrayed Franco as the savior of a nation that was riven by political, class, religious, and nationalist strife. In turn, as the crusader, Franco had to punish those who had fought on the Republican side. Over time, the official discourse about the war changed. From the mid-1950s on, the regime portrayed itself as the keeper of "twenty-five years of peace." Because of this peace, it contended, the Spanish economy thrived. This new narrative reflected the Franco regime's desire to merge what Aguilar calls "performance-based legitimacy" with "origin-based legitimacy." At the same time, the discourse in some political science textbooks and history books began to treat the vanquished in more conciliatory terms, calling for some form of toleration and coexistence with old enemies. Aguilar buttresses these arguments with solid textual evidence.

The final chapter is the most compelling: a discussion of how the transition's political actors were haunted by what they perceived to be the lessons of the republic and war. Aguilar emphasizes that it was "the memory of historical misfortune and the fear of the dangers of radicalization [that] contributed most to moderating the demands of all the important political and social groups of the time" (p. 151). All of the parties involved tried to create a democracy through political institutions that were different from those of the fractious Second Republic: namely a bicameral parliament, proportional electoral law, and a monarchy. She provides fascinating accounts of how people argued for completely opposing positions—for or against proportional representation, for example—based on their perceptions of what went wrong during the republic. Obviously, this generation of politicians learned some lessons about the collective costs of civil war, but as Aguilar also hints, one could also say that they learned about the price of terror and dictatorship, and it is this dialectic that shaped Spain's transition to democracy.

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RONALD S. LOVE. *Blood and Religion: The Conscience of Henri IV 1553–1593*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 457. \$65.00.

Henri of Navarre is remembered as one of France's most popular prerevolutionary monarchs, but the beginning of his reign was anything but auspicious. He succeeded to the throne in 1589, after the assassination of Henri III. His claim to rule derived from Salic law, which governed succession to the throne. By tradition and popular belief, however, France's kings were of the Catholic faith, and Henri was a Calvinist. Thus, in the eyes of many, Henri of Navarre could not be the legitimate king of France until he joined the majority church. He did so in 1593, but his motivations for converting have been the object of speculation and suspicion from his time to ours. What part did sincere religious belief play in his religious change, and what part political opportunism? Henri's opponents in the sixteenth century accused him of cynicism and attributed to him the quip: "Paris is worth a Mass." Some historians agree and think of his religious loyalties as based on purely political considerations. Others contend that his religious convictions were serious, if tempered by political pragmatism. Yet another group argues that Henri eventually became a sincere Catholic. Ronald S. Love has revisited the issue with painstaking attention both to Henri's religious beliefs and to the political dilemmas he faced.

By virtue of his upbringing and social rank, Henri was caught between two imperatives: that of blood and that of conscience. As Love shows, Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, instilled in her son recognition of his lineage's position and responsibilities. With the demise of the Valois dynasty, Henri's Bourbon clan stood next in line for the throne. Therefore, he claimed the crown in 1589 firmly convinced of his right to it by inheritance. But Jeanne d'Albret had just as determinedly instilled in her son the Calvinist faith. He was caught between the competing demands of blood and religion from his earliest days. The young prince of Navarre was a pawn in the political and religious conflicts of the mid-sixteenth century. Before the age of nineteen, he had been forced to change his public profession of religion four times. He was baptized a Catholic in 1554, but his mother confirmed him in the Calvinist faith in 1560. His father, Antoine de Bourbon, who allied himself with the Catholic monarchy, brought Henri to court, isolated him from his mother, and pressured him to renounce Calvinism in 1562. This stay in the Roman Church was brief, and after Antoine de Bourbon's death, Catherine de Medici allowed the young prince to return to his mother's faith. Henri's marriage to Catherine's daughter brought him to court again in 1572. When the wedding festivities dissolved into the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, Henri became a captive of the court. His survival now depended on adopting Catholicism. But when he escaped in 1576, he once again returned to Calvinism.

Henri's history of religious changes raised suspicions about the sincerity of any conversion he made as king. But so too did his political jockeying in the years between his accession and final abjuration. During these years, Love insists, Henri remained true to his

Calvinist faith, even while regularly promising his Catholic supporters that eventually he would "take instruction" in Catholicism. But can we really assess Henri's "genuine personal feelings" from his words and actions, especially when he had learned at a young age the "need for effective duplicity" (p. 76)? Love more successfully analyzes the political strategy Henri pursued to defeat his opponents in the Holy Catholic League while avoiding an abjuration, which would have given credence to the league's argument that he could rule only as a Catholic.

For some of Henri's later admirers, his tactics after 1589 reflect his shrewdness as a masterful politician successfully avoiding a conversion that would leave him looking weak. But for Love, the timing of the conversion in 1593 suggests a different interpretation. The king was in a strong position after he defeated the league armies at Ivry in 1590, but he did not convert then, and from the spring of 1591 on, his political situation deteriorated. The league survived, and the war dragged on. Henri's Catholic supporters grew increasingly frustrated, as he repeatedly promised them a conversion and then put it off. Love maintains that, by 1593, Henri IV no longer controlled the political situation. Without converting, he could neither defeat his opponents nor maintain the support of his friends. He thus had little choice: "by converting . . . to consolidate his grip on the throne, Henri [was] forced to accept that there were restraints upon his authority . . . and to concede . . . that the fundamental Salic Law was contingent upon the principle of religion" (p. 298). Religion had triumphed over blood.

Love's exhaustive analysis of the political situation is masterful. But he often mars his considerable achievement with unnecessary and quarrelsome remarks about other scholars, who have written important studies of Henri IV's abjuration. Without such criticisms, Love's study would still remain the most detailed examination available of the maneuvers leading to the conversion that eventually brought peace to this long-troubled kingdom.

KEITH P. LURIA

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MARC FUMAROLI. *The Poet and the King: Jean de La Fontaine and His Century*. Translated by JANE MARIE TODD. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2002. Pp. vii, 536. \$49.95.

Jean de La Fontaine is a puzzling figure. As Marc Fumaroli himself remarks, "Of all the 'great' French writers, La Fontaine is the only one to whom the epithet 'great' seems unsuitable." La Bruyère, that shrewd critic and moralist, ranked La Fontaine alongside Molière, someone who would be read centuries after French had disappeared as a spoken language; but he found it incomprehensible that someone should write so beautifully who in conversation appeared vulgar, awkward, and stupid. The memorialist Tall-*emant des Réaux* included him in a list of "dreamers,"

producing a string of anecdotes that suggest a bizarre combination of absence of mind and, in sexual matters, an extreme matter of factness (indifference, at any rate, to what others might think or care for). Hippolyte Taine's famous study of him mobilized the whole apparatus of nineteenth-century scientific determinism, as if nothing less would make his writing comprehensible. The most straightforward option for the literary critic, if not the historian, might appear to be to ignore biography altogether and simply concentrate on the richness of the texts. There is work enough to be done there: the fable is a genre associated with children, but (as Jean-Jacques Rousseau saw so acutely) La Fontaine's fables are wildly unsuitable for conveying simple moral lessons. Read carefully, they illustrate as dark a vision of human reality as any put forward in an age of great pessimists.

Fumaroli, however, has produced a biographical reading that is singularly rich and illuminating. He has produced an admirable edition of the *Fables* (2 vols., 1985). His more general work on seventeenth-century literature has focused on its relations with rhetoric, the sphere of discourse that intervenes most directly in social life. But there is more to Fumaroli than seventeenth-century scholarship. His polemical *L'État culturel* (1991) was a stinging critique of the attempt—in modern France, following a tradition launched by Louis XIV and Jean-Baptiste Colbert—to entrust the state with the promotion of culture, which Fumaroli sees instead as essentially a product of an autonomous civil society. This general vision of French history informs the present work, which thus appears as a case-study in the relationships among culture, society, and the state.

Fumaroli's La Fontaine is not an apolitical dreamer but one who refused to renounce his attachment to an older vision of the kingdom, a vision asserted by the princes and the *parlement* against the legacy of Cardinal Richelieu. If this makes him seem a dyed-in-the-wool *frondeur* at heart, it may then seem paradoxical to stress, as Fumaroli does, his obstinate loyalty to Nicolas Fouquet, since Fouquet was the agent of Cardinal Mazarin's restoration of the state against and after the Fronde. But the re-evaluation of Fouquet is one of the aspects of this book that historians will find most interesting. He comes across not as a wheeler-dealer of more dexterity than honesty, whose vanity received its inevitable albeit severe come-uppance, but as one popular with commoners and nobles alike, a truly cultured and tolerant figure, a man aspiring and fitted to reconcile state authority with its *ex-frondeur* opponents who was brought down not by arrogance and vanity but by his imprudent trust in the king's good faith. Fouquet's downfall emerges as a crucial bifurcation in French history, rather like the premature death of the duc de Bourgogne, Louis XIV's grandson, in whose inheritance those like François Fénelon had invested so much hope of a return to pre-absolutist France. La Fontaine's loyalty to Fouquet and to the vision of France he (according to Fumaroli) embodied

earned him the hostility of a king whose favor he studiously refused to try to regain.

One of the finest things about this book, which draws on areas of La Fontaine's work and of seventeenth-century literature that even specialists neglect, is the sense it gives of the residual presence of Renaissance culture in an age that seemed to have repressed it. This indeed is integrated into the general vision of France and of culture mentioned above, pitting the living world of civil society in which the arts can thrive against the mechanical absolutist state (hence the unfavorable reference to René Descartes). Fumaroli refers to the "organic . . . totality of the commonwealth." In the English-language tradition, twentieth-century writers like T. S. Eliot and F. R. Leavis also articulated an "organic" vision of culture, criticized in the work of Raymond Williams, and there are other accounts of seventeenth-century culture that instead stress, somewhat in the manner of Williams, the perception of culture as a kind of market (although one in which prestige as well as money is a form of capital), in which agents' behavior is to be interpreted in strategic terms. (I am thinking of Alain Viala's work.) We need that kind of analysis too. But there is a wealth of precious detailed insight here as well as a powerful overall interpretation of the work of one of France's greatest writers, reconnected here to the history with which the work is so fully, if far from obviously, suffused.

Fumaroli's French, elegant, elaborate, and allusive, is not easy to render well in English: Jane Marie Todd has done a very good job, although now and again she gives us the usual modern equivalent of a word which, in context, required a different translation: thus "daughter" is used when it should be "maid of honor" or "benefits" instead of "benefices" (and an "héritier présomptif" is, oddly enough, not an heir presumptive, which means something else, but an heir apparent). But Todd has done well to make available in readable English a most important investigation of French culture.

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PAUL FRIEDLAND. *Political Actors: Representative Bodies and Theatricality in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 351. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.00.

When the great revolutionary deputy the comte de Mirabeau spoke in the new National Assembly at the start of the 1790s, spectators frequently responded as if they were attending a play. Some clapped in appreciation at Mirabeau's brilliant oratory, others whistled their disapproval—at his performance as much as his message. In this fascinating and dense study, Paul Friedland provides many such striking examples of both the metaphoric and the practical intertwining of politics and theater between 1789 and 1794. But the

heart of Friedland's book is devoted to illustrating what he insists was a bigger development, an "underlying revolution" in perception that had implications not only for the unfolding of French revolutionary politics but for "political modernity" more generally (p. 13). This was the emergence, during the second half of the eighteenth century, of a fundamentally new understanding of the concept of representation.

It is the first half of Friedland's book that tells this story, or perhaps I should say stories, since the author interweaves two sometimes parallel, sometimes interconnected tales about representation. In one thread, Friedland explains the change, between 1750 and 1800, in the function of both the theatrical actor and the theatrical audience. Whereas traditionally the actor was expected to incarnate a character as a sort of perfect simulation (and was thus also shunned for the profanity that this act of becoming entailed in the Catholic mind), the modern theatrical performer, as redefined by secular Enlightenment thinkers, was increasingly asked merely to represent this character and to seem real or *vraisemblable* in the process. The audience, removed from the action by changes in lighting and seating, found itself applauding those actors who best succeeded in their duplicity. But what most occupies Friedland's attention is a concurrent and, he claims, closely related transformation. During the same half century, the old notion of the nation as a living but nonvisible body (or *corpus mysticum*, in Catholic terms), and of the king as the embodiment of the nation's will, was also challenged. In the remonstrances of *parlementaires* and the writings of certain philosophes, there emerged, in theory if not yet in practice, a competing idea of politics as a realm in which representatives would speak on behalf of an abstract entity called "public opinion" and private individuals, removed from power but constituted collectively as an audience, would judge the legitimacy of what they saw and heard expressed in their name. The most important chapters in this book focus on the critical moment when this newer conception of representation finally came into its own: in the contest over the convening of the Estates General in the last years of the Old Regime.

Based on learned and skillful readings of pamphlets both famous and obscure, Friedland is able to demonstrate that the extended fight over voting procedures that culminated in the formation and naming of the National Assembly in June 1789 was actually a defining moment for modern democratic theory: a serious battle over conflicting conceptions of the nation and, more specifically, over deputies' relationship, as representatives, to this body. On both sides, Friedland informs us, early modern and modern conceptions of representation continued to exist in often uncomfortably close proximity. The Abbé Sieyès's great achievement, in *What is the Third Estate?*, was finally, successfully, to make the political (representative) body and the national body rhetorically one.

Indeed Friedland insists, borrowing both a concept

and an approach from Keith Baker, that Sieyès essentially wrote the "script" for the French Revolution when he redefined representation in this way (p. 119). And, to some extent, the second half of this book is less exciting than the first insofar as the latter chapters treat the key developments of the revolutionary period as prescribed based on a conceptual shift that has already taken place. Departing briefly from his emphasis on the close reading of political rhetoric, Friedland carefully details the multiple ways that theater and politics became practically linked from the start of the revolution, from the heavy involvement of actors in the National Assembly, to the politicization and policing of the content of plays, to the designing of assembly halls as mock theaters. But finally the author turns to the vital question of why this mixing, which the new theory of representation made possible and perhaps even inevitable, proved so anxiety provoking to those on both the Jacobin left and on the counterrevolutionary right. (Friedland, following recent trends in the field, tends to stress the common ground upon which all revolutionary discourse was constructed rather than the evolving sides in debates.) Friedland's answer is that the revolutionary symbiosis of acting and policy making stimulated a longstanding and still deep-seated fear of all kinds of abstractions. What Sieyès's script had not spelled out was that this worry would force political actors to engage in denunciation (so as to demonstrate their own legitimacy as representatives of the people) and force the rest of the population into total silence—even as representative democracy triumphed.

Some social historians will complain, not unjustly, that Friedland overstates the case for the permanent silencing of the audience, both political and theatrical. Since he provides no evidence regarding popular responses to the conceptual shift he documents, it is impossible to know if all this really transpired with the compliance of a public that he describes as only "dimly aware" of its fate (p. 12). Popular resistance remained, of course, an almost constant feature of both revolutionary and modern French history, continually interrupting any and all scripts. Modern theatrical history, too, is full of incidents of and experiments in breaking down the spectator/spectacle divide.

Intellectual and cultural historians, in contrast, will more likely quibble with Friedland's dependence on two self-evident categories that sometimes intersect and sometimes part but never lose their stability: politics and theater. The author's insistence on this binary means that he only rarely considers questions about representation that emerged simultaneously in other realms—philosophy, linguistics, economic theory, theology, and especially music and visual art—and that might have complicated his story in interesting ways. It is odd to see period images, such as portraits of famous actors, used merely as illustrations of subject matter in a work on the history of representation.

But, in the end, this is a book about a major conceptual development in political theory. And in

terms of both argument and method, it is strikingly original and thoughtful. By focusing on an issue that was central to eighteenth-century epistemology and cultural life as well as democratic thought, Friedland succeeds in making concrete what would seem otherwise to be simply a metaphor: that revolutionary politics was a modern drama. And that makes this ambitious book itself an impressive performance.

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RICHARD WRIGLEY. *The Politics of Appearances: Representations of Dress in Revolutionary France*. New York: Berg. 2002. Pp. x, 318. Cloth \$68.00, paper \$19.50.

The French Revolution is still remembered as much for its symbols and emblems as for the sequence of events that led to the fall of the Bastille and the Jacobin Terror of 1793–1794. Quite a large amount of recent historical writing has centered on the possible connections between the two. One effect has been to reveal how difficult it is to describe the kind of causation that this might involve and how many presuppositions seem to be needed before any kind of causal claim can get off the ground. It helps, however, to know a lot. One of the great merits of Richard Wrigley's absorbing book on what people wore to display their political allegiances during the period of the French Revolution is the extraordinary amount of information on which it is based. It is the product of years of research and a great deal of skillful archival lateral thinking. As a result, it contains the most comprehensive account to have been published of the origins and contemporary significance of some of the best-known symbols of political allegiance of the period of the French Revolution.

Three of them—the tricolor cockade, the red cap of liberty, and the costume of the *sans-culottes*—make up the core of the book. As Wrigley shows, none of these had either a stable form or an unequivocal meaning over the period as a whole. The tricolor cockade started out as a green cockade (because, according to some, green was the color of hope, or the color of the House of Orléans, even though, according to others, it was also the color of the comte d'Artois). The red Phrygian bonnet was initially neither red nor Phrygian, nor even exactly bonnet shaped. It was sometimes said to refer to the *pileus* worn by emancipated Roman slaves, but was also said to have been worn by the Spartans or the inhabitants of ancient Gaul (it could also have referred to the cap worn by the eponymous character of a popular Parisian play in the decade before 1789, *Janot, ou c'est les battus qui payent l'amende* (*Janot, or punishing the victim*)). The costume of the *sans-culottes* was (as Colin Jones and Rebecca Spang have also pointed out) not only quite different from everyday working clothes but also only one of a number of items of clothing used to personify what were taken to be popular political attitudes between 1789 and 1794. The political journalist Louis-Marie

Prudhomme, for example, used up several entries in his *Révolutions de Paris* (1792) to describe the activities of what he called the woollen-caps (*bonnets de laine*), and only later, after the events of June 20, 1792, came to realize that he had actually been writing about the *sans-culottes*.

Not only does Wrigley show when each of these symbols came to be adopted in something like the form in which they have come to be known, he also shows how frequently posterity has overstated their ubiquity and exaggerated their uniformity. The result is a clear and genuinely informative account of the part played by dress as a sign of political allegiance during the French Revolution. It may not be quite as clear what different kinds of dress were signs of allegiance to. But that, too, is one of the merits of Wrigley's fine book. Apart from one or two rather ponderous ruminations about "vestimentary appearances" as a "crucial site for the articulation of new forms of socio-political identity" (p. 87)—something that every football supporter already knows—his rather understated approach makes this book one of the most encouraging examples of what it may be possible to achieve by reading widely, looking carefully, and going slowly.

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DAVID M. HOPKIN. *Soldier and Peasant in French Popular Culture, 1766–1870*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History New Series, number 28.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, with the Royal Historical Society. 2003. Pp. xiii, 394. \$75.00.

Historians of France have long debated just when it was that mass conscription succeeded in forging a bond between soldier and peasant in the name of patriotism. Some have identified this in the eighteenth-century monarchy's attempts to soften the behavior of garrisoned soldiers; others have placed it in the context of the late nineteenth-century "modernizing" process whereby conscription, mass schooling, and communications networks transformed "peasants into Frenchmen." Most commonly, however, the turning point has been located in the call to arms of 1792–1794 and its powerful mix of popular sovereignty, republicanism, and national defense that created the "citizen-soldier" of the French Revolution.

David M. Hopkin finds the terms of this debate miscast, for relations between peasant and soldier were in his view ambiguous and remarkably constant; peasants regarded soldiers with a mixture of loathing and envy, as both threatening and free. His argument is also pertinent to another debate, about when it was that French peasants became "politicized" in the sense of placing their anxieties and loyalties in the context of national political ideas and institutions. What Hopkin has found is a remarkable absence of the *patrie*. Soldiering was everywhere evoked in popular imagery, but as an alternative passage to manhood rather than

as service to a regime, or even to the nation. Insofar as it was attractive, it was for its offer of liberation from village constraints, not for the chance to be part of the nation in arms.

Hopkin takes as his case study the eastern frontier region of Lorraine, incorporated into France in 1766 and temporarily lost to the German empire in 1870 (hence the chronological limits in the book's title). As in other frontier regions, francophone peasants here had long come to define their identity in opposition to the "other," in this case German speakers, whatever side of the border they were from; they did not need the state or the army to teach them about national identity. Hopkin draws, in addition, on a wide-ranging corpus of theoretical and comparative literature from early modern Europe to twentieth-century Philadelphia street culture, using the latter to assist in identifying a Lorrain cultural "ecotype."

Hopkin's descriptions of village rituals surrounding conscription are brilliant. His analysis of peasant attitudes is based on a thorough and sensitive use of oral and visual material, in particular folktales, songs, engravings, and woodcuts. These are, of course, the staple materials used by historians of popular culture in early modern Europe, but they have been relatively little used by historians of nineteenth-century France. Hopkin's reliance on them, instead of on more conventional sources for peasant social and political views (archives of the judiciary and administration), in my opinion leads him to underestimate the degree of change in peasant attitudes toward political processes and national identity by 1870.

Hopkin excels in multiple readings of, for example, the common visual image of the peasant conscript's departure from a tearful peasant girl and of his triumphant return to her, his moustache and beard marks of his new worldliness, his medals indicative of his courage, the metal tube ("skittle") hanging by his side and containing his release papers symbolic of his freedom. The "skittle" was symbolic of more than this; as Hopkin points out, to be "given the skittle" meant colloquially to be released from prison or fired; a "skittle" is also French slang for penis. Common in popular images of life's stages was an adaptation of medieval representations of life's stages, in which the years of soldiering were placed as the "age of virility" between the stages of youth and "discretion." What most horrified rural people about soldiers was what most appealed to young men about this alternative rite of passage to manhood; soldiers could drink and smoke to excess, they caroused and sang with their comrades, they seduced or just took women. Even recruiting authorities came to appeal to the male dream of adventure, camaraderie, sexual prowess, and insouciance, and in turn these values were reified into military virtues. Across the century, concludes Hopkin, to be a French man increasingly meant to be martial.

This probing study has wide significance for our understandings of popular culture, gender, and national identity, although at times Hopkin might have

drawn this out more explicitly. There is, for example, a lack of engagement with Stephen L. Harp's outstanding study of popular schooling in the same region, *Learning to be Loyal: Primary Schooling and Nation-building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940* (1998). How does Hopkin's argument about the lack of explicit patriotism in references to the army in his oral and visual sources mesh with the messages taught to children in their self-consciously patriotic textbooks? A hallmark of fine scholarship is, of course, to raise wider questions such as this. Hopkin's book is the product of meticulous research and high intelligence, expressed in superb prose, and finely produced.

PETER MCPHEE
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HARRY W. PAUL. *Bacchic Medicine: Wine and Alcohol Therapies from Napoleon to the French Paradox*. (Clio Medica, number 64.) New York: Editions Rodopi B.V. 2001. Pp. vii, 341. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$28.00.

Harry W. Paul is well known for his studies of nineteenth-century French science and for *Science, Vine and Wine in Modern France* (1996). Here Paul pursues the oenological theme with his customary prodigious research, enthusiasm for detail, and dry wit, this time with a focus on the therapeutic uses of wine.

An opening chapter deals with wine's ubiquitous role in folk medicine over the centuries: it was a panacea "nearly as important as shit" (p. 8). For most of modern French history, professional medical men (and at least one woman in the 1930s), supported by chemists, attached cardinal value to the fruit of the vine in coping with a broad range of diseases and preserving health: wine was *la plus hygiénique des boissons* in Louis Pasteur's often-echoed phrase. Paul traces the vicissitudes of *vinothérapie* from the first professional treatise devoted to the subject by a German physician in 1816 to the ultimate and perhaps irreversible decline following World War II, as designer drugs with scientific pretensions replaced traditional remedies. In broad outline, the therapeutic use of wine enjoyed peak popularity during the first half of the nineteenth century, with the pharmacopeia listing more than 200 prescriptions based on wines and elaborate distinctions in efficacy according to growing region, quality of vintage and class of the patient. Not surprisingly, the great Bordeaux and Burgundies were administered to the well to do while the masses, in illness as in health, had to be content with lesser *cru*. Laudanum, remembered today for its narcotic content, contained five times more Malaga than opium. The sick, Paul remarks, sometimes imbibed under medical supervision "amounts of alcohol that would kill healthy people" (p. 74).

After 1870, the use of medicinal wines declined. The *Lancet* abruptly turned against them, although the same British medical journal still pronounced the clinical value of red clarets "exceedingly great." Why therapeutic wines lost their fashionability remains

unclear. Paul cites controversies and compromises over various chemical additives, notably wine "plastering" with potassium sulfate, but attributes relatively little importance to the organized anti-alcoholism movement. Indeed, even most critics firmly believed that "natural" wine, unlike other alcoholic beverages, posed little danger to the organism. In wine country, where men drank three to four liters daily, drunkenness and its pathological consequences, alcoholism and cirrhosis, were said to be rare, if not unknown.

In the twentieth century, especially during the interwar period, medicinal wines had a "renaissance." But prevention and nutrition now took precedence over therapy. Favorable testimonies were cited from eminent hygienists of the Paris medical faculty (one of whom owned a Burgundy vineyard), leaders of the Pasteur Institute, and government experts on demography, to say nothing of the rank and file of doctors. In 1933, the first "medical congress of the friends of wine" met at Bordeaux and published their proceedings. Surveys indicated that more than fifty percent of responding physicians prescribed wine and fully seventy-five percent considered it useful. Some even put wine on a par with water cures. Controlled animal experiments noted beneficial effects; wine-fed horses proved healthier and stronger than the "teetotalers." The analogy was obvious: the working classes would also benefit from the judicious *coup de fouet* (whiplash) of a glass of wine (p. 230). Despite all this, wine never achieved official drug status or recognition in the medical curriculum, although some professors gave lectures on the subject.

In conclusion, Paul reviews postwar and recent literature on the "French paradox" (i.e. the hypothesis that wine consumption might neutralize the cardiovascular consequences of a rich diet and account for supposed greater longevity among the French). He remains skeptical but reminds us that medical therapy, indeed all scientific activity, is culturally constructed and deconstructed. This leaves open, at least in principle, the possibility (or hope?) of a resurgence of the ancient tradition of wine therapy buttressed, as in the past, by contemporary "science."

Parts of this densely written and deceptively erudite study (the endnotes are copious) can be heavy going. But leavened by sparkling anecdote and mordant humor, the book is never *imbuvable*. When the connoisseur of wine takes over, readers who have not shared first-hand experience at Paul's table can savor the vicarious pleasure from a rich historical offering.

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NIGEL ROTHFELS. *Savages and Beasts: The Birth of the Modern Zoo*. (Animals, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 268.

Carl Hagenbeck was a household name in Germany around the turn of the century, perhaps the only one more likely than Karl May to evoke images of exotic

adventure among Germans. It was Hagenbeck who made *Völkerschauen* (people shows) a common occurrence in European cities, transformed the animal trades across much of the world, and, according to Nigel Rothfels, did more than any other individual to shape the modern zoo. Historians and other scholars interested in German colonialism, anthropology, the natural sciences, and the transformation of visual culture around the turn of the century, continue to be intrigued by Hagenbeck, and many will welcome this volume.

Hagenbeck's zoo has long been regarded as the model for those that followed. Scientists and other visitors hailed it as a significant advance over older zoological gardens. It was the first to provide visitors with ostensibly happy animals in natural settings, free from bars, cages, and, by implication, duress. The welfare of animals appeared to be paramount, and their preservation as important as their display. This impression fits well with the institutional histories of zoos that were already appearing in the nineteenth century, histories that narrated a continual shift in the character of zoos toward more orderly, scientific, and humane institutions. Like most institutional histories, however, these were, and too often remain, rather whiggish. Rothfels warns that because they reify both the alleged disorder of earlier collections and the scientific and humane character of modern zoos, they "should be accepted only with great caution" (p. 39). Such narratives obscure the commercial motivations behind the transformation of zoos, and they obfuscate the ways in which zoos remain primarily places for people rather than animals. Rothfels contends that the successful verisimilitude in modern zoos has worked on scholars and visitors alike; we easily forget that the apparent freedom of the animals is projected to make customers happy, the enclosures effectively silence the animals by eliminating any evidence of their captivity or discomfort, and as a result, the moral self-reflection on the consumption of animals that once accompanied their presentation in cages has been stifled, eliminated by a happy facade.

This is much more than a history of Hagenbeck's many successes. It is an historical explanation for why the environments of zoos today are meant to mask the human character of the places in which animals are forced to live their unnatural lives. Rothfels argues that economics rather than moral convictions drove the shift toward seemingly humane zoos, and Hagenbeck played a critical role in this evolution because of his world wide connections and financial success. His business became a virtual nexus of the animal trades by the late nineteenth century, supplying exotic animals to a range of individuals and institutions around the globe, but he also established his own circus, participated in world's fairs, and created his people shows, all of which contributed to the shape of his zoo.

Rothfels contends that the shifting desires of urban publics also guided Hagenbeck's decisions (although he makes no effort to explain what drove the public).

Hagenbeck recognized an increasing desire for authentic nature during his people shows; "primitive" groups that conformed to, rather than challenged, stereotypical images were the most successful. But this staged authenticity became difficult to maintain after the turn of the century. Rothfels relates how members of Hagenbeck's troupes increasingly stepped out of character: adopting European dress, drinking beer, and bartering with visitors in German. Film, photography, and popular magazines soon usurped his shows with images that "did not talk back." Animals, however, could not learn German, they could be placed in natural settings, and Rothfels argues that Hagenbeck's work in the circus taught him that they also could be trained to conform to public expectations. The tremendous success of panoramas at the end of the century gave Hagenbeck insight into the kinds of settings that appealed; controversies over the treatment of animals during collecting attuned him to public discomfort with abusive conditions. His park-like zoo was thus a calculated response to these public interests, but it enhanced his business as well: it allowed him to keep large numbers of animals together and healthy until they could be sold, show that they could be acclimated to European conditions, and thus simultaneously increase the scale of his business, preserve his assets, and encourage the creation of more zoos that he could later supply. In all these ways, Hagenbeck's became a spatial and institutional cipher for the development of the modern zoo, one that reveals much about the motivations and interests that shaped these institutions.

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JAMES M. STAYER. *Martin Luther, German Saviour: German Evangelical Theological Factions and the Interpretation of Luther, 1917–1933*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion.) Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 177.

The direction of Protestant theology underwent a sea change in Germany during World War I and the subsequent Weimar Republic. Before the war, academic liberal theologians (above all Albrecht Ritschl and Adolf Harnack) held pride of place for trying to distill the essence of Christianity through historical research. Afterward, dogmatic theologians reached for the plum of theological prominence. James M. Stayer analyzes this seemingly abrupt shift, the three dogmatic "schools" that then emerged, and their interpretations of Martin Luther's theology. Regarding Luther as a systematic theologian, they laid the basis for interpretations that prevailed into the 1960s in Germany and elsewhere.

First in the field was the "Luther Renaissance," the school of its founder, Karl Holl, and later of Emanuel Hirsch and Erich Vogelsang. The dialectical theologians, Karl Barth and Friedrich Gogarten, are analyzed as well. Stayer regards the third school of

confessional Lutherans, represented here by Werner Elert and Paul Althaus, as a link between the other two. It makes sense to disentangle Stayer's treatment and interpretation by presenting them on three related levels.

By choosing Luther interpretations as his focus, Stayer circumscribes his theological study in a way that affords insight into broader theological currents. It is to Stayer's credit that he clearly explains contrasting theological positions and does so in language that even dabblers in theology can usually understand. For me, Stayer's exposition is the book's chief merit. His exposition, however, tends to blur some interpretations of Luther as they fade into the general thought of the theologian examined.

On a second level, Stayer makes clear that debate among schools often resembled a battlefield as dogmatic theologians took each other to task. When did Luther reach clarity regarding justification by faith, before or after his controversy with Rome? How did he explain justification, and how does Jesus Christ fit into his theological scheme? Is man's will in bondage, or does he enjoy a semblance of free will? Which Luther is the true Luther? Perhaps these men read their own theology back into Luther. But Stayer is at pains to point out that most—Althaus being a possible exception—exaggerated their differences. Some even owed much to the prewar theological liberals they maligned. Thus Stayer rejects the claim that the Holl school "rediscovered" Luther.

On a third level, Stayer claims to expose the political bias of his subjects. North American and British admirers of German Luther scholarship, he asserts, have been oblivious to something that their German counterparts knew perfectly well: a major impetus for Luther studies at that moment in history was political. Except for Barth, the other six—proud nationalists all—let their political convictions motivate their studies and seep into their scholarship.

Germany's declining political fortunes, Stayer maintains, prompted a political response. Harnack had earlier regarded Luther as instrumental in shaping Protestant and German values. These values seemed imperiled in a world war that nationalist Protestants regarded as a struggle over basic values as well as for national power. Before that war, the image of Luther in Germany had been tarnished by Roman Catholic scholars, Socialists, and the writings of the liberal Ernst Troeltsch. Each symbolized one of the political forces that grew defeatist in the war and later established the Weimar Republic. No longer did the German state cater to Protestant and presumably genuine German values, as had allegedly the defunct Hohenzollern monarchy. Theologians perceived a need to refurbish the image of Luther, to make him relevant to a dispirited and contentious society that craved self-confidence and community, and to preserve his legacy for the sake of German survival and posterity. In that sense, Luther could persist as a "German Saviour," as Stayer's choice of title implies.

Aside from heralding Luther's alleged Germanic values, the six nationalist theologians, Stayer demonstrates, aspired to make Luther politically relevant by reading the concept of folk into his social ethics. I wonder whether Stayer infers too much of a political intent in some of his analyses. It is, after all, exceedingly difficult to validate extraneous intent, as Stayer recognizes (see p. 24). In any event, the debate over Luther's doctrine of justification, the main bone of contention, was strictly theological. Most of this excellent book is, in fact, devoted to theological exposition, not political bias.

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MARJORIE LAMBERTI. *The Politics of Education: Teachers and School Reform in Weimar Germany*. (Monographs in German History, number 8.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. ix, 272. \$69.95.

In this work, Marjorie Lamberti, the author of several contributions on the history of education in Wilhelmine Germany, turns her attention to the Weimar era. The title of the book is a little misleading: it is really an organizational and ideological study of Germany's largest professional association for elementary school teachers, the *Deutscher Lehrerverein* (DLV). The book is based on prodigious research in both archival and published sources, with the bulk of the archival support coming from archives in Prussia and Saxony. This inevitably gives the book a certain regional asymmetry. There is relatively little emphasis on developments in Bavaria and virtually none on the states of southwestern Germany.

The book furthers our understanding of the history of educational politics in the Weimar Republic in a number of important ways. To begin with, German elementary school teachers, in Lamberti's view, were not the reactionary civilian drill sergeants they are often portrayed as but enthusiastic pioneers of educational and societal modernization. For the most part politically sympathetic toward the German Democrats and the Social Democrats, the leaders and members of the DLV welcomed the Weimar Republic and fought hard to use the public elementary school curriculum as a way of teaching democratic ways.

That they did so with only limited success had less to do with the DLV's ineffectiveness as a lobbying group than with another major theme of the book: the politics of religion in the Weimar Republic, specifically the struggle over religious education in public elementary schools and the maintenance of confessionally segregated schools. Much of this story is familiar from other works, but the author effectively contrasts the reactionary nature of the clerical establishment, particularly on the Catholic side, and the progressive aims of the DLV. In this context, it is ironic to note how quickly the Catholic hierarchy learned to use the rules

of political democracy to hinder the progress of democracy in the schools.

Perhaps the most startling and gratifying conclusion in the book is the reevaluation of the relationship between the elementary school teachers and the Nazis. Lamberti effectively destroys the oft-repeated claim that the Nazis found an early and fertile recruiting ground among elementary school teachers. She notes that well into the last months of 1932, Nazi sympathizers in the DLV remained a quite small minority. They were essentially limited to teachers just starting out on their careers (the group hardest hit by Chancellor Heinrich Brüning's cost-cutting measures) and expellees from the former German areas who were assigned to Poland after World War I.

In a book of this nature, it is inevitable that there will be heroes and villains. The clear heroes are the leaders of the DLV and most of its rank-and-file members. Lamberti singles out for particular praise Johannes Tews, who in 1916 published *Die deutsche Einheitsschule*. This work became the basis for the DLVs program of educational reforms in the Weimar era. Genuine democrats and liberals, Tews and his allies worked tirelessly to establish the public elementary schools as pillars of the new democratic Germany. The villains are not so much the professional anti-democrats that found their political home in the German National People's Party (DNVP) and later the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) but the clerical establishment of both Christian denominations. Lamberti demonstrates that throughout the Weimar years, the Catholic clergy in particular continued a *Kulturkampf* whose purpose was to maintain clerical control of the public elementary schools. That these efforts did much to undermine support for the fledgling republic was of little concern to the bishops.

This is a forcefully argued book that makes a major contribution to our understanding of the Weimar years, but in her enthusiasm to praise heroes and denounce villains, Lamberti permits herself some editorial slights of hand. For example, she severely criticizes the Saxon minister of education, Fritz Kaiser, and identifies him as a member of the German People's Party (DVP), thereby classifying the right-wing liberals as reactionaries. At the same time, she praises Otto Boelitz, the Prussian minister of education, for his progressive appointments in that state but does not mention that Boelitz, too, was a member of the DVP. Similarly, to set the stage for the coming *Kulturkampf*, it would have helped to identify Adolf Hoffmann, the first postwar co-minister of education in Prussia, a little more closely. Hoffmann had long been known as a prominent and fervent atheist, and it is not surprising that his appointment was a red flag for conservative Christians.

I think the discussion of educational reforms would have benefitted from being placed in a larger cultural context. To be sure, this is a book about the DLV, but it is a little misleading to suggest that educational

reforms in Germany were limited to the ideas of Tews and John Dewey. The years before and after World War I were rampant with educational reformers. Many worked outside the DLV, but this does not diminish their importance. Lamberti briefly mentions Gustav Wynneken, but she says nothing about Rudolf Steiner, the man whose educational ideas gave rise to the present global network of Waldorf schools.

Still, these are minor quibbles about a book that will certainly be regarded as a major contribution to the literature of educational and cultural politics in early twentieth-century Germany.

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GREGORY PAUL WEGNER. *Anti-Semitism and Schooling under the Third Reich*. (Studies in the History of Education.) New York: RoutledgeFalmer. 2002. Pp. xiv, 262. \$24.95.

Gregory Paul Wegner's book begins with an overview of the development of racial antisemitism in the nineteenth century and its application to educational philosophy in Nazi Germany. It then goes on to examine the way in which racial science and heredity became prominent components of the curriculum under National Socialism. This was formalized in a Nazi curriculum policy directive from the Ministry of Education in September 1933. Racial science became part of the overall ethos of the school curriculum. Although racial ideology was clearly significant, Wegner argues that rewriting the curriculum was partly motivated by the prospect of career advancement. Professors, teachers, and educationalists were given the opportunity to write new textbooks in line with Nazi ideology by many publishers (p. 21).

Wegner examines the works of a number of individual educationalists involved in producing antisemitic textbooks and teachers' manuals in different areas of the curriculum. For example, he analyses Fritz Fink's *Die Judenfrage im Unterricht* (1937), which integrated pictorial distinctions between Jews and Aryans for teachers and school administrators. Fink called for antisemitism to pervade the entire curriculum as the most effective way of getting the message across in the classroom. He furnished educators with information about the Jews that they could use in their lessons, even if they had little previous experience of the subject. His work encompassed both traditional and radical brands of antisemitism, using economic, religious and racial arguments against the Jews.

Wegner moves on to explore the centrality of biology to the Nazi curriculum, as it reflected important aspects of the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. There was a call for biological understanding not to be confined to the natural sciences but to permeate all disciplines. Nazi educationalists thought that biology had been under-represented in the Weimar curriculum. Now biology instruction was centered on "the struggle against he-

editary inferiority, a drop in the birth rate and racial interbreeding" (p. 69).

As in the subject areas of racial hygiene and biology, there was a flurry of activity in writing a new history curriculum in the early years of the Third Reich. Publishers, teachers, professors, and school administrators became involved in this, sometimes as a way of seeking professional advancement. The "new" history in Nazi Germany was intended to inspire nationalism and to introduce children to a racial sense of their past and of the present. History was used as a propaganda tool and was concerned with the preservation of certain myths. The Nazi government was not the first to publish *völkisch* curriculum ideas in history instruction, but it was "the first and only regime to fully institutionalise a racist and anti-Semitic history curriculum" (p. 126).

Geography educators also exploited traditional and new forms of antisemitism. The image of the eternally wandering Jew was a favorite theme. Attempts to legitimize Germany's claims for *Lebensraum* in the East found their way into many geography textbooks of the Nazi era. Walter Jantzen was a prominent geography educator in the Third Reich who integrated the Nazi *Weltanschauung* into the curriculum. Jantzen's use of geography to serve the purposes of "national political education" covered race (the Jews, blacks and Gypsies), as well as concerns with "living space," "blood and soil," and the declining birth rate in Germany since the end of World War I.

Children's literature played an important role in shaping young minds. Themes such as the glorification of militarism and nationalism were continued from the empire and the Weimar Republic. Antisemitism was an important element in children's literature in the Third Reich, but by no means the exclusive one. Antisemitic storybooks in schools, such as Ernst Hiemer's *Der Giftpilz* (1938), combined traditional and racial antisemitism and were aimed at young schoolchildren. Wegner shows how publishers of antisemitic works often integrated artwork, using the latest techniques in color printing to carry their propaganda messages in a direct way (p. 158).

My only criticisms of this book are that there are a number of inaccuracies in the references and bibliography, as well as errors in the text, some of them quite glaring, for which the author will not thank the copyeditor. Although the book's content is interesting, it is actually narrower than the title suggests. I would have liked more on the practical application of antisemitism in the classroom. These comments notwithstanding, Wegner's book is a useful addition to our understanding of education in the Third Reich, and I recommend it to scholars and students in the field.

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J. ADAM TOOZE. *Statistics and the German State, 1900–1945: The Making of Modern Economic Knowledge*. (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History,

number 9.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 314. \$60.00.

By considering how scientific knowledge is involved in making the social world, historians and sociologists of science have recently undertaken innovative research on the history of statistics. J. Adam Tooze's book, on the topic of economic statistics, is part of this renewal. The book also expands our understanding of the history of the state by showing how economics became at once a political topic and a form of knowledge comprehensible through statistics.

In Germany, as in most industrialized countries, the intervention of the state in economic matters occurred during the interwar period. Following the new historiography on the Weimar Republic, Tooze relates official economics to the new centralized structure of the state. A ministry of economics was created, and under its power, the national office of statistics was reorganized because of its failure to supply the authorities with usable information during the war. Fearful of increasing unemployment and social claims, the government soon asked the office for new measurements and set among its priorities the making of indexes on the cost of living and income statistics. Both depended on data supplied by a range of institutions such as local authorities, corporate groups, and business firms, whose hostility toward government interference was legendary. Tooze shows that the surveys relied on various compromises with the institutions studied, a process that made the index as much a measure as an agreement. The book is primarily devoted to the statistical innovations from the mid-1920s, because they were related to the wide macroeconomics program established by the new German Institute of Business Cycle Research in Berlin under director Ernst Wagemann. Wagemann was an economist and belonged to the new generation of Weimar civil servants whose political and scientific ambitions reflected the same view of economics as a practical knowledge, and who shared the same faith in the ability of the government to predict and regulate economic crisis. Tooze, who combines the skills of the historian with a real competence in economic theory, shows convincingly how the empirical program of the statistical office was shaped by Wagemann's theoretical writings. An innovative system of national accounting was thereby implemented.

This book offers a major account of the history of modern macroeconomics and emphasizes, against the historiography of economics long focused on Keynesianism and its diffusion from England, the diversity of experiences and sites of innovation that resulted from wider discussions between economists interested in aggregated and quantitative approaches toward the economic activity. The Great Depression, not foreseen by the institute, called into question its predictive analysis and opened a period of conflict between the government and the experts. Deprived of political and financial support, official statisticians and economists

became opponents of Weimar and rallied to the Nazi regime in 1933. Using a selective bibliography on the historiography of Nazism, Tooze considers the first years, from 1933 to 1936, as a period of strengthening of the state, whose economic interventionism promoted the macroeconomic program. Endowed with unprecedented powers and means, the statisticians experimented again with innovations: the building of an input-output table in accordance with the contemporary work of Wassily Leontief, and the achievement of the first census on production. But from 1936 on, the radicalization of the regime and preparations for war put an end to the autonomy of official statistics. Tooze analyzes this process, in which political and technical choices were intertwined. Urged by the demands for expertise in war economics and eager to penetrate the sphere of decision makers, statisticians competed with each other. The macroeconomic program and the census were converted into technologies of planning and systems of surveillance. At the end of the 1940, the statisticians experimented with the macroeconomic schemes for war industry and echoed the Soviet Union in devising a comparable tool for central planning.

From a circumscribed topic, Tooze's book succeeds in raising crucial issues on the relations among politics, knowledge, and technology, and it should stimulate future investigations on these issues and become a standard reference.

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PETRA GOEDDE. *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945–1949*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2003. Pp. xxiii, 280. \$35.00.

American attitudes toward post-World War II Germany were profoundly shaped by the confrontation of U.S. occupation forces and a German population made up primarily of women, children, and old men. What American GIs faced when they crossed the Rhine was not the demonized warrior race depicted in some of the propaganda given to them by their government, but a defeated people and a country that was devastated. High casualty rates among German men and the large numbers of male combatants still in Allied POW camps at the end of the war, argues Petra Goedde, “helped American soldiers to reconceptualize Germany as a feminized nation whose ability and will to wage war had been broken” (p. 44). GIs' experiences with the postwar German population had a profound influence on U.S. foreign policy and on American willingness to accept postwar Germans as friends, not enemies.

Standard accounts of (West) Germany's integration into the western alliance emphasize the emergence of the Cold War. Goedde complicates this interpretation by providing evidence of the ways in which American attitudes toward Germans had begun to shift before it

was apparent that the United States would be counting on Germans to join them in opposing a common enemy, the Soviet Union. As early as 1944, she shows, occupying forces defied U.S. nonfraternization decrees, exhibiting generosity toward local populations and establishing relationships with German women, leading U.S. Army officials to conclude that GIs were stepping “into the roles vacated by the men who had left the communities to fight the Americans in the war” (p. 59). American men became protectors of and providers for German women and a feminized Germany. The impossibility of enforcing the nonfraternization order led to General Dwight D. Eisenhower's decision, in the summer of 1945, to suspend it. Cultural stereotypes—shared by Germans and Americans alike—according to which women were victims of the war contributed to conceptions of Germany as a nation of innocents.

Fraternization was about far more than sexual relations. “It involved,” Goedde concludes, “the redefinition of America's assumption of Germany's collective guilt, it involved fundamental changes in American images of German national character, and it involved a reorientation of American ideas about the meaning and the goals of the occupation” (p. 79). President Harry S. Truman was no fraternizer, but after visiting Berlin in July 1945, he, too, saw “not former Nazi soldiers and administrators but victims of the regime” (p. 118). This, not fears that Germans might turn to communism, influenced the U.S. decision to initiate relief efforts for Germany. The focus of American GIs on the hardships faced by Germans—particularly women and children—made them far less sensitive to the suffering that Germans had inflicted on others, mirroring the image that Germans themselves cultivated. Germans were ready to present themselves in the “role of a juvenile or feminine dependent to a parental or masculine provider” (p. 124). What Goedde calls “cultural feminization” profoundly shaped U.S. policy toward postwar Germany and the German reception of U.S. Occupation.

GIs also became ersatz fathers through the German Youth Activities program, part of the military government's attempt to expand the concept of fraternization to include educating Germany's youth—particularly young men—in democracy. Handing out candy bars and sponsoring Christmas parties, GIs fought for the hearts and minds of German youth and provided tangible evidence that they were in Germany as “paternal providers,” not as “occupiers of a hostile country” (p. 149). Goedde speculates that what German children likely took from such activities was the link between democracy and capitalist consumerism, not a keener understanding of the principles of freedom and democratic self-governance.

Good relations between occupying GIs and Germans also built on a “diffuse sense of cultural affinity” (p. 67) that joined them, distinguishing the experience of American occupation in Germany from that in Japan. To be sure, race also figured in U.S. occupation

policies, and Goedde pays particular attention to the experience of African-American troops, whose "civilized" and friendly behavior surprised the indigenous population. For black troops, this positive reception by Germans was measured against racism in the United States, and Goedde cites an *Ebony* magazine article that announced that black GIs found "more friendship and equality in Berlin than in Birmingham or on Broadway" (p. 108).

Goedde's book is a significant contribution to a growing literature that seeks to understand the ways in which gender shapes foreign policy. She is most interested in U.S. attitudes toward Germany, and although she also has something to say about German responses, to get a fuller picture, it would be useful to read this book together with Maria Höhn's *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany* (2002), which focuses more on the German side of the relationship. Goedde's claim that "Germans embraced their own cultural feminization as long as it served to dispel the negative image of the hyper-masculine aggressive stormtrooper" (p. 202) begs the question of how West Germany was so quickly "remasculinized" in the late 1940s and 1950s, and how a sober, chastened German masculinity was pushed into uniform by the United States as part of the western defensive alliance against the threat of communism and as the quid pro quo for West German sovereignty. Her argument that the rehabilitation of Germany preceded the onset of the Cold War and was grounded in the direct interactions between Germans and GIs is an important corrective to accounts that explain Germany's transition from enemy to ally exclusively in terms of geopolitics, but it does not fully address the ways in which the gulf between East and West had begun to open—at least since Yalta—before the shooting stopped. Goedde superbly analyzes forms of the German-American rapprochement, and her discussion of its implications for shaping U.S. foreign policy are illuminating. But her claim that the "process of rehabilitation began before the emergence of the cold war" (p. 205) depends on her view of when the Cold War emerged.

There are few good models of how to link culture, gender, and foreign policy, and this makes Goedde's book particularly welcome. Seen from the perspective of the bedroom and the baseball diamond, U.S. policy toward postwar (West) Germany becomes a matter of domestic as well as foreign affairs.

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MARIA HÖHN. *GIs and Fräuleins: The German-American Encounter in 1950s West Germany*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. pp. xiii, 337. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.50.

Since World War II, Germany has hosted the largest peacetime contingent of U.S. troops outside the

United States. Much has been written about these troops' contribution to the security of Western Europe during the Cold War, but few scholars have focused on the social impact of the American bases on local communities in Germany. Maria Höhn's study of the Baumholder region in the 1950s is a significant step toward understanding the local repercussion of such a deployment. Baumholder (population 2,500), in a remote area of Rhineland-Palatinate, became host to a massive military base for up to 13,000 troops in the early 1950s. Drawing on a wide array of local sources, Höhn pieces together a complex story of economic boom, cultural and social change, conservative backlash, and ultimate accommodation.

The book's main focus is on the conservative effort—and ultimate failure—of the area's civic and religious leaders to contain what they perceived as the Americanization of the Baumholder community. This containment, Höhn argues, manifested itself above all in two ways: first through an effort to control female sexuality, and second through the revival of racial stereotypes in the debate about the foreign presence. As Höhn puts it, the communities surrounding the military bases "are key sites to observe how sexual containment of women and German and American racial attitudes interacted" (p. 5).

The effect of such a huge influx of young male soldiers was predictable. Shortly after the troops' arrival, bars and nightclubs opened up in town catering to the interests of the Americans. Next came the so-called camp followers, young women who followed the GIs from other bases. Some of these women were prostitutes, but many more were in a serious relationship with GIs waiting for permission to marry. Höhn describes in great detail the political, legal, and sometimes extralegal efforts of community leaders to control these women's personal and sexual lives.

By the mid-1950s, the moral campaign targeted disproportionately women who were involved in relationships with black GIs and bar owners of Eastern European Jewish origin, fusing Nazi racial stereotypes with new ones adopted from white American troops. Despite the 1949 executive order to integrate the Armed Forces, the military still practiced the racial segregation of clubs and bars. This public display of discrimination encouraged Germans to show their own racial prejudices more openly. Those prejudices, however, may not have been apparent to all black troops in Germany at the time. In fact, most African Americans stationed in Germany in the 1950s regarded it as a haven of racial tolerance.

Höhn provides an answer to this apparent paradox. In their effort to purify their community, town officials did not direct their wrath against the GIs but rather against the women who had infiltrated their pristine village. As former conquerors and guarantors of West Germany's security, the American soldiers—both black and white—were untouchable, yet Eastern European Jews and out-of-town "Fräuleins" were not. Hence, every woman who moved to the area immedi-

ately became subject to observation and interrogation, often leading to an indictment of prostitution purely on the basis of receiving a male (American) visitor at her home.

Based on her findings in the Baumholder region, Höhn concludes that the Germans living in the area understood the changes to their community as a process of Americanization rather than modernization or Westernization, as some scholars have argued in recent years. Considering that in Baumholder Americans outnumbered Germans at least four to one—an unrepresentatively high ratio—her view is well grounded. Yet the loosening of sexual mores that Baumholder locals interpreted as Americanization was inescapably tied to a process of modernization and urbanization elsewhere in West Germany. As one of Höhn's sources put it, the Americans brought "the city to the countryside" (p. 40).

Even for Baumholder residents, there was more at stake than Americanization. Despite her book's title, most of Höhn's focus is on neither GIs nor young German women but instead on the village's older, conservative residents. These older residents did not participate in the encounter between GIs and Fräuleins but rather looked on disapprovingly. Their all-out attack on young women from outside the village was as much, or more, a containment of modern sexual behavior as of the American presence. Containment of Americanization thus became an expedient rationalization for combating the cultural and sexual revolt of a younger generation of Germans.

As a model community study, Höhn's book makes a major contribution to our understanding of the American impact on local German communities during the Cold War. While it does not end the debate over Americanization, modernization, and Westernization, it introduces significant new material to raise the level of that debate.

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JESSICA C. E. GIENOW-HECHT. *Transmission Impossible: American Journalism as Cultural Diplomacy in Postwar Germany 1945–1955*. (Eisenhower Center Studies on War and Peace.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xx, 230. Cloth \$47.50, paper \$22.50.

Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht's masterful analysis can be read on different levels. It offers the reader a detailed history of the newspaper *Neue Zeitung*, founded by the American Office of Military Government in Germany (OMGUS) in Munich in the fall of 1945. Almost from the beginning, the *Neue Zeitung* proved to be a success, and between 1945 and 1947 its importance rose steadily. Its influence can be measured by growing circulation numbers and letters to the editor. As Gienow-Hecht convincingly argues, this success was due to the fact that during the entire occupation period there existed no nationally distributed licensed

paper that competed with the *Neue Zeitung* and also because it was produced by a number of highly talented European-born émigrés who were able to "conduct their operations relatively free from interference" (p. 31), at least at the start.

By focusing on the leading journalists writing for the *Neue Zeitung*—men and women such as Hans Habe, Carl Hermann Ebbinghaus, Marcel Kador, Kendall Foss, Hildegard Bruecher, Walter Kolbenhoff, Stefan Heym, and Enno Hobbing, Gienow-Hecht is able not just to reconstruct the daily operations at the paper but also to take a closer look at the people who served as "cultural transmitters" between the United States and Germany. Since the *Neue Zeitung* first and foremost came into life as an instrument of reeducating Germans, its editors and writers, with their mostly European backgrounds, were ideally suited to serve as mediators between American and German societies. Especially during the first two years, when Habe and his staff were able to determine the paper's contents with great latitude, it became "an extremely influential instrument of public opinion" (p. 1).

In her introduction, Gienow-Hecht critically discusses earlier scholarship on the occupation period, thereby raising her study to a second level. By concentrating on the case of the *Neue Zeitung*, she is able to demonstrate that the newspaper's success was not the result of a coherent strategy by U.S. officials but, on the contrary, became possible because of their liberal, laissez-faire approach. Her concentration not on top-level policy makers but on "foot soldiers" (p. 8) like journalists allows her to view the "Americanization" of German society not as a one-way street but as a complex process of interaction in which people like Habe played an important role.

In the first chapter of her book, Gienow-Hecht outlines the larger context of occupation policy and psychological warfare. Even if General Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote a column published on the front page of the premier issue of October 18, 1945, the start of the paper was the result of "a rather accidental enterprise," with Habe of the Publishing Operations Branch of the Information Control Division playing a key role. The product of an initiative by an European émigré, the *Neue Zeitung* was considered by War and State Department officials as the official organ of the military government. Ironically, its initial success stems from the fact that it was quite more a medium for cross-cultural communication between victors and vanquished with émigrés serving as negotiators.

The next three chapters examine the biographies of the paper's most important staff members and its critics, the paper's content between 1945 and 1947 and the reactions by both American officials and the German public. Resting on an impressive amount of documents, including manuscripts, newspaper collections, and interviews with former staff members, Gienow-Hecht offers an in-depth study of the paper, the people behind it and the reactions it provoked. An excellent example of the role of the *Neue Zeitung* is

offered in the chapter dealing with culture/*Kultur*. Deeply rooted in their prewar European backgrounds, the journalists of the *Neue Zeitung* interpreted German *Kultur* as the most promising vehicle of democratization. By trying to combine Friedrich Schiller and Thomas Jefferson (i.e. German *Kultur* and American democratic values), they covered cultural topics much more in the way of a classical German "feuilleton" than in the way of the American papers. The editorial policy in this period rested on the assumption that German readers would not subscribe to a paper that was written solely from a victor's perspective. Their concept met the taste of the German public, but it also had the consequence of concentrating less on a reader's direct confrontation with news and viewpoints from America. Since that was exactly what the U.S. officials had in mind, by early 1946 the paper's international communication approach evoked sharp criticism.

The second part of the book covers the role of the *Neue Zeitung* in the emerging Cold War. In the developing conflict with the Soviet Union, U.S. policy makers "discovered" the paper as a viable instrument to disseminate information in both East and West. Under its first American-born editor in chief, it turned "from an information medium into a propaganda instrument in 1947-48" (p. 9). Simultaneously, American society turned increasingly anticommunist. Jewish émigrés operating at the *Neue Zeitung* no longer seemed reliable agents of the United States in Germany. With the departure of Hans Wallenberg in September 1947, the paper finally became what it was always meant to be: a "mouthpiece" of the American military government.

In some ways, Gienow-Hecht's subtitle is misleading. The story of the *Neue Zeitung* in her book virtually comes to an end with Wallenberg's departure. The period from 1948 to 1955 is covered in a relatively brief section, focusing more on internal quarrels than on the paper's contents and influence. The author cannot deny her sympathy with the first generation of *Neue Zeitung* journalists and the history of the paper in later years, also offers fewer points of contact with her interest in the role of journalists as "cultural transmitters." But the book ends with an excellent and stimulating conclusion in which all aspects are brought together. Gienow-Hecht interprets the story of the *Neue Zeitung* as an important example for the study of cultural diplomacy. Citing recent works by Reinhold Wagnleitner, Richard Kuisel, and Ralph Willett, she argues that her case study fits recent scholarship on "cultural transmission" as a concept better able to grasp the various interactions between Americans and Germans than the often-used term "cultural imperialism." Moreover, her suggestion to investigate further the "agencies of acculturation," thereby focusing both on the media of interaction and the agents themselves, not only underscores the values of this impressive study but also its importance for stimulating future scholarship. By providing brief sketches of the future

careers of the staffers at Munich and Berlin, she paves the way for the ongoing debate on "Americanization," "Westernization," and "Cultural Diplomacy."

Whether one reads the book as a study of postwar German media history, a contribution to German-American relations, or a case study on how "cultural diplomacy" really works from the bottom up, future scholars will highly profit from this important monograph.

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ARTHUR L. SMITH, JR. *Kidnap City: Cold War Berlin*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 100.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xvi, 199.

In most cities, at most times, kidnappings are rare and seldom have a political dimension. But in postwar West Berlin, especially during the 1950s, a virtual plague of incidents occurred in which residents in the western zones were forcefully taken into the city's Soviet-occupied zone. Over the last fifty years, journalistic accounts of the abductions orchestrated by the Soviet and East German authorities have appeared in the West. Now Arthur L. Smith, Jr., has produced a general account of the kidnappings and the development of a cooperative effort by the Anglo-American authorities to thwart them, based on German and American (but not on French, British, or Russian) archival sources as well as published materials from a number of countries.

Smith does a good job of describing the chilling effects of the kidnapping phenomenon and the troubled efforts of the British, American, and West German authorities to control it. The East German kidnapers were skilled, well equipped, often were knowledgeable about West Berlin, and had been provided with precise details about their victims—who, in most cases, were Germans employed by the Western Allies in sensitive technical, police, and counterintelligence roles.

Smith's account of this phenomenon is clear, well researched, and cogent, but it stops abruptly in the 1950s, leaving open both the question of why the kidnapping tailed off, or ceased, and what ultimately happened to those kidnapped men who were initially imprisoned or had been taken into some form of service to the East German state. What can be definitely asserted from my personal experience is that, at least by the late 1960s, the wall was porous, and one could wander into East Berlin and out again with little or no attention being given by the East German authorities. Perhaps Smith intends to continue his story; to do so would be an especially valuable contribution that would help to provide a human dimension to our broad historical picture of life in postwar Berlin.

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MARGARETE MYERS FEINSTEIN. *State Symbols: The Quest for Legitimacy in the Federal Republic of Germany*

and the German Democratic Republic, 1949–1959. (Studies in Central European Histories.) Boston: Brill. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 255.

The basic question asked in this book by Margarete Myers Feinstein is suggested in the subtitle. In 1949, two new German states, one capitalist and one communist, were created on territory that between 1871 and 1945 had been part of a larger, unified Germany. Defeat in World War II had destroyed and discredited the National Socialist regime but also called into question other parts of a common German history, such as its military, imperial, and administrative traditions. To survive and prosper, presumably both successor states needed to convince their citizens and those of neighboring states of their legitimacy. Moreover, each German state denied the legitimacy of the other. So how might the legitimacy of a state be established?

As Feinstein notes, in the long term, legitimacy had to be based on ability to fulfill the goals of each state. The Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), of course, was successful. Its citizens obtained high levels of individual liberty, democracy, political stability, and economic well-being. They grew comfortable being West Germans as well as Germans. The German Democratic Republic (GDR), in contrast, failed to deliver on its promise to build a better society through socialism. Held together for forty years by the support of its security apparatus and the threat of intervention by the Soviet Union, the GDR quickly collapsed after the Berlin Wall opened in 1989. Feinstein, however, is most interested in short-term attempts to foster legitimacy, and she argues that each state sought to facilitate the identification of citizens with its values through the creation and manipulation of state symbols. These include the design of flags and coats of arms, designation of capital cities, choice of national anthems, creation of holidays, medals, honors, and the design of postage stamps. (The last Feinstein aptly calls “the small change of symbols.”) In every case, each German state sought to differentiate its symbols from those of its rival but also to find an appropriate way either to proclaim a break with the past or to claim an appropriate measure of continuity with the past.

Each chapter is structured around paired discussions of the choices made by each state. Since the symbols in question were state symbols, the focus is primarily on decision making at high levels of government. Here lies the greatest contribution of the book. While historians have paid a lot of attention to the choice of Bonn as the FRG’s “provisional” capital and, more recently, to the decision to restore Berlin as the capital of a reunited Germany, much less has been written about the other symbols covered here. For example, neither state found the choice of national and military flags or a national anthem unproblematic, and figures like Federal President Theodor Heuss played crucial roles in resolving political differences. Feinstein provides a service in illuminating the sometimes surpris-

ingly complex debates about the choice of state symbols.

That said, Feinstein’s conclusions about the impact of these debates are not always convincing. For example, stories in the foreign press are not really sufficient to prove that “the capitalist West saw the *Deutschland-lied* as an indication of West Germans’ unwillingness to analyze the Nazi past and a resurgence of German militarism” (p. 115). Political and popular opinion in the capitalist West cannot be reduced to this single viewpoint. It seems too grandiose a claim to say that “the success of the [modernist FRG] stamps in reorienting German taste would indicate a victory over the pseudonostalgic cultural policies of the Third Reich” (pp. 212–13), although philatelists might wish they had such influence over aesthetic taste. Feinstein claims that “the festivals of the GDR were among the most effective of its symbols in establishing the state’s authority and legitimacy” (p. 183), but we already know that the utter collapse of the GDR means that these mass festivals were not very effective after all. And this is the main problem. One can show why symbols were selected and what their creators hoped to accomplish, but it is much more difficult to demonstrate their real effectiveness among the men, women, and children who sang the anthems, marched in parades, and licked the stamps. The fate of the GDR suggests that its state symbols did not matter very much.

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NORBERT FREI. *Adenauer’s Germany and the Nazi Past: The Politics of Amnesty and Integration*. Translated by JOEL GOLB. New York: Columbia University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 479. \$35.00.

I have been granted the dubious honor of reviewing a work already hailed as “groundbreaking” and “major.” The German edition has been cited extensively in the literature since 1996, and its conclusions are essentially unchallenged. Even the more recent English translation under consideration here has already been extensively, and prominently, reviewed. Norbert Frei’s work is important because it seeks to explain how the Federal Republic of Germany made the transition from the National Socialist dictatorship to a stable, pluralistic society and polity. What Frei terms a “policy for the past” (*Vergangenheitspolitik*) played a crucial role in that transition. “Policy for the past” refers in the German context to “amnestying and integrating former supporters of the Third Reich on the one hand, [and] completing a normative separation from Nazism on the other.” For five years, from 1949 to 1954, the legislative, judicial, and executive activity of the Federal Republic was devoted to this process that was “undisputed in its premises [by Germans, at least], generous in its accomplishments, and lasting in its effects” (p. 303).

The book is organized in three parts, roughly reflect-

ing the three elements of the policy outlined above: amnesty, integration, and demarcation. Part one covers, in sometimes excruciating detail, the negotiations leading to the amnesty legislation of 1949 and 1954. Forgiveness of crimes committed in the late war and immediate postwar period was seen as essential to the legitimacy of the new republic. A broad coalition, stretching from the right-wing fringe of the political spectrum to the Social Democratic Party (SPD), supported the amnesty program. Part two analyzes the war criminal problem. Together with legislation to compensate those affected by denazification, demilitarization, or expulsion from the east, the gradual release of those prosecuted by the Allies for war crimes allowed for the integration of potentially radical disaffected elements into the emerging democracy. Both the symbolic and material resources of the young state were mobilized to secure the vital loyalty of civil servants, refugees, former officers, and others. Part three traces three major events, the Hedler and Naumann affairs and the banning of the Socialist Reich Party, which set the limits beyond which political activity was not allowed. Two significant features of Frei's work in this regard are his argument that foreign opinion played a large role in shaping policy and the related argument that scholars too often exaggerate Konrad Adenauer's independence in the postwar period.

One of Frei's strengths is his ability to plunge deeply into the minute details of the legislative process yet emerge at the end of each chapter and section to paint a picture with broader strokes, capturing the larger significance of the details under consideration. The power of the work lies not merely in the clear explication of the events mentioned above but also in Frei's balanced analysis of the positive and negative repercussions of the Federal Republic's "policy for the past."

The resolution of the war criminal problem, for example, allowed some killers to walk free and created a sense in Germany of "a crime without perpetrators, a Nazism without Nazis" (p. 232). Yet, it also established an implicit moral distance between the Nazi past and the democratic present. Real victims of Nazi crimes were minimally compensated but otherwise ignored in favor of a broad identification with the perpetrators, the defense of whom united Germans of all political persuasions. Amnesty legislation provided legitimacy but systematically undermined the Nuremberg system and postwar denazification measures. Frei also usefully reminds us of the myriad possibilities available in postwar politics. Large numbers of people dreamed, in vain, of creating a great right-wing party, incorporating the stances of organizations on the fringes of political life, like the Germany Party, and veterans' and refugees' organizations.

A few words may be devoted to the new translation/edition. Fritz Stern's foreword is helpful in framing the significance of the volume. Frei has added both a brief postscript for the American edition and references to a few works appearing since 1996. The translation is

admirable, considering the complexity of Frei's original prose; only occasionally is the reader brought to a screeching halt by some tortured, Teutonic phrase. Some errors, absent in the original German, have crept in, such as referring to Robert Lehr as the "justice minister" when he was in fact the interior minister (p. 256). Other mistakes may have escaped this reviewer's attention.

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STEVEN P. REMY. *The Heidelberg Myth: The Nazification and Denazification of a German University*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Pp. xi, 329. \$39.95.

This book by Steven P. Remy reflects a continuing interest in investigating the pervasiveness of National Socialist ideology in German society. Major works on the ideological umbrella organizations, like the SS Ahnenerbe (SS Ancestral Inheritance) and the Rosenberg Amt (Bureau), as well as substantive studies of particular academic disciplines, have helped lay the groundwork for this study of one academic institution. Remy focuses his attention exclusively on the University of Heidelberg, long considered one of the traditionally liberal universities of Germany. The book's seven chapters read like a drama, with a prologue, "Embracing National Socialism," followed by buildup chapters on the "'German Spirit' in Scholarship" and the "National Socialist University at War." Chapter four, "Constructing the Myth," the dramatic highpoint, proves to be the core of his book. The last chapters present the resolution by elaborating on "Whitewashing the Ivory Tower" and "A Culture of Forgetting."

Individual academic institutes and the scores of faculty members who peopled them pass before us in nearly overwhelming detail. Some names are well known far beyond the Heidelberg scene (Karl Jaspers, for example), while others would only be known within a discipline (Philipp Lenard in physics, Karl Heinz Bauer in medicine, and Eugene Fehrle in folklore). Anyone who studied in Germany during the 1950s and 1960s will recognize individuals and may have taken courses from them. I certainly did. Remy provides the necessary information on many such individuals, detailing their first involvement with National Socialism and the continuation and intensification of their work during the war; then, perhaps most important, he offers us a good look at the "myth" of noninvolvement that these scholars created as part of the postwar denazification process.

Unlike many other university cities, Heidelberg was not bombed; thus both city and university archives are exceptionally complete. Remy utilized these files to produce an exceptionally well-documented study. In 1936 Heidelberg celebrated its 550th anniversary, and Nazi dignitaries appeared in large numbers for the celebration. Soon expertise would be provided by a willing academic elite, and physics would have Germany's first cyclotron, medicine would be involved in

sterilization and euthanasia, and folklore would assert Germanic continuity as documentation for the concept of a master race. While the first chapters are interesting and necessary, it is only in chapter four that Remy comes to the point he has isolated in his title: the Heidelberg "myth." He carefully establishes through his reading of postwar personnel files, those of the city, the university, and of the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC), that the professorate claimed to have been a bastion of democracy only to have the autonomy of self-governance smashed by the regime. Thereafter, according to the "myth," ideological fanatics were installed from outside in order to make Heidelberg into a model Nazi university. This became the common defense during the denazification procedures of 1945 and 1946. University faculty members successfully established the "myth of victimization," asserting that objective scholarship had continued, and only a few were truly Nazis, echoing Austria's postwar claims of the entire country being victimized.

Most impressive are the pages devoted to a few individuals who aggressively pursued the involvement of faculty members with National Socialism. The CIC officer Daniel Penham, born Siegfried Oppenheim in Bad Hersfeld, confronted Karl Heinz Bauer, the postwar rector of the university, about his medical career, his courses on racial hygiene, and his whitewashing of his own involvement with sterilization and euthanasia studies. Here was a uniformed German Jew questioning professors, which must have brought forth the image presented by Joseph Goebbels, "fight or face the avenging Jew." Penham was denounced by the faculty senate and accused of being "filled with hatred toward the university" (p. 168). The result was a total breakdown of the denazification process. In its place were the so-called *Spruchkammern* (civilian tribunals), which reduced the charges for most of those accused to the status of *Mitläufer* (fellow travelers) and resulted in what Remy calls a "fellow traveler factory" (p. 206). Article 131 of the "Basic Law" (the West German equivalent of a constitution) also facilitated the reinstatement of former Nazi Party members in the civil service.

In his conclusion, Remy traces the involvement of Heidelberg professors and other instructors to deeply rooted nationalism and cultural pessimism, but he also points out the opportunism enjoyed by so many. This produced higher levels of ideological engagement than most were willing to admit following the collapse of the Nazi regime. The book is well documented and written, and with its sweeping inclusions and condemnations it will certainly be debated.

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THOMAS GROßBÖLTING. *SED-Diktatur und Gesellschaft: Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit und Entbürgerlichung in Magdeburg and Halle*. (Studien zur Landesgeschichte, number 7.) Halle/Saale: MDV. 2001. Pp. 518. €40.00.

Officially stigmatized as the "losers of history" by the German Democratic Republic's (GDR) communist leadership, the fate of bourgeois groups in the self-proclaimed "workers' and peasants' state" aroused relatively little scholarly attention in divided Germany. It is only since the demise of the regime and opening of its archives that a handful of studies on the professions and churches have begun to fill this previously blank page of East German history. Thomas Großbölting's account of middle-class responses to the socialist transformation in Magdeburg and Halle is a welcome addition to this growing body of literature, and sets itself apart from previous studies by examining not a single profession but rather the dissolution of bourgeois milieux more broadly. By concentrating on several well-chosen local case studies, it seeks to shed light on the resilience, resistance, and erosion of bourgeois associations during the rapid social transformations of the latter 1940s and 1950s, and to describe the complex interplay between older social structures and the radical transformative politics of the communist regime that shaped the face of East German society.

The bulk of the book falls into two parts: the first on two long-standing debating societies (the Magdeburg "Vespertina" and the Halle "Spiritus-Circle"), and the second on the local chambers of industry and commerce. The two debating societies were in many respects classic *bildungsbürgerlich* (educated middle-class) associations; they were socially exclusive, had strong roots in the local professions, municipal administration, and academic institutions, and rejected what they perceived as the loss of individuality and the economization of life in the "mass society" that the communists sought to build. Großbölting shows in painstaking detail how both debating societies, despite swiftly losing their political influence to the communists after the war, remained local cultural landmarks throughout the 1950s, resulting in an uneasy polarity between local political and cultural capital. As these once prominent societies and the world views they espoused were gradually pushed out of the public spotlight, they increasingly came to function as sanctuaries of bourgeois sociability and self-definition on the margins of socialist civic life.

The chambers of industry and commerce, bastions of the local *Wirtschafts-* and *Besitzbürgertum* (propertied middle classes), present a story of similar but ultimately more rapid and thorough dissolution. Despite the nationalization of large enterprises from 1946 onward, the imperative of economic reconstruction during the latter 1940s initially gave the reconstituted chambers significant opportunity to pursue their traditional agenda of representing private industrial and commercial interests and championing the bourgeois ideals of performance, efficiency, competition, and risk. Yet with the turn toward more detailed economic planning from 1950 onward, they quickly lost their institutional autonomy and functioned essentially as a

means of integrating private enterprises into the planned economy.

Although its overall argument is not surprising, this immensely detailed and well-researched account paints a vivid picture of the marginalization and decline of bourgeois institutions and values in early East Germany. Its findings fit more or less neatly into the interpretive framework of recent social historical research on the GDR, which has emphasized the tensions between the resilience and gradual erosion of traditional social structures and values over the course of the 1950s and 1960s. Against this backdrop, what stands out perhaps more than the book's central arguments are the connections—however fleeting—that Großbölting draws to broader questions about the history of the German bourgeoisie and the legacies of the GDR for unified Germany. In terms of methodology, this study fruitfully combines the two currently dominant approaches towards the historical constitution of the German bourgeoisie by examining both its urban institutional basis as well as the articulation of "bourgeois values" and ways of life (*Bürgerlichkeit*) as means of self-definition. In the process Großbölting points to an intriguing paradox: whereas traditional *bildungsbürgerliche* values and practices were gradually eroded in "bourgeois" West Germany's increasingly open society, in socialist East Germany they were curiously conserved in small, marginalized pockets precisely because of the direct challenge posed by the regime. "Bourgeois" economic values such as competition and emphasis on individual success were, by contrast, largely displaced in the GDR, as sociological research since 1990 has repeatedly shown. Here Großbölting's study provides useful historical background to debates about the cultural divergence of the two Germanies and its continuing social and political ramifications. It can only be hoped that future studies on East Germany will follow and build on this example by attempting more systematically to connect GDR historiography to broader interpretive questions and to situate the GDR in its wider historical context.

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DOUGLAS BIOW. *Doctors, Ambassadors, Secretaries: Humanism and Professions in Renaissance Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2002. Pp. xviii, 224. \$39.00.

Following anthropologist Charles Goodwin and Andrew Abbott's relational theory of professions, Douglas Biow argues that Renaissance professions helped shape identities by providing discursive fields in which to explore shared concerns. Biow examines selected treatises on and by practitioners of three professions—one traditional (physician), and two new in the fifteenth century (resident ambassador and personal secretary)—to find out how those professions shaped the educated elite in Renaissance Italy.

The book is divided into three discrete sections, each devoted to one profession and constructed around an analysis of an eclectic selection of texts that define the desirable personal characteristics and expectations of that profession. Biow's analysis of assumptions and commonplaces associated with the three groups further reveals how professional identities formed and changed between the fourteenth and late sixteenth centuries at the hands of advocates who had assimilated the skills and perspectives of the humanist educational program. Since professions in the Renaissance most often developed outside institutional boundaries, humanist discourse about them in their early stages reveals the process by which professionals self-identified and accorded themselves status.

The book is based on a close literary analysis of the chosen texts, some familiar, such as Niccolò Machiavelli's *Prince* (1513), others less well known, such as Gentile da Foligno's *consilia* on the plague. Biow's expertise as a literary scholar shines through in his sensitive treatment of language and metaphor, such as the symbolic meaning and rhetorical force behind Giovanni Boccaccio's riveting discussion of pigs as agents of infection in the *Decameron* (1349–1351), or a century later, in how Girolamo Fracastoro, humanist physician and poet, best known for his contagion theory, used the new disease of syphilis as a metaphor for the Italians' inability to rid their peninsula of the invading French and Spanish armies who brought with them so much death and disease. For Fracastoro, war also became a metaphor for disease that ravaged individual bodies and the body politic. Such characteristic metaphorical thinking and analogical discourse, Biow argues, helped humanists expand and delineate professional boundaries.

Biow begins his discussion with Francis Petrarch's 1341 coronation oration in praise of the work of the poet. Petrarch's poet, while not a profession in the modern sense, articulated themes of self-reflection, fame, and decorum that became common tropes in fifteenth and sixteenth-century writings on professions. By criticizing medieval medicine as lacking eloquence, Petrarch also opened the way for later humanists to gauge their emerging professional identities using rhetorical standards modeled on Cicero and Quintilian. This book makes an important contribution to the burgeoning literature on professions and professionalism because by examining three distinct areas, Biow is able to highlight the common rhetorical strategies participants used to forge their various identities. The contribution of Italian Renaissance humanism becomes particularly important, for the ease with which humanists employed a wealth of examples drawn from classical antiquity and their sensitivity to language and its historical dimensions made them forceful rhetoricians and effective advocates of the new professions. Some of these common strategies included the use of wonder and marvel both to attract attention and to suspend prior beliefs, especially noticeable in the treatises on medical practice. Through the technique

of exemplarity, humanists employed both ancient and contemporary models to draw similarities or contrasts in their efforts to self-define and to educate others about their endeavors. Appeals to prudence, dignity, and decorum helped authenticate the new professions of resident ambassador and private secretary. The secretary's use of the rhetoric of silence, which relied on secrecy and dissimulation, further heralded his importance as his patron's confidant and keeper of secrets.

The analysis relies primarily on prescriptive texts about the professions, and the historian may find a little disconcerting the treatment of different kinds of writing, whether plague *consilia*, histories, or treatises, on equal footing as texts to be mined for their rhetorical strategies. Biow does attend to some relevant issues of context, such as Machiavelli's circumstance of being an ex-secretary writing about princes and their advisors that shows him to have been a very bad secretary by contemporary standards for revealing rather than concealing what he knew about power. Biow's wealth of insights and sensitive readings are pleasingly eclectic but leave the reader puzzling why, for example, he omitted lawyers from consideration, even though Francesco Guicciardini, his principle interlocutor on ambassadorial work, established his primary professional identity and credentials in law before entering into Florentine public service or papal administration. Curiously, important structures of Renaissance society often reflected in humanist discourse, such as patronage and clientage, also receive scant mention, further indication that the analysis is driven selectively by the particular texts chosen. While the texts tell us less about humanists' actual experiences as doctors, ambassadors, or secretaries, they are amply illustrative of the fascinating discursive process of professional formation.

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P. RENÉE BAERNSTEIN. *A Convent Tale: A Century of Sisterhood in Spanish Milan*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xxii, 270. \$27.50.

The convent of San Paolo Converso in Milan (populated by inmates known as Angelics) has iconic status among sixteenth-century Italian foundations for nuns and stands out even against a backdrop of other famous and infamous convents clamoring for attention and investigation. The reasons for its singularity lie in its genesis, its personnel, its position (in Spanish-controlled Milan, at the mercy first of all of the Inquisition and then of the reforming archbishop Carlo Borromeo), its changes of direction, and its protectors. This book by P. Renée Baernstein tells the tale of the convent's constant reimagining of itself between 1535 and 1635 in response to ever-changing external and internal circumstances, in such a way that

its many transformations seem natural rather than forced.

The introduction is followed by five distinct chapters and is separated from the apparatus of endnotes, so that a nonacademic reader could very easily decide to read the story but forego engagement with the scholarly backup. The narrative (for it remains in essence a narrative) proceeds chronologically and charts five distinct phases in the life of the convent. The convent was officially founded by Ludovica Torelli in 1535 as part of a larger whole that included the male Clerks Regular of St. Paul (later known as the Barnabites), and it was unusual for women on at least two counts: the normal gender hierarchy was not observed, and the women combined the active with the contemplative life. But Paola Antonia Negri's emergence as "Divine Mother" (to both the female Angelics and male Barnabites) in the 1540s, and her involvement in sacramental matters, brought her to the notice of the Inquisition. In 1552, her arrest and imprisonment ended San Paolo Converso's radical phase, and the convent reinvented itself as a conservative and unthreatening enclosed female institution, while its former siblings, the Barnabites, painfully severed links. In a fascinating aside, Baernstein reveals that a later Barnabite was so embarrassed by (or so disbelieving of) his order's earlier relationship with Negri that he changed references to Negri in documents from *divina madre* to the more acceptable *reverenda madre*, and even on occasion replaced her name with "father provost." Torelli was one of the few who resisted the change to enclosure, withdrawing her financial support and leaving to found a *collegio* in her home county of Guastalla. When Borromeo was appointed archbishop of Milan in 1564, the nuns were already primed to fall in with his plans for convents to be utterly segregated from the outside world in every respect. The deranged nature of this impulse is illustrated at many levels by the Catholic Church's general ruling that "nuns could take in washing only if both the wearer and the washer were anonymous" (p. 88); the Angelics were therefore not only not allowed to see or be seen by the Barnabites, but they were not allowed to wash the Barnabites' liturgical vestments. Paralleling Borromeo's tenure of office, one family—the Sfrondati—came to dominate the convent, with Paola Antonia Sfrondati being elected prioress three times, and Sfrondati patronage being responsible for much of the convent's artistic decoration. When Niccolò Sfrondati was elected Pope Gregory XIV in December 1590, Sfrondati leadership became even more assured, and it continued in the final phase under discussion, with Agata Sfrondati as prioress. One of her lasting contributions was the erection of a replica of the Virgin Mary's house at Loreto, containing a life-size statue of Mary with her own considerable wardrobe of clothes.

The learning of this book is worn lightly. The outline of the narrative is everywhere softened by explicatory context, so that the reader is guided gently but expertly through the confusing maze of Counter-Reformation

thinking. The details of convent life can be revelatory. The twelve-year-old Agata Sfrondati explained at a visitation in 1578 that she could translate from Latin into the vernacular, but could not do Latin composition; Benedictine nuns at Sant'Olderico al Bocchetto were rebuked in 1581 for growing nasturtiums and jasmine flowers for individual profit. If one were to offer a criticism of the book, it would be that more could have been made of some of this detail by pointing out what was usual (and what unusual) through comparison with other convents.

Written for a nonspecialist as well as a specialist audience, the subject is presented in very small sections, with succinct and sometimes catchy headings as entry points. Much thought has obviously been given to its presentation in this form, and scholarly, jargon-laden prose has been paired down and/or replaced by snappy sentences rich in metaphor and by apposite quotations from unpublished church and convent sources, making this book a delight to read. In writing up San Paolo Converso's story for twenty-first-century readers, Baernstein convincingly offers her own perspective on "the world of the nun" in pre- and post-Tridentine Italy.

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HAROLD SAMUEL STONE. *St. Augustine's Bones: A Microhistory*. (Studies in Print Culture and the History of the Book.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2002. Pp. x, 155.

On October 1, 1695, a team of artisans was preparing to install decorative brackets on the crypt altar in the Cathedral of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro in Pavia. Removing some paving stones in the floor, they came upon a marble box with charcoal lettering on the cover. Inside this box, they found another silver box decorated with Lombard crosses. This held a cloth veil, some human bones (including part of a skull), and some glass vials. Although the workmen, some of whom were functionally illiterate, later disagreed about such details as the form and placement of the writing and even whether there had been a third box, all were convinced that they had found the relics of St. Augustine, Pavia's patron saint, whose body had been translated to the church under the auspices of the Lombard King Liutprand in the eighth century.

News of the discovery caused considerable excitement, but an official verdict on the authenticity of the relics was not easily reached. Four days later a committee that included the bishop of Pavia, the abbot of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, the abbot of the Augustinian Hermits, a papal representative, a notary, and others found no legible traces of writing on the boxes or any other evidence that might have enabled them to make an identification. Over the next several months, the bones were inventoried and studied, the workmen repeatedly interviewed, and the whereabouts

of other of St. Augustine's relics investigated. Two years elapsed before officials again convened to consider the question, but they were unable to make a determination. Meanwhile, news of the discovery of St. Augustine's relics was spreading around Italy, and miraculous cures were attributed to the water in the well behind the crypt of San Pietro.

The process of authentication was complicated by the peculiar situation of San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro. Two orders, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine and the Augustinian Hermits, rival claimants to the saint's legacy, shared the administration of the church. Established by papal fiat in the fourteenth century, it was an uneasy cohabitation, and the discovery of the bones did not make it any easier. Since the workmen were in the employ of the Hermits at the time, the Canons tended to be skeptical about the find. Not surprisingly, Ferdinando Leva, the first of the Canons to write about it in 1696, denied the authenticity of the relics and charged that the Hermits were trying to discredit the Canons and steal their saint. Apart from Leva, however, the early field was left to local believers in the relics, led by Michele Colli, the Barnabite who had been enlisted to make the case for the bones and was indefatigable in writing on their behalf. But in 1700, the debate entered a more cosmopolitan phase with learned works published in Milan and Venice. Men familiar with the recent great developments in historical scholarship insisted on documentation and critical analysis of the evidence. This stage of the controversy was brought to a head by Pope Benedict XIII in 1728. As determined to maintain papal control over local devotional and liturgical practices as he was to uphold scholarly principles, Benedict ordered Francesco Perusati, bishop of Pavia, to conduct an investigation with a strictly defined mandate. In a few months, the pope had his favorable decision and forbade further controversy. *Roma locuta causa finita*—or was it? That same year, in a masterly ninety-two-page treatise, Ludovico Antonio Muratori reviewed the whole matter of saints' tombs and relics and expressed serious doubts not only as to the authenticity of St. Augustine's bones but about the future of an ecclesiastical historiography that embraced such shoddy methods as were displayed in the two-volume work commissioned by the pope to defend the invention.

Harold Samuel Stone, the author of a significant book on Giambattista Vico and the transmission of ideas in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Naples, uses the controversy over the bones as a case study in the relation of popular hagiology to learned clerical culture with reflections on literacy, and the relation of oral tradition to print. These are hot topics, but with very little evidence for the popular side of things, Stone can shed little light in that direction and relies mainly on hypothesis and conjecture. For the most part he follows the controversy through the writings of the clerical participants, and for the rest he gives us interesting side looks at such matters as the publication history of Augustine's writings, the origins and

early history of the two Augustinian orders, and the great seventeenth-century developments in ecclesiastical scholarship. Obviously at home in medieval and early modern Italian history, Stone should know that Dante was a White Guelf, not a Ghibelline; that the battle of Pavia took place in 1525, rather than 1527; and that Catholics did not (or were not supposed to) "worship" relics, as he repeatedly says they did.

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PERRY WILLSON. *Peasant Women and Politics in Fascist Italy: The Massaie Rurali*. New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. xiii, 221. \$29.95.

The nooks and crannies of Benito Mussolini's Italy are increasingly being explored and exploited by researchers working at some distance from the central themes of politics, diplomacy, and war, on which scholarly attention was focused for many years. The trend is welcome to those who prefer a multifaceted Braudelian approach to the task of demonstrating that "history" has certainly not ended, and that crucial components of the human experience still await proper investigation and reflection.

In her introduction to this valuable addition to the historical literature on women under fascism, Perry Willson wryly observes that "it is not surprising that a conservative organization concerned mainly with cookery, gardening and the raising of farmyard animals should have failed to capture the imagination of the new generation of feminist historians" (p. 3). She goes on to argue, however, that a mass-mobilizing agency capable of enrolling, by the time the fascist regime collapsed in 1943, some three million women, drawn mostly from sectors of the population previously for the most part untouched by any form of political participation, raises important issues for the analysis of Italian fascism's "consensus" hitherto not fully confronted by the historiography.

After giving an analytical account of the genesis, organization and dominant personalities of the movement of "farming women," Willson reviews the printed propaganda directed to its members, the training program incorporated in its activities, the development of professional women trainers, and the recreational and welfare provisions it made. Willson confronts the nub of the historiographical problem in a final chapter "Recruiting for the Nation: Why did Three Million join the *Massaie rurali*?" and in an epilogue in which she considers the organization's postwar legacy. Willson takes issue with the more linear versions of modernization theory, suggesting to the contrary that enrolling peasant women into a flanking movement supportive of the fascist regime was essentially an effort to harness a nascent desire for a more fully acknowledged role for women to the fascist attempt to preserve through "ruralization" the social and economic status quo. The *Massaie rurali* movement was

essentially a top-down operation and its success, measured at least in membership numbers, was intended to reinforce gender deference, extrapolating the existing subordination of women into a rhetorically valued service to the state and its leader. Mussolini said its purpose was "making peasants love the land" (p. 141), and it is interesting to note the similarity of this fascist attitude toward rural women and their work to the policy proposed by the chief organ of the Resistance in Tuscany in May 1945 for the reconstruction of the region's economy, which ruled out any further industrial development (indeed required the dismantling of wartime plants) and assumed that agriculture would remain based preponderantly on sharecropping. And in her succinct epilogue, Willson shows that the dynamics of the comparable flanking movement of the Christian Democrats in the postwar period, the rural women's section of Paolo Bonomi's Coldiretti organization, fits the same paradigm.

This analysis would seem to indicate a deep level of continuity in social-historical terms, a continuum consisting of a large "gray area" between the scarlet of militant leftism and the black of militant fascism. This is only lightly touched on by Willson and perhaps comprises a dimension not fully accessible to the analytical tools she uses and the limitations of the corpus of fascist primary sources available (the main archives of the *Massaie rurali* having vanished down some crevice opened by the war). But a good book might have been even better if it had included in the analysis it offers a clearer cross referencing to the *longue durée* development of economic survival strategies by peasant families (as illuminated by Paul Corner in "Italy: Eternal 'Latecomer'?" in P. Mathias and J. A. Davis, eds., *The Nature of Industrialisation*, vol. 4 [1996]) and to studies in the cultural anthropology of Italian rural life. Willson persuasively proposes a set of overlapping and ostensibly contradictory motivations for membership of the *Massaie rurali* but does not consider, for example, the possible role of symbolic appropriation that a number of scholars from Ernesto de Martino (*La fine del mondo* [1977]) onward have discerned as being at work.

There are a helpful glossary of terms and acronyms, an analytical index, and some telling photographic illustrations of the ways in which the regime exploited the *Massaie rurali* for propaganda purposes. The text is fully referenced and the footnotes will doubtless inspire many more doctoral theses.

ROGER ABSALOM
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ANDREW C. JANOS. *East Central Europe in the Modern World: The Politics of the Borderlands from Pre- to Postcommunism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 488. \$65.00.

The volume under review is a synthesis of modern East Central European history by political scientist Andrew C. Janos, who effectively applies a variety of social

science theories to his discussion of the region. While specialists will be familiar with the broad outlines of the narrative, Janos's unique contribution is locating East Central Europe in the broader context of the economic and political history of Europe as a whole. Much of the book is devoted to discussion of the relative backwardness of the region vis-à-vis Western Europe up to the present. Indeed, almost one-half century of Soviet rule neither narrowed the income gap between East and West nor had much impact on the position of the various communist states on the northwest-southeast gradient in Europe (p. 352). As in most comparative volumes, the space allotted each country is not equal. The author pays particular attention to Hungary, Romania, and the Balkans. He also includes substantial discussion of Russia/the Soviet Union, which should prove useful for nonspecialists.

Following explanation of his methodology and definition of the region, Janos provides a brief historical overview of East Central Europe, beginning with the Middle Ages, when Charlemagne created a new "Holy" Roman Empire whose borders were roughly those of Western Europe during the Cold War. The book, however, focuses on the last two hundred years. The economies of this region were marginalized in the half-century between 1780 and 1830, when the agricultural and industrial revolutions of northwestern Europe intersected (p. 129). Due to their geographic location, the countries of East Central Europe, with the exception of the Czech lands, were peripheral in the nascent world capitalist economy. The chapters of this volume are organized chronologically as well as topically. The book covers three eras: precommunist, communist, and postcommunist. It also addresses the rise and decline of two great economic-political cycles: liberalism and communism.

The first part of the book analyzes the economic and political developments in East Central Europe during the modern period in the context of earlier, Western European developments. In the longest chapter of the book, "The Crisis of Liberalism," the author expands his discussion to include Russia. In his analysis of the rise of Marxism as a new class that would challenge liberalism, Janos incorporates a discussion of a "paradigm shift" from Karl Marx to V. I. Lenin. This provides useful background for his analysis of communism in interwar East Central Europe, whose appeal depended in part on the image of Russia in each country. Janos reminds the reader that native communist parties got consistent support from ethnic minorities. This was not because of ideological appeal or historical sympathies, but because in their early years, these parties opposed ethnic discrimination, indeed, the very idea of ethnic states, which had resulted from redrawing the map of Europe after World War I, especially in the east (p. 164).

The author asserts that the continued marginalization of the East Central European economies, which was responsible for the radicalism of the Left, was also responsible for the rise of the radical Right. Certainly,

fascist internationalism shared some characteristics with Marxist internationalism. The local economies of the East Central European countries in which fascism gained power, and which were allied with Germany, profited from the Axis war effort at the outset of World War II. The loss of the war, however, destroyed any economic gains these countries made.

The Soviet Union stepped into the East Central European power vacuum left by Nazi Germany. After World War II, political change in the region was tied to the USSR's pursuit of its larger imperial interests (p. 218). These countries were no longer peripheral in the capitalist world economy but peripheral in a Moscow-centered imperial political system. This system initially had both a single line of authority and a single, integrated economic system, which was only partially modified after the death of Joseph Stalin. In the book's last chapter, Janos reflects on the economic and political reasons for the downfall of the Soviet empire and a decade of development in the newly independent former satellite states. He concludes with a discussion of the prospects for democracy and development in East Central Europe.

In addition to useful maps and tables, this book contains an extensive bibliography of political history sources. Because the volume is otherwise so clearly written, the author's lack of precision in describing the western half of former Czechoslovakia (the author variously refers to the Czech lands of Bohemia-Moravia/Bohemia-Moravia/the Bohemian provinces/Bohemia) is more obvious than it might otherwise have been. These minor flaws notwithstanding, both social scientists and political historians of the region will find this interdisciplinary study of great interest.

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MICHAEL STANISLAWSKI. *Zionism and the Fin de Siècle: Cosmopolitanism and Nationalism from Nordau to Jabotinsky*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 2001. Pp. xxi, 282. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Michael Stanislawski offers readers biographical sketches of four Zionists. Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, and Vladimir Zeev Jabotinsky were quite prominent in leadership positions within the movement, while the fourth, Ephraim Lilien, was an artist who gave the movement both imagery and physiognomy through his sketches and photographs. Since all four of these subjects were quite distant from Jewish religious, communal, and cultural life, and since all were successful cosmopolitan writers and artists, conventional wisdom would contend that their espousal of a Jewish national identity and their strident advocacy of its realization in Jewish statehood marked a decisive break with their past. If so, these individuals could be placed into a framework already delineated in the historiography of Jewish nationalism in Eastern Europe in the aftermath of the pogroms of 1881. Histo-

rians have noted that the wave of pogroms brought many secular-minded and even assimilated young Jews back to their people ultimately leading to the establishment of the Lovers of Zion in 1884 committed to the goal of purchasing land in Palestine and establishing Jewish agricultural colonies there

Stanislawski rejects the application of this thesis to his principals. Instead, he contends that for each, the move to Zionism was a natural one that did not mark a break with worldviews espoused earlier. Furthermore, he argues that these men did not return to their people and its culture, a world that was not only unknown to them but, as good Europeans, also repugnant to them. Rather, they sought to refashion modern Jewry along lines consistent with the values they drew from the European world that they knew, loved, and critiqued, the world of the *fin de siècle*. Principally, Stanislawski highlights the values of manliness and courage so graphically depicted in Lilien's artwork (reproduced in the text) and articulated by Nordau's call for Jews of muscle.

Stanislawski's work is meticulously researched. His analyses are based on a close, careful, and critical study of both published and archival materials. In fact, his reconstruction of Nordau's movement to a public Jewish identity emerges from his reading of Nordau's letters, written between 1886 and 1902, to Olga Novikova, a Russian noblewoman of impeccable antisemitic credentials, with whom Nordau had entered into an intimate relationship. Stanislawski found this cache of letters in Lawrence, Kansas, and together with other Nordau materials they enabled Stanislawski to trace Nordau's intellectual movements through that critical period. Stanislawski's discussion of Jabotinsky is also based on new materials: specifically, early texts of plays and newspaper articles available only in archival and library collections in Russia and only recently opened to the scholarly community. In addition to demonstrating his skills as a master sleuth, Stanislawski is also able to draw on his formidable language skills as he offers readers his own translations of a number of Jabotinsky's Russian-language texts, indicating how they had been mistranslated, and so misinterpreted, when offered in Hebrew and disseminated widely only in that language.

Beyond the critical and incisive biographical sketches of Nordau and Jabotinsky presented here, Stanislawski's work also contributes to the recent literature exploring the ideological and political foundations of Zionism. Given the focus here on Herzl and in his central importance to the formulation of a Zionist political and diplomatic agenda and his role in the founding of the World Zionist Organization as the principal political arm of Zionism, the thrust of this book is to affirm again the very Western bases of political Zionism. In doing so, Stanislawski challenges that historical line of inquiry that roots Zionism squarely within Jewish life, either as an expression of Judaism or as the political and cultural product of the nineteenth-century Hebrew Enlightenment. Stanislaw-

ski makes it crystal clear: Herzl, Nordau, and Jabotinsky did not return. Instead, they created a new Jew, physically, emotionally, and psychologically distinct from the contemporary Jew of both Eastern and Western Europe. Their successful propagation of that Jew distinguished their Zionism from that of the Russian-based Lovers of Zion and gave their movement a dynamism that captured the imagination not only of Jews but also of twentieth-century Gentiles eager to solve the Jewish Question, along with all of those other old "questions" so clearly highlighted by writers and artists active at the *fin de siècle*.

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MARIA BUCUR. *Eugenics and Modernization in Interwar Romania*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2002. Pp. 298. \$24.95.

Maria Bucur has written an important monograph on modern Romanian history. Although eugenics has been studied by historians of Western Europe and particularly Germany, and by Latin American, Chinese, and Soviet specialists, this is the first thorough attempt to analyze eugenics in Eastern Europe other than Russia. Mária M. Kovács broached the topic in *Liberal Professions and Illiberal Politics: Hungary from the Habsburgs to the Holocaust* (1994), but doctors and eugenics were only part of Kovács's study, which dealt as much with the strategies and ideology of lawyers and engineers. Bucur's book is well researched and solid, and it makes engaging comparisons between developments in Romania and those elsewhere in Europe, the Americas, and even Asia, although not to Hungary per se. Hungarians come into the picture only as the villains of Transylvanian Romanian eugenicists' plans for renewal. Romania's population included several minority groups, but the Hungarians (and Szeklers), Jews, and Gypsies are the main ones mentioned here because they constituted the eugenicists' obsessions.

This book is mostly a work of intellectual history. Some chapters, however, venture into policy making as well, since eugenicists were active not only in classrooms and laboratories but also beyond the academy as they attempted to reconstruct the state, education, medicine, and other areas of social and legal life to reflect their hierarchical and biological vision of humanity. They made an impact on politics, legislation, and public programs through their associations with grass-roots organizations such as Transylvania's Astra, and with the undemocratic political regimes of the late 1930s and 1940s—the royal dictatorship, the short-lived legionary government, and the wartime Antonescu regime. A more surprising alliance that was made with the government of the National Peasant Party (NPP) in the late 1920s and briefly again in the 1930s. But this relationship makes much sense in view of the regionalist tensions Bucur describes between

Transylvanian and Regat elites. The NPP was a decidedly Transylvanian party and the eugenics movement was based most strongly in Ardeal.

A group of modernizers formed the core of the profession. Their training in biology and medicine was mostly in German-speaking Central Europe. Post-World War I Greater Romania, with its newly appended territories and ethnically mixed populations, provided a breathtaking and challenging laboratory for their theories and projects. The Rockefeller Foundation offered Romanians fellowships, training, and funding. On the positive side, eugenicists pressed for preventive medicine, hygiene, and expanded medical care in the countryside. They were responsible for training nurses, educating adult peasants, and founding the profession of social work. On the negative side, they favored a very limited range of education and employment options for women, seeing their main contribution as mothers and wives. Moreover, they used biological evidence to argue against equal rights for ethnic minorities and to attempt to denationalize the Szeklers of eastern Transylvania. Eugenicists opposed mixed marriages, and some of them supported the racist legislation passed in Romania beginning in 1938. Among their most lasting legacies was the state's prerogative to meddle in citizens' private lives. Bucur demonstrates an important continuity between interwar eugenics and the Ceaușescu regime's pronatalist policies.

Throughout her book, Bucur strives to show a "normalized" face of Romanian eugenics without at the same time apologizing for it. Part of the enterprise is to evaluate the merits or possible guilt of the eugenicists as a corrective to the standard debates about the Romanian intelligentsia. Bucur charges, not without reason, that some of these much rehearsed discussions about the modernizing "Europeanists" as against the "traditionalists" have left out modernizers who were unimpressed by parliamentary democracy and keen on vigorous state intervention. Until now, she argues, these debates have been, pretty much limited to the literary intelligentsia, excluding scientists and policy makers.

Bucur's approach to the Romanian eugenicists defies both unambiguous and optimistic explanations as well as any attempts to gloss over the issue of antidemocratic politics. Clearly there were affinities between the eugenicists and thinkers, writers, and politicians on the extreme Right such as Nichifor Crainic, Nae Ionescu, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, Octavian Goga, and A. C. Cuza. Yet, with very few exceptions, such as Iordache Făcăoaru, Aurel Voinea, and Traian Herseni, who joined the Iron Guard, Bucur finds "no direct links" or "explicit ties" between the eugenics movement and the extreme Right, allowing only some "important indirect" ones (p. 12). This cautious analysis is refreshing, if at times rather narrowly constructed. In a society replete with speeches about the healthy peasant roots of the Romanians, the challenges of nation building, the ethnic purity of the

Romanian kin, and the illegitimacy of the minority populations, in a country where projects were launched for restructuring education so as to expand authentic Romanian elites to enable them to replace non-Romanian civil servants and middle classes, ethno-nationalist notions were indeed pervasive. There was thus considerable overlap between the language of the eugenicists and of others who used the same vocabulary without the professional grounding of the former. Bucur does not completely account for such discursive links between eugenics and Romanian nationalism.

In scrutinizing eugenicists' involvement with the regimes of Carol II, the Iron Guard, and Antonescu against narratives of the recent Romanian Holocaust historiography such as Jean Ancel's *Transnistria* (1998), and Radu Ioanid's *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction of Jews and Gypsies under the Antonescu Regime, 1940–1944* (2000). Bucur is careful to circumscribe her conclusions to the known "direct links," amounting to three or four people, between eugenics and these governments' ethnic cleansing policies. She notes the "conspicuous absence" of the eugenicists from the political discussion of "sweeping changes" made during the 1940s, while also pointing to the fact that even some of the more moderate and senior exponents of eugenics joined the Antonescu regime. They served on the Patronage Council, which used money looted from the Jewish community to help out ethnic Romanians, and in other official institutions once Antonescu has suppressed the Iron Guard in January 1941 (pp. 211–12). Bucur resists any generalizations regarding ethnic Romanian doctors' collaboration while remarking on the "silence" of the eugenicists during the wartime typhus epidemic among Jewish and Roma deportees to camps in Transnistria (p. 215). (Jean Ancel has claimed that an uncontrolled typhus epidemic was in effect a primitive means of extermination, one without access to gas chamber technology.)

This monograph contends that a rather small number of eugenicists had an influence well beyond their numbers in Romania, that their concerns were reflected in the discourse and praxis of many outside their ranks, and that their ideas about education and state intervention in the private sphere were heard, amplified, and implemented. It thus presents an interesting view of modernization and the role of highly educated scientists in that process. But it is hard and I think not advisable, to avoid the question of the eugenicists' own larger intellectual and political context. When Bucur's analysis leads her to emphasize the broad and profound effect of eugenic ideas on geographers, psychologists, sociologists, and policy makers, I could not help but wonder about influences in the other direction. Romanian eugenicists were in effect often arguing for the application of an ethnic *numerus clausus*, an idea popular among Romanian university students and embraced by public opinion at large, including many academics and politicians. Were these

scientists not also, or simply, adhering to a nationalist consensus that preceded and encompassed them and their theories, while translating these broadly popular notions into scientific terms? As opposed to being always the ones, according to Bucur, who had the determining influence on everyone outside of eugenics?

IRINA LIVEZEANU

University of Pittsburgh [All reviewers of books by Indiana University faculty are selected with the advice of the Board of Editors.]

KATHERINE R. JOLLUCK. *Exile and Identity: Polish Women in the Soviet Union During World War II*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2002. Pp. xxiv, 356. \$34.00.

The crimes of the Soviet Union against its citizens and neighbors have been described and analyzed in countless studies, monographs, and memoirs. Newly published documents from Soviet secret files seem to serve predominantly to solve this or that contentious point in an overall well-known narrative. It is therefore particularly impressive that Katherine R. Jolluck manages to throw a new light on that topic. Her book tackles not only Soviet but also Polish history. Its subject is a series of forced deportations of Polish citizens into the Soviet Union in the years 1940–1941. The book reads that extremely painful episode of Polish-Russian history through the experience of female deportees, and this approach proves very fruitful. Jolluck has produced a study that is a serious addition to the canon of books about World War II.

On September 17, 1939, sixteen days after Adolf Hitler sent German troops into Poland, the Soviet Union invaded the eastern part of the country. Soon after, severe changes were introduced into the social fabric of that region through, among other methods, deportation. The women who are the subject of this book were deported in four waves in 1940 and 1941. The total number of the deportees is not agreed upon by historians, but “the number of women who were removed from their homes and forced into Soviet exile ranges from a minimum of 180,500 to a maximum of 585,000” (p. 12). Of that number, approximately sixty-five percent were ethnic Poles; the rest were Polish citizens of Jewish, Ukrainian, and Belorus origin. While in Soviet exile, they were usually separated from their husbands or fathers and forced, when not imprisoned, to care for small children who constituted approximately one fourth of the deportees. For over two long years, these women were scattered in camps, prisons, and settlements of the most inhospitable regions of the Soviet Union. Liberated as the result of an amnesty in the summer of 1941, they represent the lucky minority that not only survived their ordeal but were able to leave the country of their sufferings behind.

The story that we follow in the book is based on

about 2,000 testimonies written by the deported women right after their liberation and departure from the Soviet Union. The testimonies were commissioned by the Polish government in exile for the purpose not only of documenting the persecutions suffered by its citizens but also of reclaiming the territories occupied by the Soviets. That accounts for the “official” tone in some of the statements, but there is no exaggeration in their description of the horrific experiences that became these women’s fate. On the contrary, often they said “there are no words to express what I went through.” Jolluck uses these testimonies in an almost ethnological way. Against a background of thoroughly researched historical material, she asks questions rarely answerable in a study of events removed in time. We learn not only how the life of these deportees felt but also what they thought about it and what psychological strategies they used to cope with their ordeal. This is a study that preserves the voices of victims and survivors and places them in the larger contexts of Polish, Soviet, and European history.

The basic value of this book is straightforward: it presents an important and little-known episode in the history of World War II. The analysis of the deportations and imprisonment of Polish citizens during that time shows the degree of cruelty and horror that comports with what we know about Nazi persecutions. The book documents as well the sustained anti-Polish attitudes that greeted the deportees at every turn. Poles were exposed to a common aspect of Soviet life: torture through heavy and often senseless labor. The systematic and purposeful perversion of work was an ultimate punishment, as it not only threatened deportees with illness and death and undermined their abilities to fulfill their family obligations but also denied them the dignity that comes from honorably performing human toil. The deportees were exposed to further instruments of torture: hunger, dirt, infestation, cold or heat, and lack of medical attention. Jolluck has also found a way to bring to light other, less documented persecutions. Both women and men were constantly subject to invasive body searches, which, according to their testimonies, were humiliating for the men but devastating for the women. Men in camps and prisons and women everywhere lived in constant danger of rape, ceaselessly pressured for sexual submission. Here, too, their reactions were unequal: men reported women’s rapes, while women were often unable to “find words” to talk about the subject.

Jolluck interprets these differences as ways of dealing with the main issue faced by the deportees: that of maintaining identity. This is also the question around the issues of sexuality, child care, social cohesion, and family relations that are analyzed in their national and political context. In the case of national persecution, the group and individual identity are maintained precisely through strengthening their national dimensions. Yet men and women had different roles in the “family of the Polish nation.” Men had an individualistic, heroic scenario to follow, while women’s access to

the nation was more relational, through being a sacrificial mother, a faithful wife, a devoted member of a community. Therefore, men were more able to acknowledge the cracks and deviations in Polish exile communities, while women painted an idealized image of that community because its solidarity seemed to depend on their efforts. Women's reticence about the indignities suffered by their bodies is also understandable in that context. They possessed an internalized vision of social cohesion in which their place was highly gendered. Their identity as Polish women was linked to the integrity of their bodies, which became the site of their Polishness.

I found this insight particularly trenchant, having grown up after World War II in communist Poland. One of the most traumatic readings in my youth was the book by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński, *A World Apart* (1951). The book was so affecting not because of the image of the Soviet Union and of the persecutions of Poles: in Poland, these were things that one expected as a kind of historical cliché. I was devastated by one of many stories in the book, about an imprisoned Polish girl (with whom I must have identified myself) who arrives fresh and proud to the camp, is singled out by some bandits, raped, and broken down. She attaches herself to one of these men and is rapidly transformed into a swollen, sullen, mindless creature. Only after reading Jolluck's book did I understand the reasons for the total lack of compassion the author showed to this character in his book: her physical integrity was a depository of national identity. It was a lesson I absorbed.

This is only one of the insights afforded by Jolluck's book, which also helped me to understand the resistance of Poles of both sexes to feminism, the symbol of which—a woman on a tractor—undoubtedly had a Soviet, anti-Polish hue. Jolluck talks about her subjects' attitudes toward children, motherhood, other nationalities, ethnic minorities, political and social cohesion, and Polish national history. The authors of these testimonies were not the "writing" kind, and rarely does one hear voices coming from such a group. This book, full of compassion and understanding, makes it possible for us to listen to these voices. But it is also a merciless analysis of the ways in which persecuted people draw on rigid, hostile stereotypes in order to defend themselves against compromise and disintegration. This is a great study written by a first-class historian: serious, erudite, original, insightful, compassionate, and quite free.

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SREČKO M. DŽAJA. *Die politische Realität des Jugoslawismus (1918–1991): Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Bosnien-Herzegowinas*. Untersuchungen zur Gegenwartskunde Südosteuropas, number 37.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg. 2002. Pp. vi, 317.

Over the course of the twentieth century, two Yugoslavias were created: the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in 1918 (renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929), and communist Yugoslavia in 1941. Protracted armed conflict accompanied and followed the dissolution of each polity, in 1941 and 1992 respectively. Seeking to rise above nationalist finger-pointing and monocausal explanations for the failed Yugoslavias, Srećko M. Džaja has written a detailed political history of the two states. He concludes that both Yugoslavias were deeply flawed political constructs, designed and imposed by elites without the consent of the governed. The failure of the states' rulers to bridge vast differences among peoples, particularly between Serbs and Croats, meant that neither polity ever rested on a firm political foundation.

Chapter one, dealing with royal Yugoslavia (1918–1941), is a narrative of unremitting efforts by Serbian leaders to impose a centralized state upon former Habsburg territories. The state was built on the premise that most of its citizens were members of a single Yugoslav nation that bore three names: Serb, Croat, and Slovene. Many Serbian leaders promoted assimilationist policies under the guise of Yugoslavism. In Džaja's interpretation, heavy-handed Serbian centralism exacerbated national tensions in royal Yugoslavia.

The assessment of communist Yugoslavia (1945–1992) in chapter two is quite different but no less negative. The communist leaders of the Partisan movement in World War II disguised their true intentions but aimed from the outset to monopolize political control. As the war ended, they exterminated or imprisoned political enemies, held show trials, sought to transform their allies in the National Front into transmission belts of communism, and extinguished endeavors that impeded exclusive communist control. The regime's responses to crises such as Josip Broz Tito's break with Joseph Stalin in 1948 are aptly captured in the chapter title, "A Permanent Experiment." Communist leaders employed both pragmatism and dogmatism as they lurched from one crisis to another, but problems proliferated as each attempted solution created new burdens and posed additional challenges for the state.

The book's final chapter discusses the central role of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the two Yugoslavias. The Bosnian Muslims proved problematical for both Yugoslav states. Until well into the communist era, leading Muslim intellectuals insistently defined their group as a religious community rather than a nationality, but many Serbs viewed them as Muslims of Serbian nationality and many Croats saw them as Islamicized Croats. Both Serbs and Croats engaged in campaigns to assimilate the Bosnian Muslims. But the Muslims proved to be autonomous political actors with little appetite for either Serbian or Croatian national identity. Their national neutrality meant that they were frequently marginalized in the politics of royal Yugoslavia, and communist leaders vacillated for decades

on how to classify the Bosnian Muslims in their scheme of national groups.

These major themes are standard fare among those historians who see few redeeming features in either Yugoslavia. But notwithstanding the author's condemnation of both Yugoslav states, he displays fidelity to the documented historical record, at times to the point of raising questions about the value of his conclusions. More rewarding than the book's adverse conclusions are the many insightful observations encapsulated in thoughtful, fact-laden discussions of individual developments and institutions. Such reasoned insights redeem this work from the twin perils of overgeneralization and anecdotalism.

The study is based largely on secondary sources, particularly a plethora of monographs by local scholars seldom acknowledged in the secondary literature in Western languages. The author has also used the papers of Branko Mikulić, a key communist-era Bosnian Croat politician who once drafted memos for Tito, in analyzing the weaknesses of communist Yugoslavia.

This work shares with many other recent histories of Yugoslavia an assumption that national cleavages are paramount in explaining the demise of both Yugoslavias. The book's organization reflects Džaja's preoccupation with political parties, cultural societies, confessional communities, and the state's shifting nationality policies. Crosscutting issues of class and social contention thereby fall into a crevasse of neglect. The omission of social developments is a key factor in the failure of this work to offer meaningful conclusions regarding the continuities and discontinuities between the two polities. But as a compendium of essential political developments, this study sheds light on the origins, development, and demise of the twentieth-century's two Yugoslavias.

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MICHELLE LAMARCHE MARRESE. *A Woman's Kingdom: Noblewomen and the Control of Property in Russia, 1700–1861*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 276. \$39.95.

Russian women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries enjoyed greater rights over the acquisition, management, and disposal of landed property than their counterparts in Western Europe, a fact that was commented on with envy and amazement by Western female visitors to Russia during the period. In this excellent book, Michelle Lamarche Marrese explains how and why such a situation came about and assesses how property rights were exercised in practice by Russian women. She demonstrates that the evolution of womens' property rights in the eighteenth century was neither the result of a deliberate policy by the state nor the manifestation of specifically Russian cultural norms but was a byproduct of attempts by the Russian nobility to establish legal rights over their property within the context of their broader struggle to establish

the corporate rights of the noble estate within a service state. Marrese provides evidence to show that Russian noble women—wives and widows—proceeded to exercise these rights and to defend them in the courts with a vigor, and sometimes a skill, that belie the traditional picture of patriarchal imperial Russia where women were subservient and confined to domestic activities and spheres of influence. The argument is presented clearly and skillfully throughout and is based on an impressive range of documentary sources. Extensive use has been made of archival materials in Russia that have never been used before, in particular property transactions in a number of provinces in European Russia and legal proceedings in lower and higher courts, as well as private archives and memoirs of noble families. Excellent comparative points are made to demonstrate the significance of Russian practices compared with those in other European countries.

Although the book addresses primarily matters concerning property, the evidence provided by Marrese and the conclusions she draws have a wider significance for the study of Russian, and indeed European, history in this period. New information is provided about the way in which Russian courts, from the lowest so-called "oral" courts to the highest in the provinces, functioned before the reforms of the 1860s and, in particular, about how the senate, and sometimes the ruler, acted as final arbiters in land disputes. The workings of the Land College and the Noble Board of Guardians—both institutions about which little is known—are also analyzed. Furthermore, Marrese provides valuable insights on the development of the relationship between ruler and the nobility during the eighteenth century and demonstrates the fundamental importance of property in this relationship. Much of this may sound rather dry to the nonspecialist, but Marrese's analysis of the activity of women in legal proceedings in the later eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, enlivened by the judicious use of memoirs as well as extensive statistical material, gives a vivid and lively portrayal of provincial Russian life in which noble ladies discussed the property market and legal matters as much as they did the latest fashions and domestic chores. This is far from the image of a backward society, in which the concept of "legal consciousness" was slow to develop, so often depicted by Western, and some Russian, contemporary commentators and writers. Marrese makes a compelling case for a more positive portrayal of Russian provincial life, in which legal processes were energetically pursued and where women played a vigorous role. Her work complements studies by Jane Burbank, Cathy A. Frierson, and Stephen Frank that show how actively peasants used local courts after 1861.

The sometimes limited nature of the evidence available to Marrese means that some questions have to remain unanswered. Russian court records rarely allow scholars to pursue cases through all levels of appeal, with the result that the outcomes of many of the land disputes cited here cannot always be known. Nor can

we be sure who initiated these legal proceedings concerning property. To what extent, for example, did husbands instigate property disputes on behalf of their wives, and to what extent were women aware of the significance of transactions in their name beyond their signatures on documents? Marrese provides all available evidence on the subject, but some individual circumstances and the nature of some married relationships can never be known. This does not detract from the significance and scholarly distinction of this work. It is an immensely authoritative, comprehensive, and important study of value not only to Russian historians but also to all serious historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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ABBY M. SCHRADER. *Languages of the Lash: Corporal Punishment and Identity in Imperial Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 258. \$38.00.

This study illuminates how corporal punishments in nineteenth-century Russia helped to construct and reinforce social status, gender differences, and ethnic otherness and, more broadly, to structure society and maintain state supremacy over the population. Drawing on a large fund of archival documentation, Abby M. Schrader shows both that reformers launched significant, progressive penal reforms under Nicholas I and were stymied by conservative forces under Alexander II and that they closely followed Western European trends yet also pursued uniquely Russian paths. In every case, she delves into the eighteenth century to show her subjects' historical antecedents.

The book is organized analytically, with chapters on the law, public floggings, regional penal variations, the branding of exiles, the psychophysiology of corporal punishment, and the further restriction of flogging in Great Reform era. Schrader's main theme is the functionality and "productiveness" of corporal punishment, which she likens to a language with diverse idioms for different categories of people, by which state servitors "mapped and remapped Russian society" (p. 6). The most important map and pervasive idiom was social. Members of privileged social categories—nobles, clergymen, the educated—were exempt from corporal punishment, which raised their social status and, by extension, lowered that of the nonexempt. Geographic and biological maps also reinforced the differentiated status of ethnic minorities, women, children, the elderly, and the infirm.

A major problem of this penal cartography, wherein social position could be literally inscribed upon the body in welts and marks, however, was the chaotic state of relevant legislation, wherefore officials gathered in dozens of committees to rationalize and standardize its parlance. Yet once officials began to inter-

rogate the practices of punishment, they fell to fighting over whether a civilized state could rightfully maim bodies in the interest of the social order, whether the public spectacle of violent punishments could subvert that order by evoking pity and outrage, and whether standardizing the penal regime could undermine state supremacy by chipping away at social, ethnic, and gender distinctions in a multinational, traditional polity that relied heavily upon them. In general, the state was willing to lay aside the ideal of penal uniformity in the interest of holding the empire together (for example, by granting Baltic nobles greater authority over their peasants and Muslim men greater authority over their women). Overall, the penal system remained extremely complex. Thus, fewer Muslim clergymen enjoyed exemption from flogging than did their Orthodox counterparts. Serious conflicts among officials might have thwarted the move toward reform had not the emperor cut the Gordian knot on important occasions (for example by abolishing the knout by fiat in 1845).

Among the factors compelling officialdom to limit the scope and severity of corporal punishment was a heightened sensibility about the distinctions among human bodies, engendered in part by the development of medical expertise. Senior officials incorporated this new thinking in the penal code of 1845, which provided significantly more lenient punishments than did earlier penal statutes for such classes of people as minors, the elderly, the infirm, and women, all of whose bodies were deemed weaker and therefore deserving of gentler treatment than those of mature, healthy males. In the case of the sick, medical experts won the right for a physician to suspend floggings that might endanger a convict's life. Similarly, medical knowledge influenced the adoption of laws sheltering pregnant women and mothers of small children from beatings. In both cases, the welfare of the children, whether born or unborn, was considered more important than that of the mothers. Even so, the role of women as familial pillars gradually conferred on them a broad immunity from corporal punishment; this, however, marginalized women by relegating them more fully to the private sphere. Government officials made women's bodies inviolable yet "stripped them of their juridical agency" (p. 160).

It is unfortunate that Schrader translates *palach*, which means both the one who flogs and the one who puts to death, as "executioner." This reminds me of civilians adopting the horrific military term "casualties," which conflates the dead and the wounded. I also wish the author had provided a more elaborate discussion of how punishments can function as a language and can "map" society, since these concepts are both highly fruitful and central to her study.

Despite these minor problems, Schrader has contributed greatly to our understanding of nineteenth-century Russian governance, society, and political

culture and has added to our growing knowledge of the reformist impulses in Nicolaevan Russia.

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BENJAMIN NATHANS. *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 45.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002. Pp. xvii, 424. \$54.95.

Simply put, the subject of this book is the history of Russian Jews in the waning decades of the Russian Empire. It raises issues, however, that are far more complex than this simple description implies, addressing questions both of ethnic identity and adaptation on the part of the empire's Yiddish-speaking population within a highly stratified society where Russian culture held pride of place, and of civic allegiance within a state that for much of the period openly discriminated against its Jewish subjects. Benjamin Nathans makes clear at the outset that the concepts of acculturation and integration provide his inquiry with its key analytic categories. He seeks to understand the process by which Jewish groups within the empire adapted culturally and socially to their country in an era of rapid and tumultuous transformation. To become a "Russian Jew" was not only a form of self-identification among the groups whom he studies but also a significant new phenomenon in the modern history of Eastern European Jews.

The book's title is in these terms an appropriate depiction of the experience of Russian Jews and a very apt metaphor by which to characterize their multiple "encounters" with the Russian state and society. St. Petersburg is Nathans's chosen locus of study, for the imperial capital was a crucial site of negotiation between state officials and "self-styled mediators" (mostly merchants) of the Jewish community (p. 68). It was also a major center of Russian Jewish settlement and social integration (whose limits Nathans is careful to emphasize). In a larger sense, the Russian Empire itself is the setting, for the author places his subject within the context of a multiethnic, multireligious land where the new leadership of the reform era sought to implement policies acknowledging ethnic diversity within a unified, autocratic state. It was a problematic endeavor from the start. In a 1858 memo to the emperor, the government's Jewish Committee (by its proper, and very imperialist, name "Committee for the Determination of Measures for the Fundamental Transformation of the Jews in Russia") praised the potential contribution of Jewish merchants to Russia's "progress of civic life" (*grazhdanstvennost'*, which is equally meaningful in English translation as "citizenship"). Alexander II replied dismissively: "What sort of progress!!" (p. 56).

But more important to Nathans's argument is the welcome that Jewish leaders gave to the new spirit of

imperial civic integration (and not only Jews, for non-Russians in the southern and eastern reaches of the empire also responded favorably). He cites the memoirs of one the new cohort of Jewish lawyers, Il'ia Orzhanskii, who recalled that at the very beginning of the reform era the Jewish elite "had begun to consider themselves not merely people and citizens, but *Russian people and citizens of Russia*" (p. 53). His words are a vivid expression of the hopes of Russian Jews for their future place in the empire. Nathans finds identical sentiments echoed repeatedly in the decades that followed. The originality and importance of his book, in this reviewer's judgment, reside in his perceptive, dispassionate analysis of the process through which emerged this compound identity of Russian Jew, whose adherents joined a loyalty to their ethnic roots and a commitment to the cultural riches that they associated with Russia. When viewed in historical perspective, their integrationist vision offers a measure of the woeful inadequacy of the imperial leadership to make such expectations come alive. From the author's viewpoint, it points to a remarkable process of adaptation among a small but very influential elite within the empire's Jewish community.

Nathans's analysis, based on thorough research in newly opened archives and an abundance of published sources, is devoted primarily to those activities and initiatives that proved most influential in furthering the group's acculturation and social integration. His account begins with the efforts of a handful of wealthy Jewish merchants to obtain the legal right for a select group of economically productive Jews to live and work anywhere in Russia. Their discriminating claim for Jewish freedom of movement excluded those they termed the "unworthy," and made them the spokesmen for all Jews who aspired to, or possessed, the skills needed by a modernizing Russia. They argued, and persuaded key imperial leaders, that modernity was a multiethnic undertaking.

Nathans looks to St. Petersburg to uncover the impact of this policy of "selective integration." He finds evidence of its success, and its limits, by closely examining the settlement patterns, communal leadership, and occupational distribution of the city's rapidly growing Jewish population. Members of its Jewish elite compared their role as leaders of the empire's Jewish community to that of the Jews in Berlin and Paris. In doing so, however, they implicitly revealed how far removed they were from the Yiddish society that they had left behind. The author acknowledges the growing rift between this elite and the masses remaining in the Pale of Settlement. But his focus remains on those who left. The state's system of secular (and especially higher) education offered a direct path out of the *shtetl*. The author explores in some detail this encounter between the university and Jewish student youth. The "remarkable success of Jewish integration in the academy" made itself felt throughout the country's university system (p. 306). But these students' achieve-

ment brought in reaction the notorious official restrictions on Jewish school enrollments.

The author argues the country's growing antisemitism led St. Petersburg's Russian Jews to turn their efforts to reform the regime itself. His last chapters are devoted to the emergence and activities of Russian Jewish lawyers within the empire's legal community (which introduced its own restrictive, antisemitic measures). He examines their efforts to turn the legal system, a notable success of the reform era, into an arm in their own campaign in defense of the legal rights of Jewish citizens of the empire. To that end, they made "the court of Gentiles" their own, and in so doing made clear their deep commitment to integration. But the readiness of the Petersburg Assembly of Lawyers to welcome state regulations severely restricting Jews' admission to the bar revealed, as the author acknowledges, the widespread support for discriminatory measures "within the Russian public itself" (p. 364).

Nathans's excellent study gives back to these Russian Jews their rightful historical prominence. Their importance was rejected by Jewish revolutionaries, determined to destroy the empire, and was forgotten by the multitude of Jewish emigrants who fled Russia (but not forgotten by Soviet Jews, as evidenced by Mikhail Belzer's *The Jews of St. Petersburg: Excursions through a Noble Past* [1989], dedicated "to those who remain"). Yet, in the context that the author proposes of a multiethnic empire, his story bears witness as well to the failure of the Russian public and its leadership to fulfill the promise of this encounter of Jew and Gentile. In these terms, it becomes a part of the tale of the decline and fall of the Russian Empire itself.

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JOSHUA A. SANBORN. *Drafting the Russian Nation: Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics, 1905–1925*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2003. Pp. x, 278. \$40.00.

How a state mobilizes its people for war is one of its most defining characteristics. Fundamental changes in mobilization methods have generally accompanied fundamental political changes in an intricate causal relationship. Joshua A. Sanborn undertakes the daunting task of exploring the development of Russian and Soviet mobilization practices over the divide of the Russian revolutions. The result is a very important, well-researched, well-written, and provocative book that assesses this issue with a great deal of sophistication and complexity.

A historian concerned with the time period that crosses the Russian revolutions must decide whether to emphasize the continuities or the differences between the tsarist and Soviet regimes. Sanborn has chosen to emphasize the similarities by adopting a thematic organization. In five chapters that span the

period 1905–1925, he explores the meaning of nationalism in Russia; the relationship between nationalism and the politics of mobilization; the significance of nationalism and the idea of universal military service in a multiethnic empire; the relationship between mass mobilization, military training, and concepts of masculinity; and, finally, the significance of these processes for the "violentization" of the Russian people and the Soviet state. He concludes that conscription and mobilization policies, in both theoretical discussions and practical application, played a critical role in helping to define the concept of "nation" in the late imperial state and the nascent Soviet system. He also argues that the "desensitization" to violence inherent in Russian and Soviet training practices was a vital part of the process that unleashed rampant waves of violence throughout Russia in the early Soviet period and beyond.

Based on solid archival research, this work shines most in the description of the developing concepts of mobilization and nationalism and the study of their interrelationships. Sanborn demonstrates that both Russian and Soviet leaders were explicitly cognizant of the philosophical implications of their mobilization policies, and that they wrestled with those implications even during the darkest days of World War I and the Civil War. Late imperial and early Soviet military leaders consciously sought to use conscription and paramilitary programs (such as the Boy Scouts) to mold an imperial Russian or Soviet nation. Ideas of nationalism and mobilization policies are clearly linked.

The work suffers from two significant flaws, however. First, the emphasis on continuity between the tsarist and Soviet periods renders Bolshevik ideology nearly irrelevant. Although Sanborn periodically nods in the direction of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, his work implicitly rejects its significance as he seeks similarities between the two regimes. Given the clear emphasis in Marxist-Leninist thought on the relationship between army and people and on the concepts of nationalism and their significance, this lacuna is regrettable.

Second, the chapters on masculinity and violence fall significantly short of the excellence of the preceding text. Where in the earlier chapters Sanborn is very careful to document patterns across the army and state with solid research, the arguments in these later chapters tend to rest on a handful of examples the reliability and generalizability of which are far from clear. It may be that the harsh military training that characterized the Russian army of the early 1900s drove the violence that followed the Russian Revolution, as Sanborn asserts, but the nearly complete collapse of central order accompanied by the flow of rival armies across the countryside may have been a more important factor.

Sanborn explicitly challenges the conventional understanding of nationalism, furthermore, without fully considering the implications of that challenge. Nation-

alism in a multiethnic empire is certainly a complex phenomenon. There continues to be room for considerable work exploring the subtleties of such a concept. Sanborn contents himself, however, with redefining nationalism as an ideology that "is the covenant between sovereign and subjects regarding the way that power will be organized, the way that reality will be publicly understood, the way that events will become imbued with meaning, and the way that individuals will be able to find their place in the world" (p. 16). This definition has some merit, but it is also open to serious attacks: among others, that it was *not* the definition used by tsarist or Soviet leaders to whom the concept was, nevertheless, very important.

These flaws aside, this is a significant work. The army was always the central institution of the tsarist and Soviet states. Virtually no important political discussion failed to have its analogue in the military sphere. Conversely, important changes in the army almost always had significant consequences throughout the state. Mobilization policy was no exception to this general rule. By highlighting the complexity of this policy, narrating its development, and placing it in the context of nationalism, Sanborn has done the field of Russian studies a great service.

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VLADIMIR PAPERNY. *Architecture in the Age of Stalin: Culture Two*. Translated by JOHN HILL and ROANN BARRIS. (Cambridge Studies in New Art History and Criticism.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. xxviii, 371. \$90.00.

I first read Vladimir Paperny's *Kul'tura "dva"* (1985) more than fifteen years ago when working on the history of Soviet architecture. I found it then a perplexing book. Concerned more with the history of culture than architecture per se, Paperny seeks to explain what he sees as "an alternation of the ascendancy of Culture One and Culture Two," which he attempts to clarify through thirteen cyclic opposites, including "Movement-Immobility," "Horizontal-Vertical," and "Mutism-Word," analyzed in separate chapters. Turning to the English translation, I continue to find the work frustrating. Being not so much history as poetry, the theoretical meanderings of the author tend to leave the material world behind in order to achieve the greatest heights of abstraction. That being said, Paperny offers an important counterbalance to the studies of Stalinism that attempt to treat that phenomenon as somehow independent of prior Russian culture or the consequence of one man's will. For Paperny, unlike Stalinism's "Culture Two" in opposition to the earlier revolutionary era of the 1920s, "Culture One" is deeply rooted in "primitive" Russia and draws from the same font as Russian Orthodoxy and the culture of Peter the Great. "It is difficult to believe," Paperny argues, "that one person could so penetrate

the culture by planting identical organizational structures in all spheres and at all levels. Either he really was a 'genius for all time and all people,' or else the culture rests on organizational forms already existing in the social consciousness . . . that there is some kind of overall, cyclical, cultural process" (p. 93).

Paperny states that "Culture One and Culture Two exist in opposition: One reaches for the future . . . the other transforms the future into eternity while turning its gaze back to the past" (p. 31). Paperny finds the root of this dialectic in a clash between "horizontal" and "vertical" "that penetrate[s] the depths of Russian culture" (p. 65). Verticalization, the essence of Stalinism, has as its first consequence the sanctification of the state's boundaries. Hierarchy, of people and space, is, however, its most defining characteristic. The "hierarchical individuality" constructed by Culture Two, in which "individualism" meant only "that each collective had its own particular representative" (p. 115), was rooted in the Russian family and the peasant commune. This culture was formed not as a consequence of some conspiracy but "as the result of the victory of more archaic and stable cultural forms [such as family, commune, and the tradition of Russian orthodoxy] over newer and less stable ones" (p. 148). With reference to architectural design, Paperny argues that "Culture Two tries, as in icon painting, to subordinate itself to a 'recognized spiritually potent leader'" (p. 201). This is expressed architecturally in "the same forms that struck the imagination of the peasants who flooded Moscow and other cities in the 1930s: the forms of the Kremlin towers, the big churches, the means of their construction, the decoration of their interiors" (p. 210).

Key for Paperny to understanding Culture Two is the "mythological" character of its thought, expressed as "the mythological identification of the signifier with the signified . . . [and] the traditional opposition in Russian consciousness between truth and falsehood" (p. 228). Confusing the signifier with the signified is characteristic of most "primitive" (i.e. peasant) societies. With respect to truth, Paperny argues that Culture One understood it as "that which is or that which will be" whereas Culture Two juxtaposed to this "that which could be." Seeking a theoretical basis in the writings of Mikhail Bakhtin, Paperny argues that Culture Two "parodies the Christian relationship with the truth and the word, or subjects it to a carnivalized, pagan degradation . . . A culture professing an almost pagan world view could not avoid using cultural forms of Christianity, just as once a culture professing Christianity could not avoid using cultural forms of paganism" (p. 233).

If one comes to Paperny in hopes of understanding the history of Soviet architecture as it moved from the experimental, avant-garde years of the 1920s and early 1930s to the Stalin years, one will be disappointed. And if one seeks an understanding of the yearnings of "Culture One," turning to Richard Stites's *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life in the*

Russian Revolution (1989) would be more profitable. But if one desires to ponder how Stalinism came to dominate the world of the Soviet Union and is willing to permit the author a certain degree of space to construct his poetry, then Paperny is likely to provoke significant questions regarding the nature of cultural change and continuity. His book was well worth a second, and still frustrating, read.

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MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

NACHMAN BEN-YEHUDA. *Sacrificing Truth: Archaeology and the Myth of Masada*. Amherst, N.Y.: Humanity Books. 2002. Pp. 275. \$35.00.

It has been argued more than once that the connection between archaeology and nationalism is not only unavoidable but is even a natural and understandable phenomenon. The adoption of the archaeological heritage by political parties and governments as a tool to emphasize modern national identities has been used in many countries in the Middle East and around the Mediterranean (e.g. the political and national dispute between Greeks and Macedonians over the royal Hellenistic tombs in Vergina). This connection is also evident in the history of Israeli archaeology, but so far no thorough research has been conducted on the topic. In this respect, Nachman Ben-Yehuda's book is of certain importance. It is a continuation of the author's previous study on the Masada myth published in 1995. The new book concentrates on the contradiction between the historical narrative of Masada as described by Flavius Josephus in *The Jewish War* and the archaeological discoveries revealed in the extensive excavations conducted in 1963–1965 by Yigael Yadin.

Masada, which was recently declared by UNESCO a World Heritage Site, is probably the most famous archaeological site in Israel. The well-known historical narrative, as presented by Josephus, was reinforced by Yadin's popular book on the excavations, published only one year after the conclusion of the dig (1966). Yadin presented a clear-cut picture of the findings, stressing the heroic story of the Roman siege of the site in 74 C.E. and the communal suicide of the Jewish defenders. As a former chief of staff of the Israeli army, Yadin was very much aware of the meaning of the Masada story for the building of modern Zionist identity in Israel. Until the 1980s, Masada served as a pilgrimage site for the Jewish youth movements and was a place where soldiers took their oath after climbing the isolated high cliff on the shores of the Dead Sea.

Ben-Yehuda, who used for his research the original transcripts of the daily meetings of the excavation staff, argues that Yadin's interpretation of the archaeological findings was based more on his nationalistic views than on the hard facts produced by the excavation. The main thesis of the book is that Yadin's

Masada excavations present a case study of the abuse of archaeology as a tool to reinforce a false national narrative, by distorting the historical sources and the archaeological data and thus "sacrificing truth."

Despite the importance of raising the issue of "national archaeology" in Israel, there are several major problems with Ben-Yehuda's analysis and interpretation that cast serious doubts on the credibility of his research. The author's conclusions about Yadin's interpretation of the Masada excavations are based mainly on the evaluations of the staff during their daily discussions, on contemporary press releases, and on Yadin's popular book. But, as is common in archaeological research, these sources reflect only the very first stages of the process. Most of the work, including the overall interpretation and conclusions, is done well after the termination of fieldwork. Ben-Yehuda did not bother to note that the final reports of the Masada excavations, which were published in the 1990s, reveal the comprehensive details of Masada's archaeological findings. These are sometimes different from Yadin's preliminary ideas and speculations, but they are not totally contradictory. The Masada final reports prove unequivocally that Ben-Yehuda's conclusion that both Yadin and his staff were "sacrificing the scientific truth" is baseless.

The author's discussion and treatment of both the historical and archaeological sources show that he is not acquainted with these fields. There are many errors in basic facts that could have been omitted by a quick check in any reference book (e.g. the dating of the Nabatean period to the six through the fourth centuries B.C.E.) The historical discussion of Josephus's description of the Masada siege ignores important relevant historical studies published in the last thirty years that throw serious doubts on the credibility of Josephus (e.g. Shaye J. D. Cohen, "Masada: Literary Tradition, Archaeological Remains, and the Credibility of Josephus," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33 [1982]: pp. 385–405).

The editing of this book is also far from the standards of a scientific publication. For example, quite a number of references that appear in the text are not to be found in the bibliography.

The book's main contribution lies in its highlighting the rather neglected field of nationalist approaches to Israeli archaeology. The evaluation and criticism of archaeological research in the light of the cultural, political and national backgrounds of the archaeologists involved should indeed be applied to archaeological "national sites" all over the world. In this particular case, however, the reader who is acquainted with the details of the Masada story cannot avoid the conclusion that the dramatic story of the site and its excavation is being treated in a cursory fashion, and that the main thesis presented by the author does not hold water.

GIDEON AVNI
Israel Antiquities Authority

SETH SCHWARTZ. *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 320. \$39.95.

This is a very interesting work, full of original ideas, the result of systematic thinking about a broad range of topics that will undoubtedly stimulate others to consider and reconsider the essence of Jewish history in the Hellenistic, Roman, and early Byzantine periods. It is also a provocative book that constantly rates the performance of individual scholars and entire groups on a scale of one to ten. Thus we are faced with a curious combination of unconventional and debatable ideas presented with a self-assurance usually associated with conservative German scholars writing in the nineteenth century. Occasionally Seth Schwartz even rebukes authors for statements that he misinterprets (e.g. p.133, note 12). The subject of the book is the impact of imperial rule on Jewish society and religion in Palestine during the long period indicated above (the title is slightly misleading: empire rather than imperialism is the issue). The strength of the book—the coherence of its vision—makes it vulnerable at the same time. Novel and controversial views are offered on so many different topics that the structure of the whole is seriously weakened if not all of the component hypotheses are accepted.

The work discusses three periods. Part one argues that Hellenistic and Roman imperial rule, with its support of the temple in Jerusalem and of ancestral customs, “helps explain why these eventually became the chief symbols of Jewish corporate identity.” In other words, external stimuli resulted in internal integration. In part two, subsequent direct Roman rule, following the two failed revolts and the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, led to disintegration and dissolution, as a result of which Jewish identity came to mean little more than any other eastern provincial background. Part three finds that Judaism revived again under the impact of the policies of the Christian empire that, far more than the pagan Roman state, treated Jews as “constituting a separate and discrete religious community.” Thus the Jews were “re-Judaized” by the Christianized state (pp. 180–202).

Two groups of questions of a general nature can only be indicated here. First, how large a role do we assign to external factors in considering internal developments of a society and its religion? Second, do we agree with Schwartz in his rather orthodox and even prescriptive view of Jewish religion? Does he perhaps deny the Jewishness of forms of worship that the worshippers themselves may have regarded as Jewish, in spite of the intrusion of pagan elements? How good is his evidence for the alleged abandonment of Judaism in the second and third centuries? And, furthermore, could it not be said that the book identifies religion with ethnic coherence to a larger extent than is plausible even in antiquity? Some readers might be

tempted to suggest that a better title for the book would be *Empire and Jewish Religion in Palestine*.

Central to the development of the argument are three major subtopics, each complex and much disputed: views of how the Roman Empire related to Jews; the interpretation of Talmudic material as evidence for the significance of contemporary rabbinical authority; and the interpretation of figurative art as evidence for the nature of Judaism in the Roman and early Byzantine periods. On the first point, it may be argued that Schwartz overstates the difference between Roman policy toward the Jews before the revolts and afterward (pp. 2, 105–11). The temple was left destroyed, but otherwise we have no evidence that the Jewish religion was not tolerated or that the Jews were no longer recognized as a people (pp. 186–91). On the contrary, the fact that there was a Jewish tax proves that being Jewish was permitted. The position of the Jews in the Roman Empire cannot be understood in isolation, without considering Roman attitudes toward other provincial peoples. On the interpretation of Talmudic sources, it might be suggested that those whose views Schwartz rejects as romantic and sentimental (pp. 5–8) may have something to say. The book, in fact, offers very little systematic discussion of essential sources, as distinct from occasional quotations in translation by way of illustration (pp. 121, 145, 165, 167). The form of interpretation that Schwartz rejects has at least the advantage of internal consistency. Once this is rejected, rightly or not, any alternative view must remain speculative. Equally problematic is the interpretation of iconography of the early Byzantine period (chapter four and pp. 243–63). Whatever its merits, figurative art is nonverbal, and when there are no complementary literary sources any comprehensive interpretation remains tentative.

The dustjacket of the book describes it as provocative and as reaching startling conclusions and asserts that it will be widely read and much debated. All of this may be true. Inevitably the debate will engender both approval and criticism, some of it along the lines indicated in this review.

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BRUCE MASTERS. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism*. (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 222. \$55.00.

This book by Bruce Masters seeks to trace the evolution of Christian and Jewish identities over the four-hundred-year period that began with Selim Yavuz's conquest of the Levant in the early sixteenth century and ended with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and its dismemberment by Britain and France at the end of World War I. Although this slender volume does not fully do justice to its ambitious title, it nevertheless offers some telling vignettes and useful insights toward its *tableau manqué*.

One of the primary limitations of this survey is that, by the author's own admission, it "privileges the history of the non-Muslims of the Syrian provinces" (p. 14). Masters, who has conducted original research in the archives of Aleppo, argues that European influence there "was most profound" and that the resulting impact upon the Christian and Jewish minorities "most dramatic." He is certainly at his best at depicting the social transformation of the fractured and factious Christian communities, building on the solid historical foundations laid by Robert M. Haddad, whose *Syrian Christians in Muslim Society: An Interpretation* (1970) still remains a seminal contribution, and by other historians such as Ronald C. Jennings, John Joseph, and Thomas Philipp, to mention but a few. However, he is less successful in his depiction of the transformation of the Jews. This is due in part to the limits imposed by "privileging" Syria, which admittedly is the area that Masters knows best. This selectivity of focus tends to skew his view of the Jews because of the relatively small size of Syrian Jewry compared to their coreligionist communities in other Levantine countries, particularly Iraq and, as of the nineteenth century, Egypt. In fact, it also has, albeit to a far lesser degree, a slight distorting effect on the view of Christians, since the situation of Christians in the other Ottoman Arab provinces had different dynamics for reasons that are sociocultural, demographic, and denominational. Masters does offer some instructive comparative perspectives on the transformations undergone by the Christian communities elsewhere in the empire, including in neighboring Anatolia and the increasingly rebellious Balkans, and he quite rightly indicates the very significant crosscurrents, parallels, and differences. His attempts to offer similar comparisons for the Jews are less successful, in no small measure because of the limitations of the secondary sources available to him. Much of the best modern scholarship on Iraqi Jewry, for example by Avraham Ben-Jacob, Yitzhak Avishur, Meir Benayahu, and Zvi Yehuda, is in Hebrew, and thus Masters is forced to use as one of his major sources Yusuf Rizqallah Ghanima's outdated Arabic history of the Jews of Iraq, published in 1924.

Masters is at his best in conveying the multitextured and protean nuances of interfaith and interethnic relations that were marked, at times alternately, and at times concurrently, by the polarities of tolerance and intolerance, cordiality and hostility, familiarity and strangeness, and, not infrequently, by ambivalence. Masters has a tendency to "privilege" (to this reviewer's mind, to overemphasize) class and economic factors and to underestimate the deeper social structures and attitudes that formed and informed the mentalities and sensibilities of Islamic Middle Eastern societies. He is absolutely correct in emphasizing the important transformational role of commerce in the evolution of the non-Muslim communities, and he rightly notes that "[D]ue to prejudices held on both sides of the divide between Franks and Muslims, those

benefited locally came almost exclusively from the indigenous non-Muslim elites" (p. 129). However, he never asks the no less significant question: yes, but why were the non-Muslims so eager to attach themselves and the fortunes of their posterity to these foreign forces and to the capitulatory regime? In chapter five, on the intercommunal conflict of the nineteenth century, Masters correctly observes that violence was more often aimed against Christians, but that "Muslim anger could also be directed at Jews" (p. 130). This thoroughly misses the nature of the *dhimmi's* position, legally, socially, and perceptually, in Islamic society. Historically, such spillovers of animus often and seamlessly occurred from medieval to modern times. A similar failure to grasp the full implications of his data occurs when Masters notes that anti-Christian riots of the second half of the nineteenth century were not so much protests against the equality of Christians but rather were due to Muslim "perception that the Christians were now in the ascendancy" (p. 132). Indeed. But it was precisely this perception on the part of either the religious elites or the Muslim masses that periodically proved disastrous over the *longue durée* of Islamic history whenever members of the *dhimmi* community rose too high in the bureaucracy, became too wealthy or otherwise conspicuous. History is the history of perception.

Finally, Masters points to late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Ottomanism as the vector of ideological transition from communitarianism to nationalism. This was certainly true for Syrian Christians and for some Jews in the Balkans, but it found far less resonance among most Arabic-speaking Jews for an important reason that Masters fails to grasp: namely, that the Jews' sense of communal identity was parallel to the Muslims' sense of *umma*. Hence the former's response to modern Zionism, even though many did not really comprehend the actual nature of the movement created by their European coreligionists.

Despite these critiques, this is a thoughtful and thought-provoking book that does attempt to make a much-needed comparative study.

NORMAN A. STILLMAN
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AMY SINGER. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*. (SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 240. Cloth \$62.50, paper \$20.95.

Amy Singer's book offers a bird's-eye view of the construction of an Ottoman imperial kitchen in the 1550s. Set up in Jerusalem as a charitable foundation by Hurrem Sultan, the wife of Suleiman the Magnificent, it remains in use to this day. Despite its narrow focus, the book offers readers insight into the nature of Muslim/Ottoman philanthropy, the role of elite women in setting up charitable organizations, and the importance of food distribution in the maintenance

and perpetuation of Ottoman social and political hierarchies. The author argues that an Ottoman form of philanthropy, which built on Byzantine and Muslim antecedents, acquired distinct characteristics by the sixteenth century.

This is a useful book in so far as it offers an accessible introduction to the uninitiated in the literature of Muslim charitable endowments. Singer argues convincingly that despite its Byzantine, Turco-Mongolian, and Muslim antecedents, the institution of the soup kitchen developed into an Ottoman form of charity. Power in the early modern Ottoman Empire was partly premised on the ability of the state to provision its armies, cities, and poor. In the words of the author: "The giving and taking of food symbolized and actualized the dense networks of patronage woven with implications of rights and obligations" (pp. 154–55). In addition to feeding the poor, soup kitchens bolstered the hierarchies of power at the local and imperial levels and maintained social equilibrium. Outside of a few examples in the late medieval period, charitable institutions dedicated to feeding the poor on a daily basis were brought into the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Middle East by the Ottomans.

Singer's argument is strongest when she discusses the symbolism of food in the context of Ottoman charity. It is not, however, as clearly articulated when she turns her attention to the role of this particular Ottoman charity in the life of Jerusalemites. Nor is her useful, but ultimately too general, discussion of the literature on the history of religious endowments particularly helpful for our understanding of the distinctive character of this endowment. Part of the problem might lie in her narrow focus on a particular set of documents penned during a decade or so when the soup kitchen was constructed. While this might be an efficient way to deal with the topic of philanthropy, it can also limit the ability of the scholar to draw conclusions about the long-term life of the charitable organization and its impact on society. The administrators of the endowment come vividly to life. Their problems in dealing with the weights and measures of food, the availability of the right utensils, and the mechanics of funding purchases are described in painstaking detail. We get no sense, however, of how the people who used this charitable institution viewed it, nor of the ways it changed or bolstered social hierarchies among the elite of the city. Furthermore, while Singer is good at offering us a glimpse into the ways that an Ottoman charitable organization became a venue for the reallocation of resources, her focus on such a short period makes it difficult to generalize about the role of endowments, particularly ones as important as the Jerusalem complex, as "agents of power" (p. 163).

In her attempt to trace the evolution of an Ottoman form of Muslim charitable endowments, Singer engages with a rich and varied literature on the topic. She provides a good synopsis of the literature, placing the development of Ottoman endowments within a

broader historical context and looking for historical continuities between pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods. Yet she shies away from a systematic attempt to trace differences between the Mamluk endowments, the most institutionally developed endowments before the Ottomans, and the Ottoman institutionalization of charity in ways that would clarify the distinctiveness of the Ottoman period.

The wife of the sultan established the soup kitchen in Jerusalem, and Singer devotes a chapter to the role of women, particularly elite women, in founding charitable institutions. Her discussion of the specificity of Ottoman elite women's charitable building and the uniqueness and centrality of Hurrem's position is convincing. Less coherent in the context of the book's aims is her digression into a discussion of the conflation by European pilgrims of Hurrem and St. Helena's roles in the building of the soup kitchen.

Singer's book is an important addition to the burgeoning literature on charity and charitable endowments in the Muslim world. It is particularly helpful for teachers looking to acquaint their students with the meaning of charity in the context of the early modern Ottoman Empire.

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George Washington University

JOSHUA TEITELBAUM. *The Rise and Fall of the Hashimite Kingdom of Arabia*. New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 310. \$40.00.

Scholarly accounts from a variety of perspectives treat Allied negotiations over the Middle East during World War I, the Arab Revolt of 1916–1918, and Arab demands at the Paris Peace Conference. Inevitably, these works address the decisions and motivations of Sharif Ḥusayn ibn 'Akī (or Hussein) of Mecca, leader of the Arab Revolt and failed protagonist for an independent Arab state. Until the appearance of the work under review, however, historians have lacked a book-length study of Ḥusayn's state and its failures that led to the Saudi conquest of the Hijaz.

Emerging from the Ottoman Empire during World War I, the self-proclaimed Kingdom of the Hijaz initially held a number of advantages. Besides his traditional status as amir of Mecca and leader of its *ashraf* (notables descended from Muhammad's family), Ḥusayn kept intimate ties with the Arab nationalists, the region's rising intellectual movement. In addition, he received British guns, officers, and gold. Why, then, did he fail? The answer lies, claims Joshua Teitelbaum, in the arbitrary rule that Ḥusayn exercised. He failed to build coalitions with the elite. His police and courts offended the prevailing standards of justice, and his taxation angered a public accustomed to subsidies instead. The fault lay in the man: "It seems that Husayn was simply not cut out to rule" (p. 283).

To introduce the Hijaz under Ottoman rule, Teitelbaum relies heavily on several Western historians, especially William Ochsenwald. He notes the region's

unique administration, with the Ottoman *vali* (governor) and the sharif heading dual systems of officials, courts, prisons, and armed forces. There were no direct taxes; instead, the Hijaz benefited from "massive amounts of imperial funds," taxes on pilgrims' camels, and income from pious foundations elsewhere (pp. 12–13). The *vali* and the sharif gained authority over the tribes primarily through subsidies, and secondarily from their political or religious prestige. Within the towns, the commercial elite played only local roles, in contrast to Syria, where they mediated Ottoman rule.

A detailed analysis of Ḥusayn's fateful decision to revolt against the Ottoman Empire lies outside the scope of this work. Instead, Teitelbaum concentrates on the revolt's administrative consequences. Impoverished by the wartime collapse in the pilgrimage, the loss of Ottoman subsidies, and the need to raise troops, the Hijaz faced severe military, financial, and political challenges. For two years, massive British subsidies bought the loyalty of many tribes, at inflated prices. However, Ḥusayn failed to develop any other basis for political authority, whether tribal solidarity, charismatic leadership, or popular ideology. When the subsidies ended, clumsy attempts to raise revenues from taxes, forced loans, monopolies, and manipulated exchange rates turned the commercial elite against him. All the while, Saudi propaganda and widening tribal alliances threatened the eastern frontier.

As this work makes clear, during its limited existence (1916–1925), Ḥusayn's regime failed in nearly every responsibility of statehood, except perhaps education. Mistakes and misjudgments abounded. The proclamation of his kingship was stage managed by his second son, Abdullah. According to British sources, the king's appointed officials seemed respectable at first glance, but they often deserved the ridicule they received. Bidding to gain legitimacy by appealing to Islam, the sharif acted against sexual immorality and banned alcohol. However, the brutal amputation of limbs as Islamic punishments antagonized an elite already critical of incompetent officials and of Ḥusayn's use of the dungeon under his palace to lock up critics. "His methods of government," Teitelbaum asserts, "alienated all, urban and tribal" (p. 224).

In conclusion, the detailed analysis of this work provides a significant contribution to the historical study of the Arabian peninsula. Nevertheless, the details also merit an alternative interpretation. Given the overwhelming dependence of the Hijaz on financial subsidies from the rest of the Ottoman Empire, any successful revolt required an alternative source of subsidy. No wonder, then, that like his subjects Ḥusayn never subscribed to the ideology of Hijazi independence. Instead, he desperately claimed a state encompassing the entire Fertile Crescent, and he also sought the caliphate. When these attempts to create a grand Arab or Muslim nation failed, Ḥusayn lacked the resources and even administrative attention necessary for good government. His defeat on the grand issue of Arab unity rendered relatively insignificant the diffi-

culties in achieving social cohesion or modernizing the Hijazi administration. Perhaps Ḥusayn was "simply not cut out to rule," but given the material circumstances, nothing short of a social revolution probably would have succeeded.

MALCOLM B. RUSSELL
Andrews University

MOHAMAD TAVAKOLI-TARGHI. *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography*. (St. Antony's Series.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xvi, 216. \$60.00.

This work by Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi takes up several issues bearing on the origins of modernity in Iran. It emphasizes aspects of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not often discussed: in particular, Iranian knowledge of Europe coming through Persian travel literature of the period and the impact of this writing on the formation of modern Iranian culture. The book approaches the subject in terms of discourse and text analysis.

Among Tavakoli-Targhi's several interesting contentions is that students of the subject of Orientalism, such as Edward W. Said, ought to place far greater weight on theorizing its origins than they do. If they did, they would have to come to terms with the contribution of scholars in Iran and of the late Mughal period in South Asia. It was these men who educated the first European scholars, such as Sir William Jones (1746–1794) and A. H. Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805). While the later participation of Middle Eastern scholars in the Orientalist project is well attested and, to a certain extent, written about, it is correct to say that no one before has put much evidence on the origins or on the South Asian origins of Orientalism. Here, there may be some ambiguities. The French Orientalist Maxime Rodinson wrote a well-known book, *Europe and the Mystique of Islam* (1987), tracing back European interest in the subject to medieval times. Tavakoli-Targhi's contention that the South Asian moment in the history of Orientalism has not been assessed as a part of the overall history still stands, however, and it seems reasonable to think it might have played some subsequent role in the development of modern culture in Iran.

This book is not simply a critique of Said. Written some years after the exchanges over Orientalism between Said and Bernard Lewis, it could equally be taken as something of a critique of Lewis's position. For example, Tavakoli-Targhi quotes Lewis as stating that there never was an interest in the West among eighteenth-century Muslims corresponding to the West's interest in the East. Tavakoli-Targhi thinks this is wrong and devotes many pages to showing the existence of a heretofore little-known body of Persian travel literature focusing on the mores of England and France in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A whole chapter is devoted to travelers' views of women. All in all, these reflections on Europe reveal a nuanced appreciation of their subject. The reader can scarcely

leave these pages without realizing there is something important going on here for Middle Eastern studies. What the author presents to us is quite different from the portrayal of the frivolous understanding of the West satirized in the great modern Iranian novel by Jalal Al Ahmad, *Plagued by the West* (1982).

Tavakoli-Targhi assumes that as modern Iranian national consciousness developed, it did so in part in reaction to this understanding of Europe, an understanding contributed to by travel literature. This is, of course, hard to prove or disprove. Certainly the modern Persian state became masculine, and public space became the opposite of private, like its European counterparts. To what exactly one attributes this is hard to know. The most interesting piece of this discussion is where the author shows how Qajar writers in the nineteenth century came to feel that they were living in another time than were their European counterparts, and that what was holding them back was their Arabo-Islamic heritage, which they would do well to drop in favor of a more Aryan and modern Iranian one. This they did. The student of Qajar literature finds that there was a kind of linguistic shedding of Arabic language terms, where possible, in the nineteenth century. The shared nature of Arab and Persian culture was as a result forgotten. Max Müller and the early theories of Aryan and Semite play an important role in this, but so, too, do Iranian reflections on the nineteenth century. Looking back on how all this led to the 1979 Iranian Revolution, it is clear that the Iranian people paid a certain price.

This book is addressed to literary theorists interested in the construction of the nation. It is to the author's credit that a book on this subject is written clearly enough to expect to sustain such an audience. In addition, the book raises questions that will be of interest to students of the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Middle East. The author's material on Iranian travelers may shed some light on the conspicuous trips to Europe of Nasir ad-din Shah, often mentioned but not well explained. The fact that some of this travel writing is from the eighteenth century ought to allow it to enter into the ongoing debate over the possible Islamic Enlightenment—discussions that have seemed to postulate a rather closed Islamic world, not interacting much with Europe. Perhaps, however, as a few scholars argue, this was not the case; there was a good deal of contact with Europe, especially through North Africa, meaning that the lack of development in areas of technology in the Middle East in this period would have to be explained completely in structural terms. People knew about science but did not make use of what they knew.

PETER GRAN
Temple University

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LAURA FAIR. *Pastimes and Politics: Culture, Community, and Identity in Post-Abolition Urban Zanzibar, 1890–1945*. (East African Studies.) Athens: Ohio Uni-

versity Press and Oxford: James Currey. 2001. Pp. xvi, 370. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

Laura Fair's densely informative study is a particularly good demonstration of the considerable dividends that have been earned by social history through its steady incorporation of some of the topical and analytic concerns of cultural history. Fair's monograph is comprised of four intricately developed essays focused on the East African island of Zanzibar under European colonial rule, connected through consistent thematic address to questions of identity and social hierarchy, particularly gender. Fair effectively interweaves some of the bread-and-butter interests of social history—such as land tenure and labor unrest—with discussions of dress, consumption, musical performance, and leisure. At the heart of her monograph lies the early twentieth-century musician Siti Binti Saad and her *taarab* band, whose performances frame and connect much of the history that Fair examines.

In the style of the best Africanist social historians, Fair skillfully assembles a large number of oral testimonies, photographs, and a wide range of archival materials. Her work adds considerable richness and depth to the well-established historiography of Swahili coastal society in East Africa. If the book has a weakness, it is that it is limited by the strong current of functionalism that often runs through social history. Fair notes in her conclusion that “although the early colonial era was certainly a time of intense economic exploitation, it was also a time of promise and fun,” which is an intriguing observation that does not seem to have influenced much of the overall content of the book.

Charles H. Ambler has commented parenthetically about Africanist studies of the history of drinking and alcohol that the only problem with such work is that none of the people described in such studies ever seem to be having fun or getting drunk: that is, drinking is understood largely in terms of its functional connections to institutions, power, and social organization. So, too, it is with Fair's analysis of performance and fashion: she rarely views them as practices with hermeneutical depth or interpretative slipperiness, or as possessing forms of pleasure and desire that cannot be neatly contained within the social frame. Instead, they are understood primarily as legible signs of an underlying social order. Interestingly, the one place where Fair leaves more room to understand cultural practice as a thing “of itself” is in the case of football, where she acknowledges the aesthetic appeal of competition to Zanzibari men as being something distinct from the use of sporting competition to express or contain social relations.

Many historians writing about modern Africa, as well as colonial societies as a whole, struggle to give equal weight to hermeneutical and structural histories, a problem that Dipesh Chakrabarty has addressed in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (2000). That Fair can reconcile both of

these concerns in the case of football but not elsewhere suggests that perhaps she did not fully seize a ready opportunity to go beyond a boundary herself.

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MICHAEL O. WEST. *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898–1965*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 324. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.95.

This is a detailed account of a development that technically was never supposed to—and perhaps did not—happen: the rise of a black bourgeoisie in the heyday of colonialism in Zimbabwe. Michael O. West has given scholars and students of Zimbabwean history plenty to ponder: a focused, detailed revision of his doctoral dissertation that presents a new pretender for the throne of driver of nationalist progress. We have had great men, the trade union movement, and even behind the scenes gender struggles proposed as the reason for the progression from assimilationism to accommodationism to anticolonialism. West proposes, instead, that a group of blacks he calls interchangeably the middle class, elite, or petty bourgeoisie of colonial Zimbabwe were pivotal agents as the indigenous response to colonial invasion and oppression moved from “proto-national” to “national” and finally on to “nationalist” opposition.

West persuasively chronicles the shared antipathy of successive white rulers of colonial Zimbabwe to the idea of “kaffir/native/African” advancement based on the acquisition of book learning provided by Southern Rhodesia’s missionary corps. This is familiar territory, and West traverses it ably. What is original about his account, however, is his contention that not only was there an “emerging elite” (a euphemism in which many authors have taken refuge) in Southern Rhodesia, but that, at some point, this group concluded its emergence and identified itself as a conscious group for itself. Education was its bedrock strategy: a goal “courted” by many Africans, and achieved by some, male and female.

By the 1950s, the middle class, like a butterfly freed from its cocoon, was trying its wings. After fluttering down a few dead ends, it finally found its destiny in the early 1960s at the head of a unified nationalist movement. With middle-class women baking in flowered aprons and white-collar men drinking tea and talking politics, West paints a portrait of a group of people who were obsessed with their status and painfully conscious of their differences from the mass of other urban Africans, with whom they lived, in the memorable phrase of the time, “cheek by jowl.”

This book is a pleasure to read, but it is not for beginners. It will yield a great deal to scholars already familiar with the chronologies and personalities of Zimbabwean history; they will scurry to their bookshelves to compare West’s detailed arguments with those of other authors.

Oddly, however, I am left unconvinced by West’s central tenet: that there was an identifiable, self-conscious middle class in colonial Zimbabwe. First, the group is not quantified. Second, there is an analytical problem: a curiously static definition of class. There was a great breakthrough in the application of materialist historiography to African workers when it was realized that they were not less than a proletariat in the European sense because they had such strong and lasting ties to the peasant economy; if anything, they were more. A similar conceptual shift might serve West well. This group regarded and marketed itself loudly as an elite, but was it really separate from a working class/peasantry/proletariat? When the first rains fell, were wives not sent “home” to the rural areas to plow?

It is tempting to take a longer view and see this group of people as embodying more of a developing tendency than a fully fledged class as such. West’s periodization of proto-national, national, and nationalist political consciousness is original and neat, but it perhaps imposes too great a precision on the past. West’s treatment of Joshua Nkomo is an excellent example of how differently historical judgment calls can be made. Nkomo may have become the president of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress in 1952, but by that time he had been the head of the most well-organized trade union in the country for a year and was as well known for this than for his B.A. degree. While West emphasizes his educated, bourgeois side, the more “traditional” interpretations of Nkomo as a worker-leader, and of the significance of the growing muscle of trade unionism in the 1950s, remain compelling.

Other questions of interpretation—especially around the continuities of class separation of the current, venal Zimbabwean leadership (tea drinkers of yore) from the masses—will arise from reading this book. It is to West’s credit that his impeccable and original scholarship will surely provoke fruitful debate and synthesis. This book brings an enjoyable breath of fresh eau de cologne into Zimbabwean historiography. It is a signal achievement and will prove very useful in upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses.

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Film Reviews

FRIDA. Directed by Julie Taymor; produced by Sarah Green, Salma Hayek, Jay Polstein, Lizz Speed, Nancy Hardin, Lindsay Flickinger, and Roberto Sneider; written by Claney Sigal, Diane Lake, Gregory Nava, and Anna Thomas. 2002; color; 122 minutes. Distributed by Miramax.

FRIDA, NATURALEZA VIVA. Directed by Paul Leduc; produced by Manuel Barbachano Ponce; written by Paul Leduc and Juan Joaquín Blanco. 1984; color; 107 minutes. Mexico. Spanish with English subtitles. Distributed by Clasa Films Mundiales.

About twenty minutes into director Julie Taymor's film, its eponymous protagonist, Frida Kahlo (Salma Hayek), completes a portrait of her younger sister, Cristina (Mia Maestro), and declares: "Now you look like a *gringa* movie star!" This self-referential sentence—about relations between high culture and mass culture, national and transnational celebrity, Mexico and the United States—gets at the heart of the contemporary history that surrounds this Hollywood biopic about a "Mexican" luminary and international icon played by an actor who draws crucial cultural capital simultaneously from her Mexican and Hollywood identities.

Frida punctuates the two-decade international ascension of Kahlo's image: as Mexican metonym and ideological palimpsest. The start of the process can be marked in Mexico by a similarly eponymous but audiovisually very different cinematic intervention, director Paul Leduc's *Frida, naturaleza viva* (1984), and in the United States by Hayden Herrera's biography *Frida* (1983). In this period, Kahlo (1907–1954) superseded Diego Rivera (1885–1957), twice her husband, as the personification of twentieth-century Mexican culture, and now the Miramax movie replaces the HarperCollins book on which it claims to be based as the dominant English-language representation of the Mexican artist. The 2002 reissue of Herrera's biography completes the Taymor film's work of Hollywoodizing Kahlo's iconography; its new front cover replaces its earlier one's reproduction of Kahlo's *Self-Portrait with Monkey* (1940) with a photograph of Hayek as Kahlo. And, as the back cover announces, it is only one of three Herrera-authored "official tie-ins" to Miramax's movie. Hence, U.S. scholarship and culture

industries align themselves as Kahlo's filmic figure moves from Spanish to English, Mexico to the United States, unconventional to conventional cinema. Herrera and HarperCollins gain publicity through their book's association with the film, and Taymor and Miramax gain a sign of scholarly credibility critical to their marketing of film as history. In the process, screen and book jacket together exploit and transform Kahlo into *Frida*.

Frida's marketing trumpets its connections to Herrera's scholarship, but it does not cite the Mexican film it essentially remakes. Taymor's choice of events and actual scenes are strikingly derivative of Leduc's. A few, but by far not the only possible, cinematic quotations are its opening scene of a bed-bound Kahlo, late in life, being frantically transported from her famous blue house (today's Museo Frida Kahlo) in Coyoacán to central Mexico City to attend the opening of her first solo exhibition in Mexico; its depiction of Kahlo witnessing her husband's seduction of her sister in his San Angel studio; its representation (really nonrepresentation) of Kahlo and Rivera's political divorce from their Stalinist colleague David Siqueiros; and the couple's complex personal relations with the exiled Leon Trotsky.

These episodic echoes are, however, finally less striking than the differences between how the two films historicize and audiovisualize the same events. Following its opening, late-life sequence, Taymor's movie regresses to a conventionally compressed, linearly diachronic development that sequentially dramatizes Kahlo's life from adolescence till death. Leduc's opening, by contrast, initiates his film's slower paced, more thematic structure, moving back and forth in time as its protagonist's memories. It develops its interpretation through prolonged engagements with characters and paintings that allow for deeper visual analysis and greater spectatorial agency than does the recent film. In this vein, Leduc's representation of Kahlo's response to Rivera's intrafamilial betrayal moves from contained rage to poignant introspection, permitting a viewer to examine his or her own responses to its subtle evocation of this complex personal and professional partnership. Taymor's take stereotypically genders Kahlo's anguish as Hollywood histrionics and sexual revenge. Moreover, the Miramax movie's con-

frontation between Rivera (Alfred Molina) and Siqueiros (Antonio Banderas) trivializes politics by reducing their conflict to a clash of masculine egos in drunken competition for a sexual prize, an intimate dance with the radical Italian expatriate photographer Tina Modotti (Ashley Judd). In Hollywood's history, eroticized feminine performance resolves the homosocial dispute when Kahlo claims the tango for herself. It objectifies Kahlo and Modotti for a male gaze as it marginalizes their independent political convictions and activities (as well as those of Siqueiros, whose failed attempt to assassinate Trotsky is later shown as an anonymous act, a fleeting historical wink to the informed viewer). In short, the new *Frida* deploys supporting historical figures as mere period props.

In a similar process of emptying the past, Taymor's film has Kahlo's politics strictly follow Rivera's. For example, pleading with his estranged wife to host the "great man," Trotsky (Geoffrey Rush), Rivera appeals not to Kahlo's own partisanship but to her feminine aura, insisting that she "brings life and warmth to any place." In Leduc's history, Kahlo (Ofelia Medina) is an independent political actor who, alongside Rivera (Juan José Gurrola), quarrels with Siqueiros (Salvador Sánchez) over his denunciation of Trotsky (Max Kellow). Together they advocate a less doctrinaire Mexican communism, one that elides Stalinist orthodoxy. Too, Leduc's *Frida* portrays Kahlo's activism apart from male mentors when it shows her protest in support of Augusto Sandino's nationalist resistance to U.S. intervention in Nicaragua, her outspoken antifascism, her opposition to U.S. Cold War foreign policies, her continuing commitment to social change in Mexico, and her reverence for the Mexican revolution's most prominent agrarian rebel, Emiliano Zapata.

In terms of form, where the earlier version often distances spectator from action, reminding her or him that this is a film about history (not history itself), the newer one—through its cinematography, editing, and narrative structure—implements banally realist identification between viewer and protagonist. Where Leduc's work relies on little dialogue and deploys music produced only by on-screen action, words drive the recent film as it melodramatically manipulates audience emotion through superimposed music. In terms of content, Taymor's film conventionally eroticizes Kahlo's bisexuality, never meaningfully exploring emotional or intellectual aspects of her romantic relationships with other women. A mutually jealous initial encounter with Lupe Marín (Valeria Golino), Rivera's ex-wife, for example, resolves itself as sexual friendship forged in shared dedication to (and commiseration about) Diego, the male genius. Leduc's *Frida* less exploitatively contemplates Kahlo's plural sexuality. It also ponders her feminist legacy in a concluding sequence where women individually contemplate the artist's exhibited works. Finally, whereas the recent version explicates Kahlo's romance with Trotsky as sexual, the earlier film less exhibitionistically imagines bodily acts as it more subtly (and plausibly) essays

ideas and feelings exchanged between radical painter and radical politician.

Notable novelties mark the newer film as Taymor's. These creative high points recall her widely acclaimed theater work, especially her long-standing experimentation with puppets and masks that culminated in Broadway's *The Lion King* (1997). Several scenes emerge from still shots of actual Kahlo works, as painted figures metamorphose into the film's characters and canvases transmute to form mise-en-scènes. These visual links between public and private life work well as narrative transitions. There are also two especially effective surrealist sequences. Early in the film, chattering puppet-like Day of the Dead skeletons express Kahlo's unconscious experience as doctors operate on the mangled teenager following her Mexico City bus accident. A later, theatrically staged segment imaginatively represents Kahlo and Rivera's time in Manhattan. An image in this sequence playfully displaces Rivera's gargantuan ego as King Kong climbing the Empire State Building. These are, however, inventive interludes in an otherwise formally familiar film.

Despite Miramax's cosmopolitan pretensions (especially with regard to *Frida*'s multinational cast and crew and its location production), its version is far less international than Leduc's "Mexican" rendition. The latter film's minimal dialogue transcends linguistic borders while its less linear narrative, long takes, hypersubjective cinematography, and naturalistic approach to sound all aggressively assault Hollywood conventions. Instead of decoratively and stylishly reproducing audiovisual clichés about Mexico, Kahlo, and her work, it evokes its subject's psychology and closely explores her actual paintings. By contrast, Taymor's version allows for no ambiguity and little sustained engagement with the artist's life or work.

The above comparisons are important not only because Leduc's *Frida* is a key intertext for Taymor's, but because criticism should suggest what historical film can be (and, in this case, actually has been), not simply what it too often is not. Leduc's film is better history than Taymor's neither because it is factually more accurate nor essentially more Mexican but because it is methodologically more compelling. Miramax's *Frida* is merely a Hollywood variant of so-called globalization. It is a fragment of the Anglophone entertainment empire that asserts neoliberal shibboleths about the universality of "free trade" that syllogistically conflates globally marketed corporate mass culture with democracy, diversity, and demand. Just as Taymor's movie substitutes aestheticization for innovation, such rhetoric masks Hollywoodization as globalization. As Hayek's Kahlo says during her Paris sojourn, "Mexican artists are nothing but a curiosity here."

Frida (2002) has provoked considerable public interest in Mexico. Miramax staged its gala premiere in Mexico City's Palacio de Bellas Artes, the same venue where (as Leduc's film shows) Kahlo's body laid in state in July 1954, during the Cold War's height, inside

a coffin draped with a Communist flag. Since its opening, prominent Mexican intellectuals have panned the film with nationalist diatribes and charges of fallacious factuality (for example, pointing to Kahlo's real-life preference for cognac rather than her reel-life imbibing of more stereotypically Mexican tequila). Meanwhile, this internationally successful, glamorous and entertaining biopic about a national celebrity has proved popular at Mexican box offices. This divergence is not anomalous. Hollywood culture is global film culture, and Leduc's *Frida*, not Taymor's, is

(unfortunately) the anomaly. Miramax's version simply Hollywoodizes Mexican history. In doing so, it reproduces the appropriations and transmutations of national histories and talents that, in different forms, the U.S. film industry has practiced since the 1930s, when sound production emerged in Mexico and other nations to challenge Hollywood hegemony and, too, when Kahlo and her art first traveled between Mexico and the United States.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

METHODS/THEORY

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ASIA

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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

I read in the February 2003 issue of your journal (volume 108, number 1) two articles on current American scholarship on the French Revolution. Please permit me to point out a misinterpretation in Lynn Hunt's article "The World We Have Gained: The Future of the French Revolution" (pp. 1–19) and offer a more general remark about that article and Rebecca L. Spang's article, "Paradigms and Paranoia: How Modern Is the French Revolution?" (pp. 119–47).

Hunt bases her demonstration on three engravings depicting Time, the Social, and Secularization, respectively. Her presentation of the second of these illustrations is clearly erroneous; given the authority of your review, this error might mislead other non-francophone academics. Translating the legend of the engraving on page 14 as "the good constitution brought us flour and we only ate the best quality: we will have in our turn back-fat and triple chins," she explains that "the verse, using the language of the popular classes, indicates that food is their primary concern." This is a misinterpretation. The legend is composed of a title in the form of an exclamation ("Ô; La bonne Constitution[!]" / "Oh, the good Constitution[!]") and then two verses. The first of these verses ("J-faisons v-nir la farine et n-mangions que le son" / "I[we] grew flour but ate only bran") is a criticism of the Old Regime, from which the second verse ("J'aurons à nôtre tour, lard et triple menton" / "I[we] will have in our turn back-fat and triple chins") logically follows. This second verse implies that it is

precisely the new constitution that is ushering in a new time of prosperity.

This legend is based on an adage, probably of popular origin—"Who labors and who eats the fruit of labor?"—but is here recycled in a highly sophisticated piece of propaganda in favor of the equality that is going to guarantee the nascent constitution. Above all, the personages in whose mouths is placed the message are neither members of the "lower classes" (line 3) nor obviously sans-culottes (because the expression only acquired significance much later) but are expressly presented as comfortably-off farmers, thus as members of the middle class par excellence. The gaiters that the man wears over his large shoes, his old-fashioned but ample and well-made vest, the fact that the woman, dressed in new clothes, is also wearing shoes rather than clogs, and finally and above all, their notable plumpness brings out the title's play on words. The "good constitution" here refers not merely to the fundamental charter of the emerging political order but also to the prosperous demeanor of the personages; everything in the image signals that this couple is intended to represent the classic type of well-off farmers present in multiple forms at the end of the eighteenth century.

The engraving is therefore one of many representations of the prosperity to come, thanks to liberty and/or equality. This political image is certainly in search of a social anchorage, but one that is intentionally ambiguous: this couple of comfortable farmers could just as well figure as a positive reference for patriots, as a menacing image of greedy rural intermediaries. Not only those who worked the earth with their own hands but also tithe collectors, proprietors, and even noble lords respected and greatly feared the unsinkable *coqs de village* (village notables), and this commercially produced engraving of 1790 could well have owed its financial success to very diverse reasons—either as a positive representation or as a disdainful caricature of a parasitical group.

The respective contributions of Hunt and Spang, moreover, seem to have a point in common: while they interrogate recent historiography, particularly on the origins of what they term "totalitarianism" and "democracy," they entirely overlook the controversies over voting and elections during the French Revolu-

tion. For a decade, an important body of scholarship has thoroughly analyzed the unprecedented abundance of votes and elections that punctuated the daily life of the revolutionary epoch. (See such works as Patrice Gueniffey, *Le nombre et la rai-son: La Révolution française et les élections* [1993]; Malcolm Crook, *Elections in the French Revolution: An Apprenticeship in Democracy, 1789–1799* [1996]; Serge Aberdam, Serge Bianchi, Robert Demeude, Emile Ducoudray, Bernard Gainot, Maurice Genty, and Claudine Wolikow, *Voter, élire pendant la révolution française, 1789–1799: Guide pour la recherche* [1999]). The concrete unfolding, the meaning of these operations, their politicization or manipulation (any vote, every election implies influences, pressures, constraints), or their suspension during the year 1794, however, deserve greater attention from those interested in the origins of “democracy” or even of “totalitarianism.” This remark concerns Hunt less than it does Spang, because she devotes much more space and care to reviewing a considerable quantity of publications. It seems to me that, since she places special emphasis on the question of how the mass of contemporaries became involved in the French revolutionary transformation, the issue of voting merits some consideration.

During the ten years between 1789 and 1799, hundreds of thousands of public functionaries of all types were elected and referenda were held on several constitutions and all sorts of questions. Millions of Frenchmen—and sometimes French women—took part in these votes, always in the form of assemblies of citizens. To attend or absent oneself from these reunions, to elect or not, to proceed according to the social precedence of the Old Regime or to demand instead the use of alphabetical order, all of this supposed myriad decisions. About this exercise of sovereignty, in forms more or less sacralized, we possess hundreds of thousands of official records of these proceedings, lists of citizens voting and officials elected, speeches, and proclamations.

This field of research is marked by lively debate and disagreement, but I do not believe that we can neglect it. I will add that, at a moment when our continents are tending to distance themselves a bit more from one another, it might even be wise to discuss our common heritage.

SERGE ABERDAM
National Institute for Agronomic Research
Paris, France

LYNN HUNT REPLIES:

Serge Aberdam rightly draws attention to a mistake in my article, but his “general remark” seems entirely unrelated to it. I will return to the mistake, which certainly bears correcting and some further reflection as well. In his general remark, Aberdam complains that I (and Rebecca Spang, but I leave that to her) “overlook the controversies over voting and elections.”

It is true that I did not discuss them in my nineteen-page article. It does not follow that I consider them unimportant; I devoted half of my book, *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution* (1984), to them. In the article, I intended to draw attention to an aspect of the French Revolution rarely noticed or analyzed: the experience of time. I argued that this experience had a profound influence on the founding of democracy (for better and worse) as well as an impact on the understanding of the power of social convention more generally.

Aberdam’s criticism of the translation offered in the caption to one of the prints reproduced in my article is more on point. I accept his translation as more correct than mine. His conclusion that the figures represented are middle-class farmers may be correct, but this is less certain; if they are already so prosperous, then why are they going to enjoy prosperity only in the future (“I/We will have in our turn back-fat and triple chins”)? Moreover, his reading changes nothing about my argument. He himself admits that the print’s message is ambiguous (as I say in the caption). My only point in drawing attention to the print was to show that political and social meanings were intertwined, that prints assumed to be political in message were in fact also filled with social information. My argument in no way depends on this particular print, however interpreted; as I concluded that section of my analysis, “Most striking in the end, however, is the sheer number and variety of visual representations of the social. Like plays and novels, visual images made society as a set of rules and roles more visible to the ordinary person.”

This does not mean that I consider Aberdam’s correction trivial, far from it. What it shows is the need for much more interchange among historians about the meaning of visual evidence; “reading” eighteenth-century prints requires as much expertise as reading eighteenth-century textual documents. I clearly fell short in my reading of this print, and I welcome the help from Serge Aberdam in getting it if not right at least more right.

LYNN HUNT
University of California,
Los Angeles

Rebecca L. Spang does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

I should like to defend Alfred P. Chandler, Jr., against what I see as unfair criticism in Naomi R. Lamoreaux, Daniel M. G. Raff, and Peter Temin, “Beyond Markets and Hierarchies: Toward a New Synthesis of American Business History” [*AHR* 108 (April 2003): 404–31]. He may find my defense more offensive than their attack.

The ambitions of the three collaborators are considerable: “[W]e offer a new synthesis of American

business history that aims to replace, but also subsume, the dominant Chandlerian framework" (p. 404). These ambitions mimic those of the great John Maynard Keynes, who proposed a new theory capitalizing itself as The General Theory replacing and subsuming neo-classical economic theory, and achieving tremendous pragmatic success, lately, however, suffering considerable theoretical diminution.

Chandler had conceived of an absolute opposition between "modern business enterprise" and the market. With its hierarchical command structure, as he saw it, management "took the place of market mechanisms in coordinating the activities of the economy" (Alfred Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* [Cambridge, 1977], 1). This was his "visible hand," balancing off the invisible hand of Adam Smith's market. Lamoreaux, Raff, and Temin assert that between "these two extremes are long-term relationships . . . [among] otherwise independent economic actors." They specify: "It is a central claim of this article that this intermediate form is distinctive and common enough to be identified as a third major type of coordination mechanism" (p. 407). It is indicative of the vagueness of their "central claim" that they do not give this type a name beyond "long-term relationships," which could describe the mating habits of the pelican. Indeed, they cannot and do not show how this type can shoulder its way to an equal position and existence between the firm's independent existence and the free-enterprise market.

Beyond that, they claim that the existence of horizontal integration reduces the power of Chandler's conception of vertical integration. But they end up with enough examples of the more Chandlerian firms like IBM holding their own against such horizontal structures as conglomerates like General Electric. But then Chandler's history and logic never excluded these conglomerates, which are as consistent as the vertical structures to his long, detailed history of what actually happened in American business. They should have given more attention to his later *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (1990), where his scale and scope cover conglomerates as comfortably as they do vertically integrated operations.

More important, I suggest, is the failure of the article authors to recognize the fatal fallacy in Chandler's logic, a failure that led them to swallow his whale of an error while straining at an apparent gnat. The fact is that Chandler never attempted to demonstrate that his managerial revolution, as he claimed, "took the place" of the market. He merely asserted it. I suggest that any clear view sees management as being successful—as surviving—only to the extent that it responds to the market and obeys it absolutely. It is perhaps gratuitous to belabor the point. But in private enterprise, a firm is only successful when it covers its costs with its revenues plus profit, the clichéd bottom line. The free market pervades the free-enterprise economy, and firms swim in it as fishes in water.

Chandler, Lamoreaux, *et al.* concentrated on the fishes and failed to see the water that gave them life.

DAVID FELIX
EMERITUS
City University of New York

NAOMI R. LAMOREAUX, DANIEL M. G. RAFF, and PETER TEMIN reply:

We are pleased that David Felix was inspired by our article to write to the *American Historical Review* but feel that his comments are adequately answered by the original text.

TO THE EDITOR:

Greg Dening is entitled to his opinions on the Comaroffs as anthropologists, Africanists, and historians, which you recently published (*AHR* 108 [April 2003]: 471–78). I do, however, hope you publish this note indicating that, despite Dening's complimentary remarks regarding my teaching him about Africa at Harvard, I do not share his views on the matters in his essay. From the way Dening phrases some of his remarks, I fear that your readers, at least those who do not know the Africanist literature, might assume that I agree with his views on the Comaroffs. This is far from true. I am sad to find a former student now so distant from me intellectually.

T. O. BEIDELMAN
New York University

GREG DENING REPLIES:

I apologize to Dr. Tom Beidelman for seemingly associating his name with ideas of mine. My intention was merely to take an opportunity that I rarely have publicly to thank him for his inspiration in years gone by and to note his seminal contributions to historical anthropology over time.

GREG DENING
Australian National University

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the February 2003 issue of the *AHR* [108: 264–65], Michael Seidman's review of Jean-François Berdah's *La démocratie assassinée: La République espagnole et les grandes puissances 1931–1939* (2000) asserts that, during the last civil war, the Spanish Republic "persistently persecuted Catholics and the right." In reality, not the Republic but her uncontrollable Anarchist supporters persecuted Catholics—during the initial weeks of the Clerical mutiny, while the Republican

government lacked effective control over its territory. In fact, a considerable minority of Catholics—the entire Basque Church—sided with the Republic. And not a few Basque priests had been executed precisely by the rightist mutineers. The Republican government persecuted the Right no more than any elected government “persecutes” those in armed rebellion against it.

The argument that “the assumption that the Republic was democratic makes it difficult to understand why . . . [anti-appeasers]—including Winston Churchill—refused to help the ‘Reds’” blatantly ignores the fact that Churchill did not maintain his *initial* condemnation of Republican Spain. And it blatantly ignores the fact that the Conservative Duchess Catherine of Atholl sacrificed her parliamentary seat in protest against Britain’s breach of international law entitling the *legal government* of Spain to acquire foreign arms. It had not requested them from the USSR before France and Britain had refused to sell them.

And temporary Soviet alliances have not disqualified several Great Powers from being democracies. In fact, if Soviet support gave the Communists (in 1937) temporarily over-proportionate influence over Popular Front Spain, it was also because her middle-class Republican liberals welcomed it—while it was *at that time* in Joseph Stalin’s interests to restrain the spontaneous social revolution sought by Anarchists and Trotskyists.

MANUEL SARKISYANZ
University of Heidelberg

MICHAEL SEIDMAN REPLIES:

Manuel Sarkisyanz’s letter permits the elaboration of three issues.

First, Sarkisyanz claims that “in reality, not the Republic but her uncontrollable Anarchist supporters persecuted Catholics—during the initial weeks of the Clerical mutiny.” According to José M. Sánchez, *The Spanish Civil War as a Religious Tragedy* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1987), “the [anti-clerical] fury lasted some six months . . . About 80 percent of the clergy were killed in the first two and a half months of the war” (p. 11). Only in May 1937—nearly a year after the outbreak of the conflict—did the killings of priests cease, with the notable exception of the assassination of the bishop of Teruel and his aides in February 1939. In total, 6,832 clergy were executed in Republican areas, compared to 14 in the Nationalist zone. In January 1937, Manuel de Irujo, a Basque autonomist and the only practicing Catholic in the Republican cabinet, proposed to liberate jailed priests, to proclaim explicitly freedom of religious practice, and to prohibit police from entering private homes where religious services were being held. His fellow ministers unanimously rejected his proposals. Even after the first year of war, priests and practicing Catholics were not safe in the Republican zone, including Madrid, where Anarchist influence was weak. Javier Cervera, *Madrid en guerra: La ciudad*

clandestina, 1936–1939 (Madrid, 1998), concludes that “[Catholic] religious practices were considered a sign of hostility to the Republic” (p. 191). “In Madrid during the war, priests and nuns did not wear their clerical grab publicly, proof that this was very dangerous” (p. 275). Many supporters of the Republic—including much of its police, military, and courts—identified Catholicism with “fascism.” A pre-war affiliation with a Catholic political party might mean a jail sentence or worse.

Second, by arguing that Churchill did not maintain his initial condemnation of Republican Spain, Sarkisyanz challenges my statement that “the assertion or assumption that the Republic was democratic makes it difficult to understand why conservative anti-appeasement forces—including Winston Churchill—refused to help the ‘Reds.’” Churchill did become more sympathetic to the Republic during 1938, but he never advocated aid to it. On February 23, 1938, five weeks before the end of the conflict, he wrote in Winston S. Churchill, *Step by Step, 1936–1939* (New York, 1939), “as long as the issue of the war hung in the balance, it would have been wrong for Britain to throw her weight on either side of the scale” (p. 294). In *The Gathering Storm* (New York, 1948), he continued: “In this [Spanish] quarrel I was neutral. Naturally I was not in favour of the Communists. How could I be, when if I had been a Spaniard they would have murdered me and my family and friends? I was sure, however, that with all the rest they had on their hands the British government were right to keep out of Spain” (p. 192). The duchess of Atholl did not share Churchill’s views on Spain. Against his advice and because she was totally isolated in the Conservative Party, she resigned her parliamentary seat as a Conservative in 1938, ran as an independent, and lost.

Third, an alliance with the Soviet Union certainly does not disqualify the Republic or any other regime from being democratic. However, the Soviet Union and its agents in Spain did not conduct themselves as loyal allies who respected Spanish sovereignty. Instead, they exercised a colonial-style extraterritoriality, which was directly responsible for jailing and even assassinating anarchists, Trotskyists, and other leftist dissidents, including Andreu Nin, the leader of the Marxist Workers’ Party (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista). Communists loyal to Stalin controlled large sectors of the Republican military, security forces, and intelligence apparatus. Stanley G. Payne, *The Soviet Union, Communism, and Revolution in Spain, 1931–1939* (forthcoming, Yale, 2003), considers the Republic a “semi-pluralistic” regime that excluded the entire right from political participation and therefore, given overwhelming Communist influence over key state bureaucracies, was a possible precursor of the post-World War II “people’s democracies” of Eastern Europe.

MICHAEL SEIDMAN
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Wilmington*

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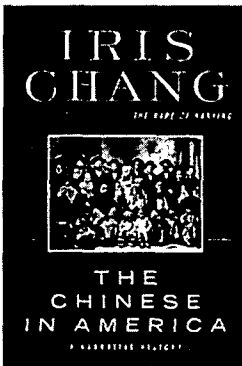
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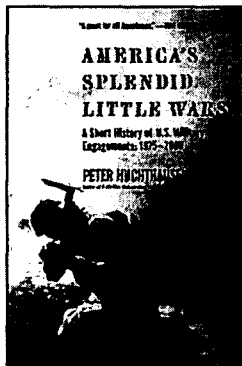
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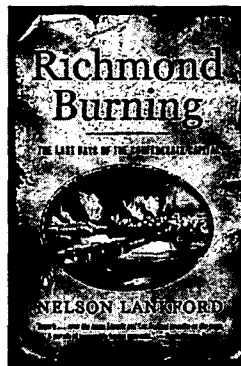
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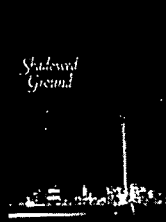
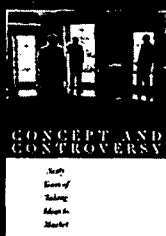
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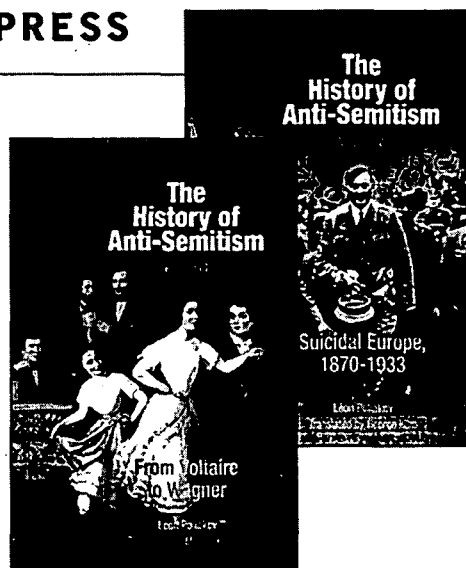
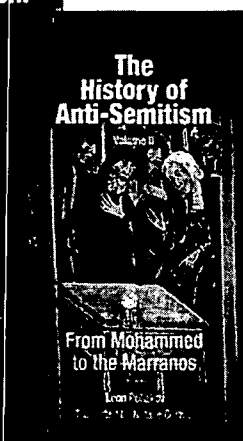
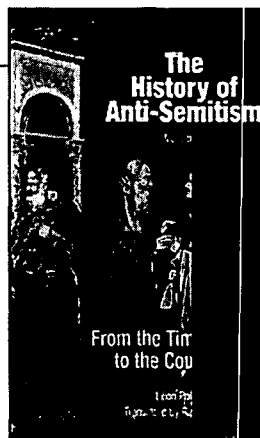
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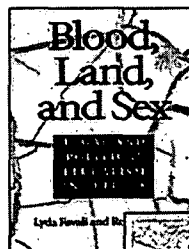
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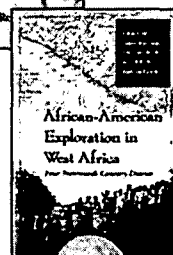
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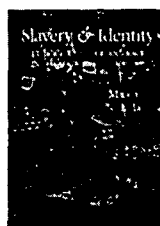
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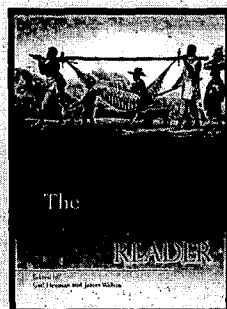
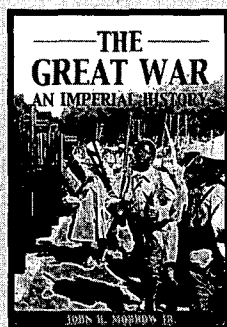
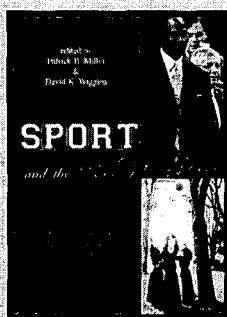
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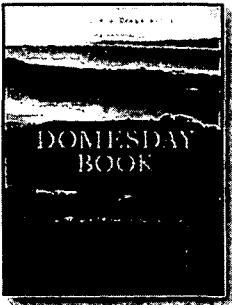
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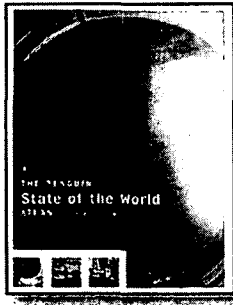
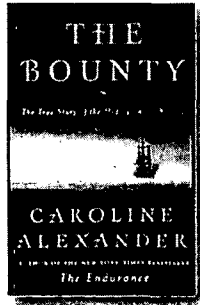
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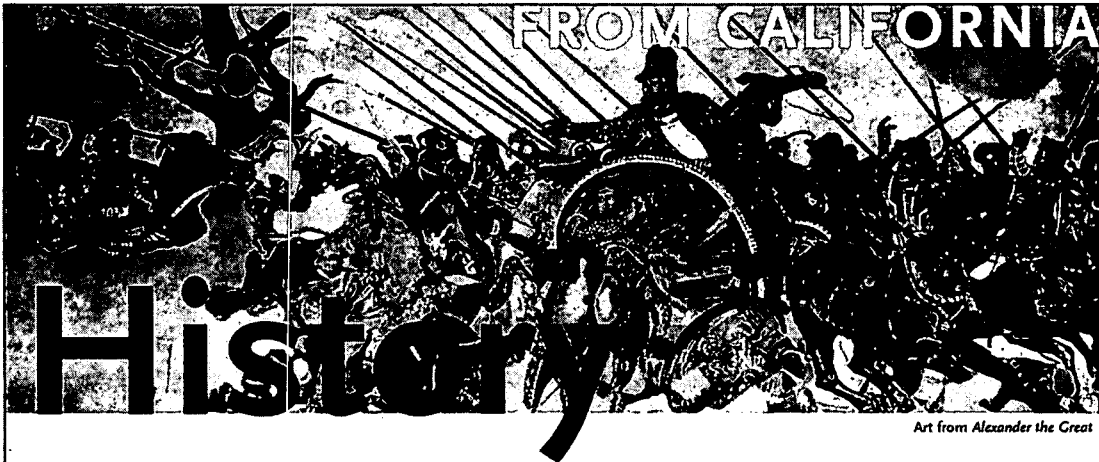
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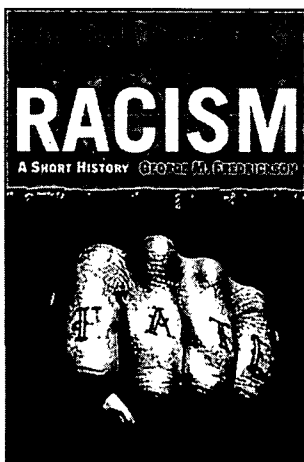
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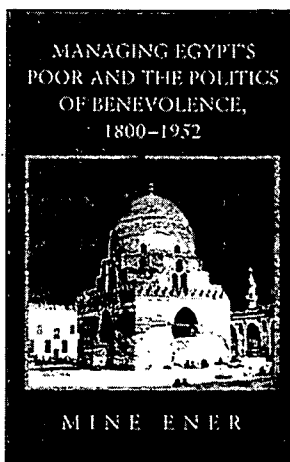
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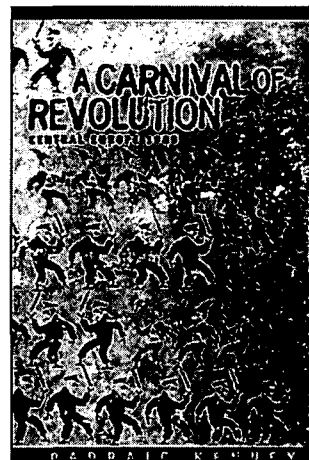
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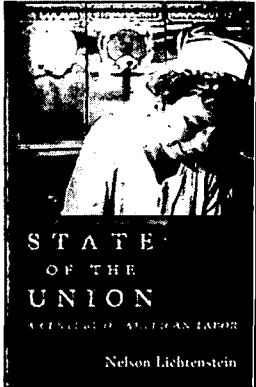


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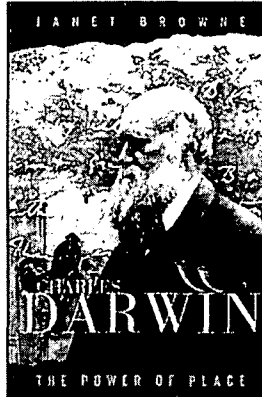
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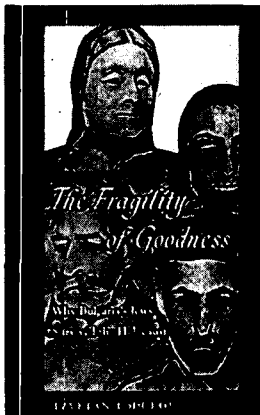
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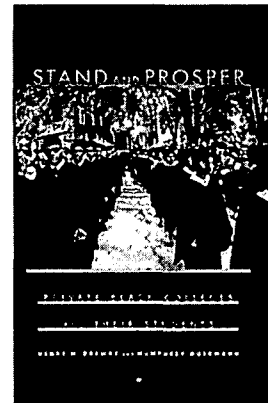
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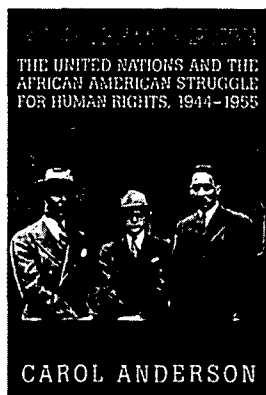
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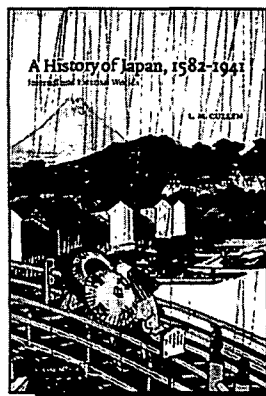
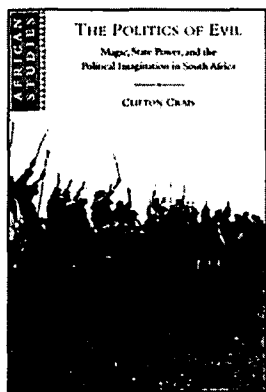
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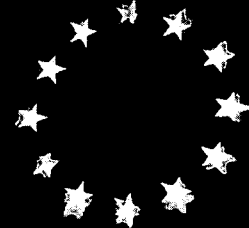
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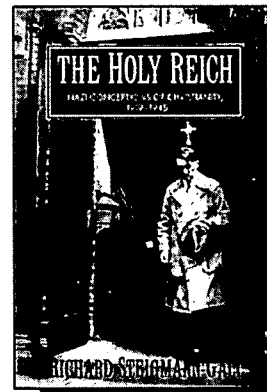
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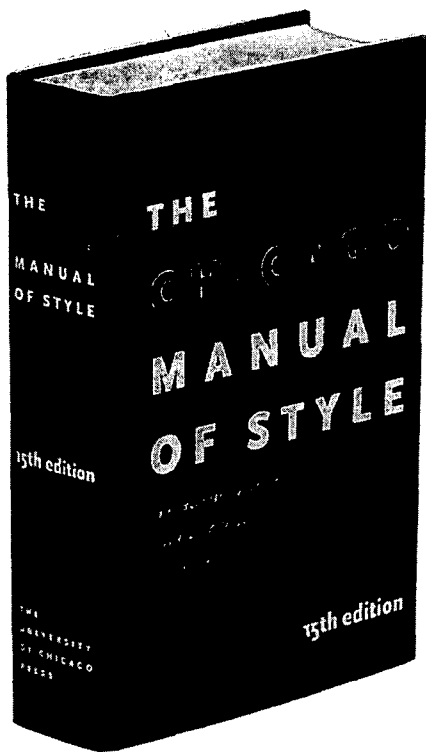
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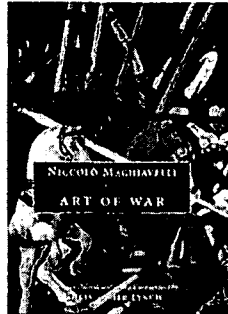
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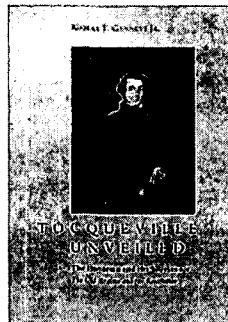


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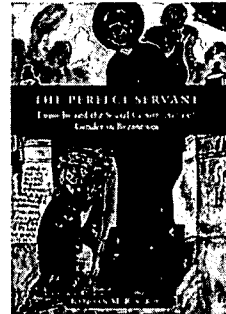
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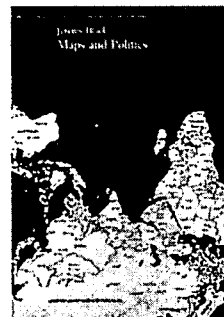


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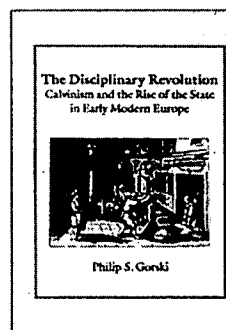


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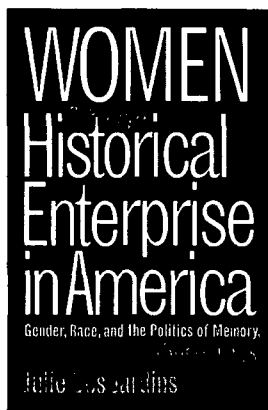
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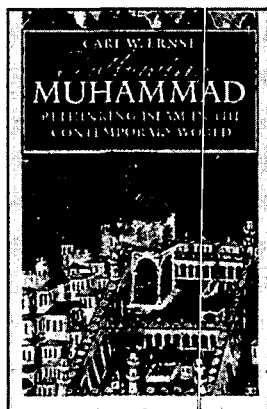
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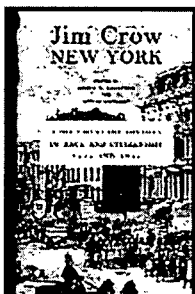
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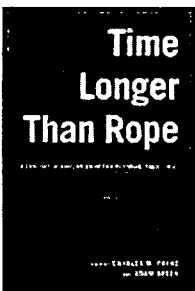
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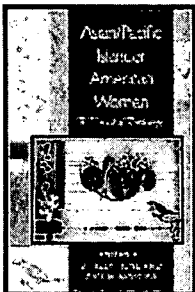


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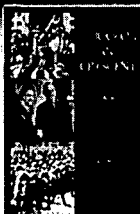
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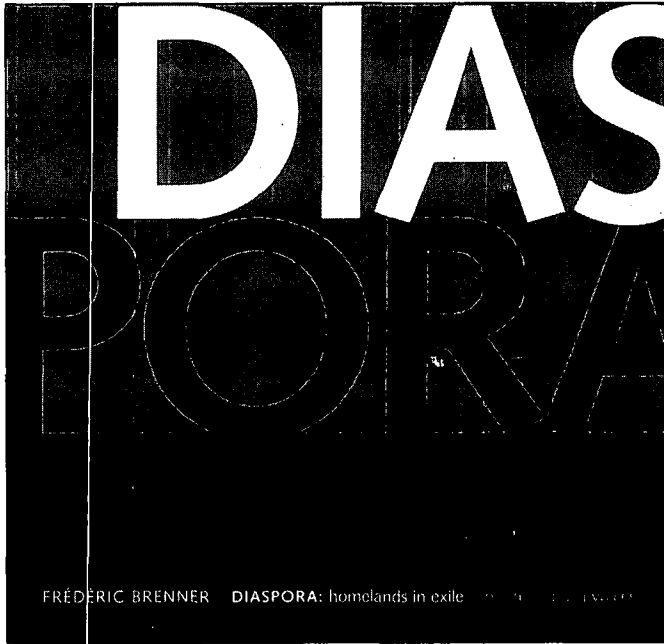
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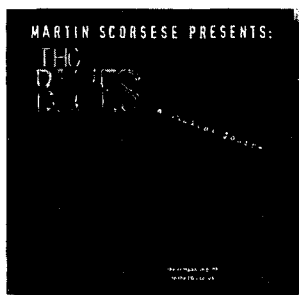
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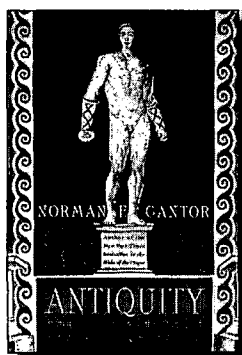
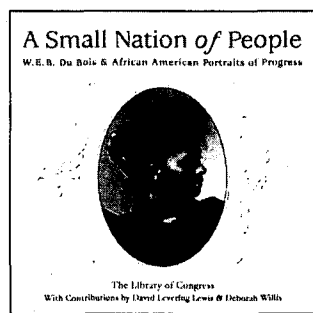
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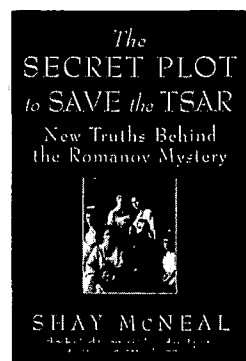
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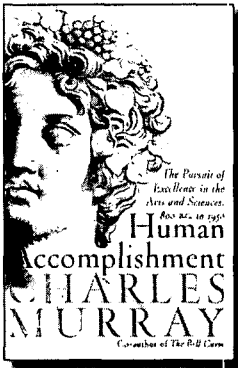
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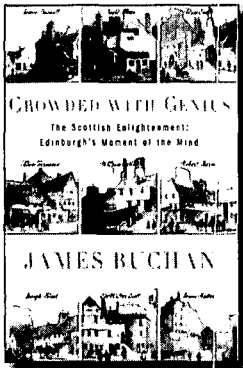
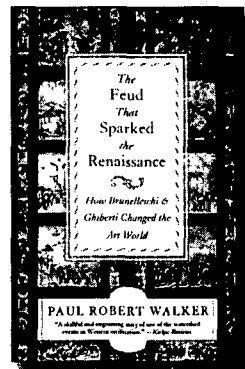
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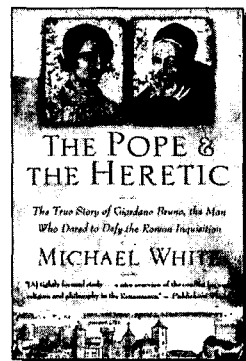
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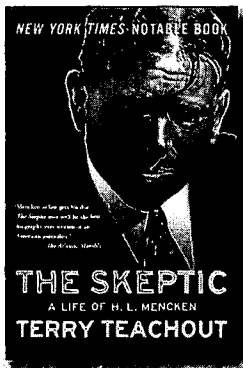
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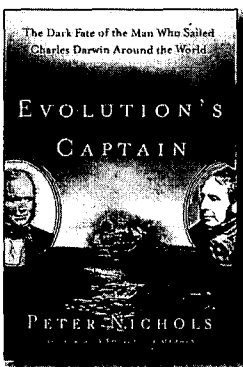
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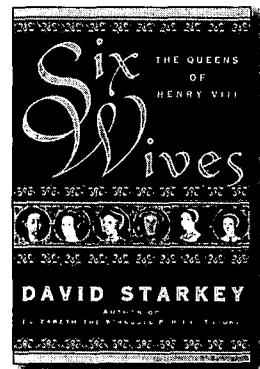
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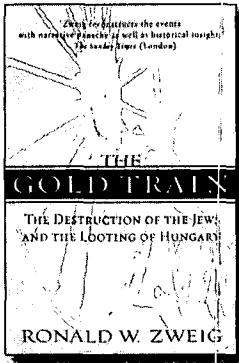
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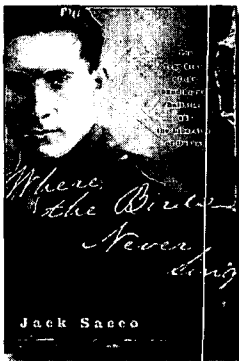
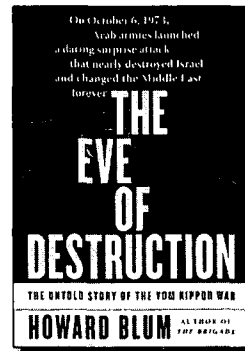
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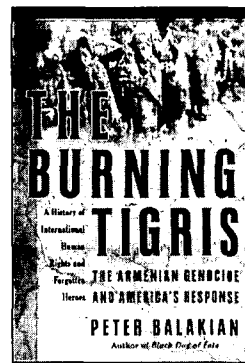
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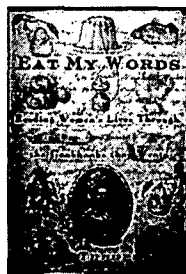
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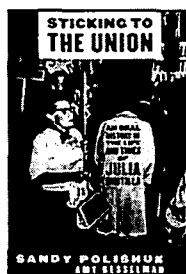


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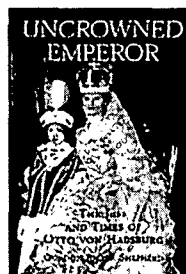
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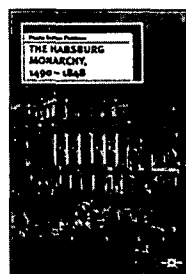
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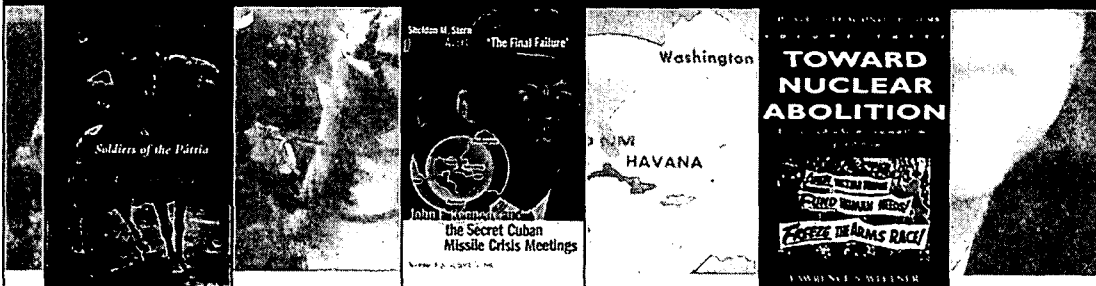
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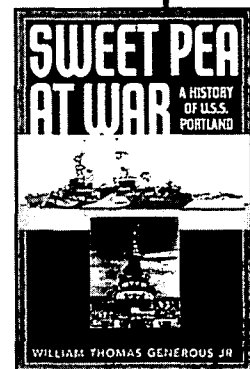
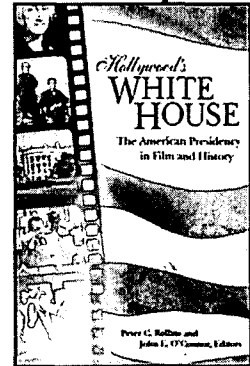
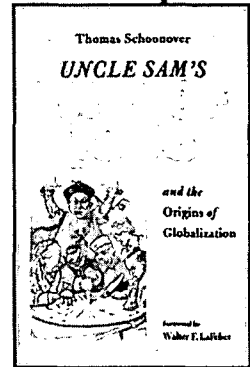
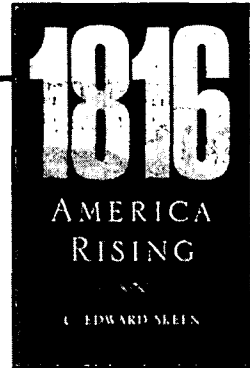
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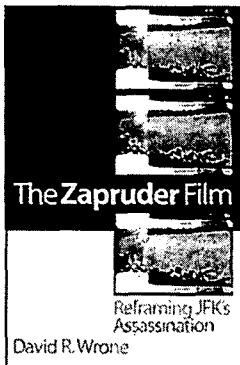
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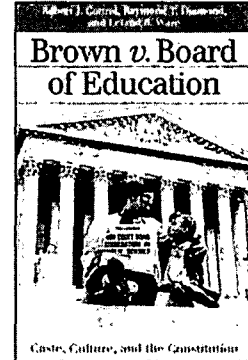
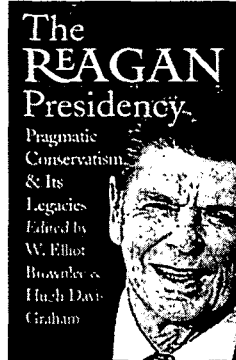
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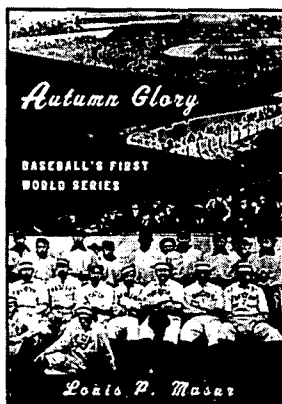


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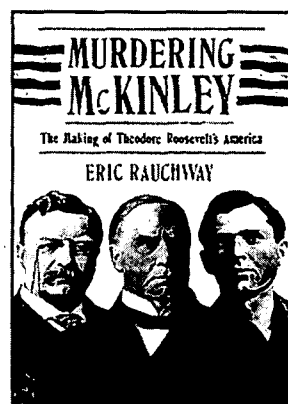
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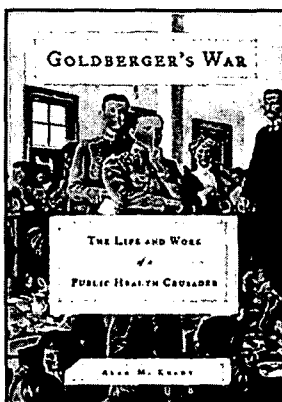
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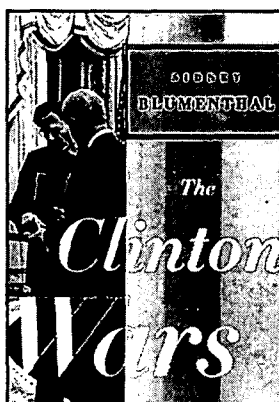
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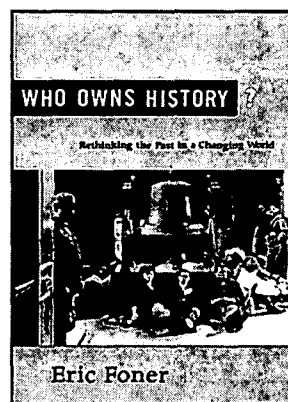
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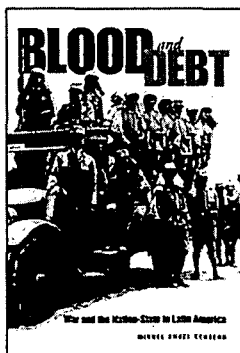
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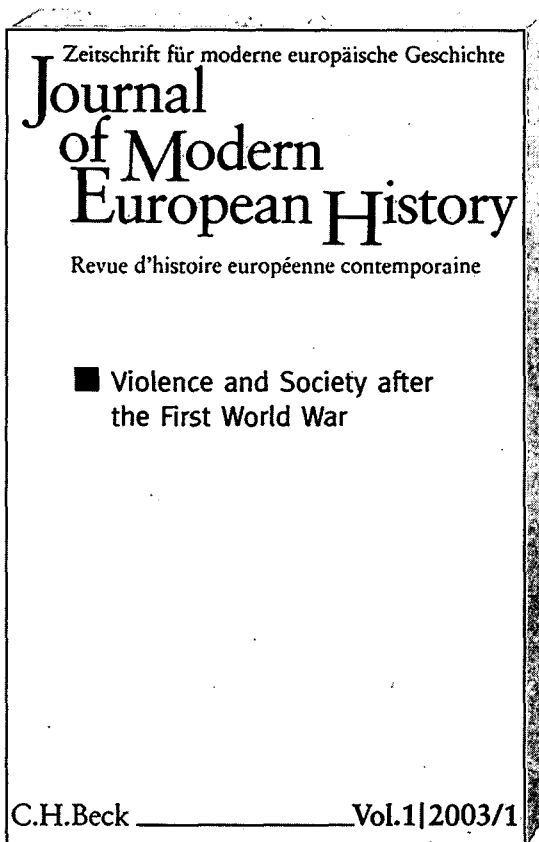
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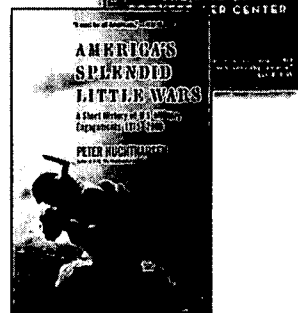
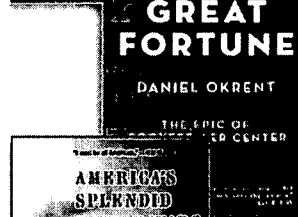
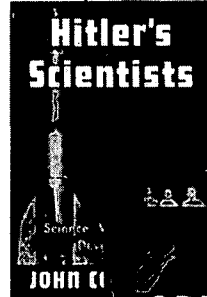
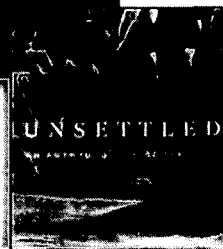
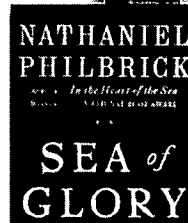
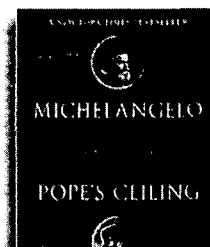
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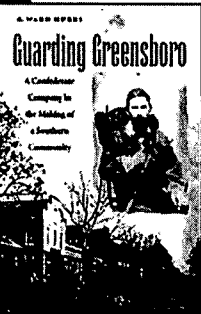
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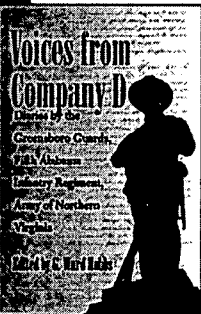
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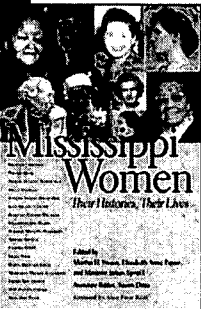
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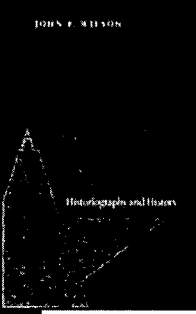


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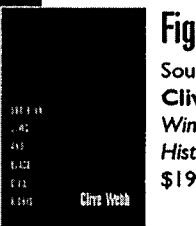


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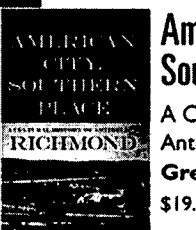


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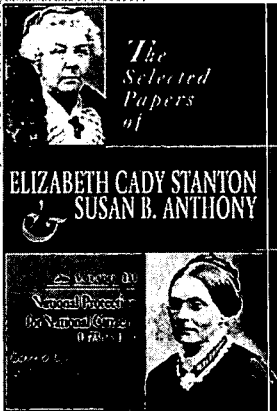
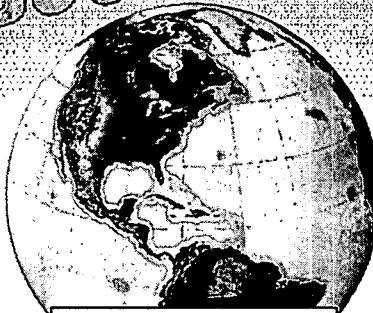
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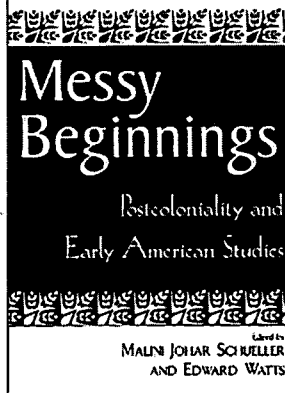
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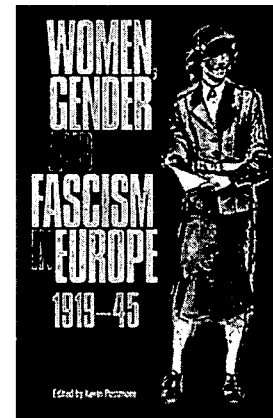
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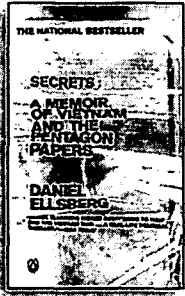
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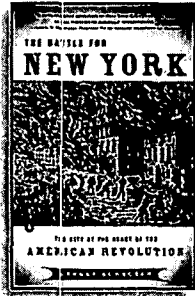


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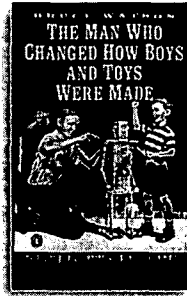
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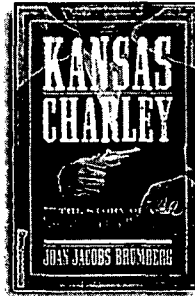
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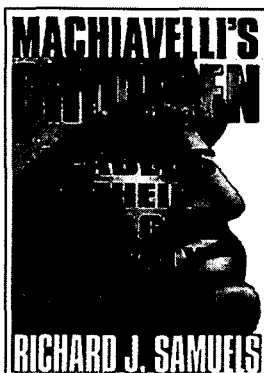
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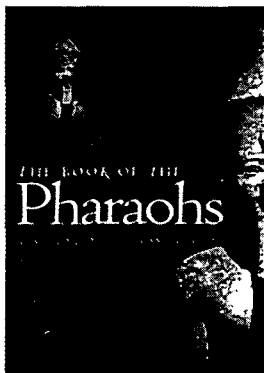
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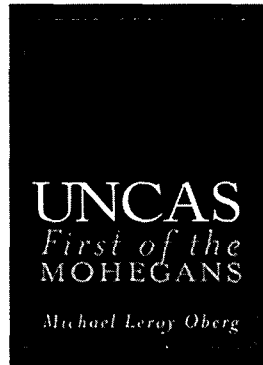
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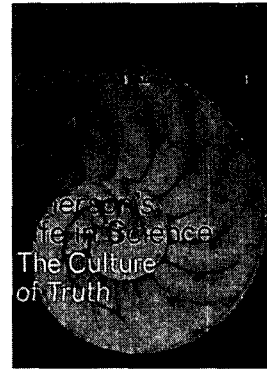
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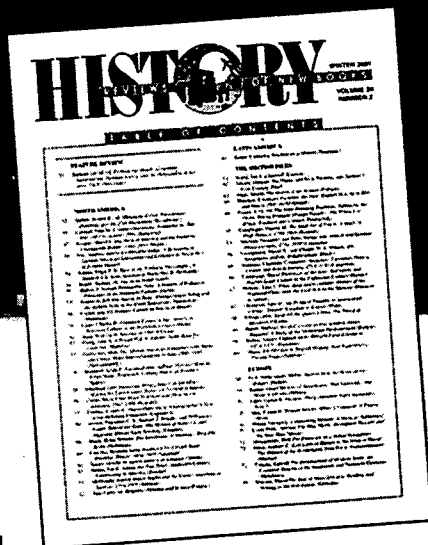
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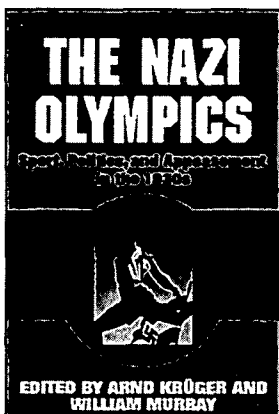
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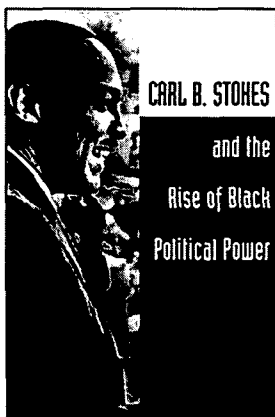
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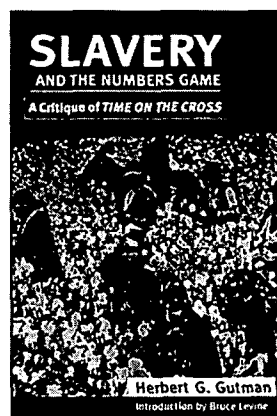
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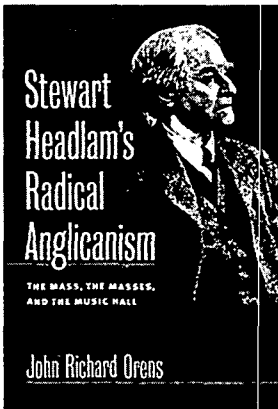
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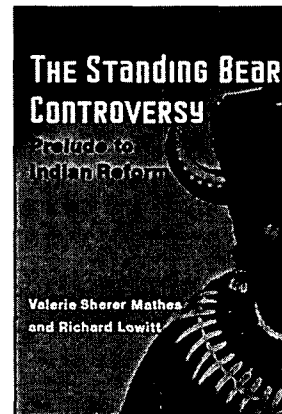
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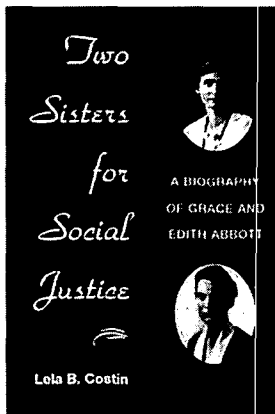
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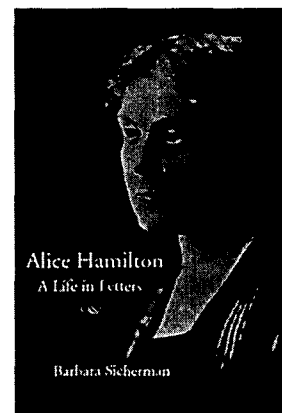
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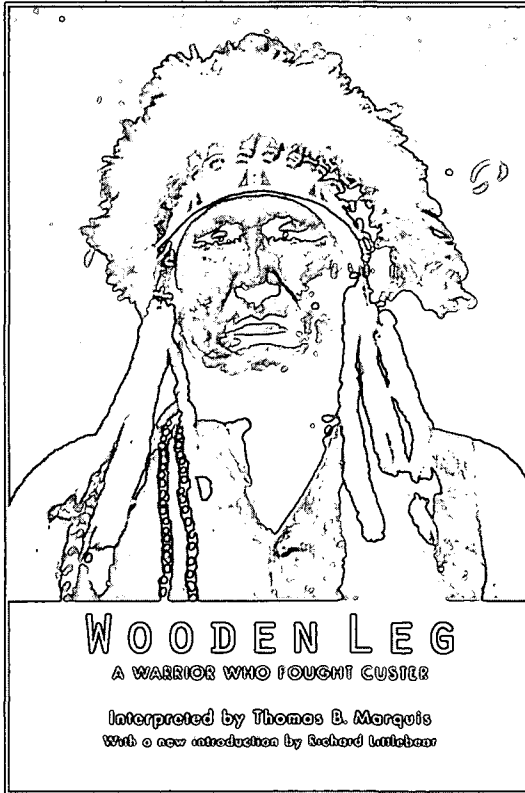
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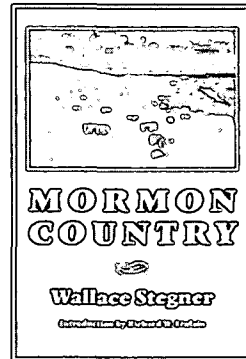
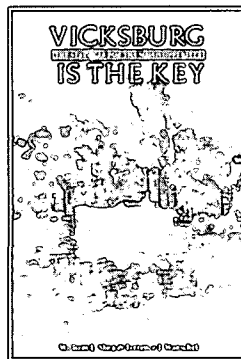
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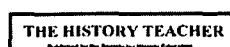
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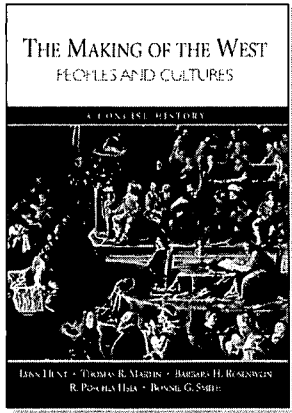
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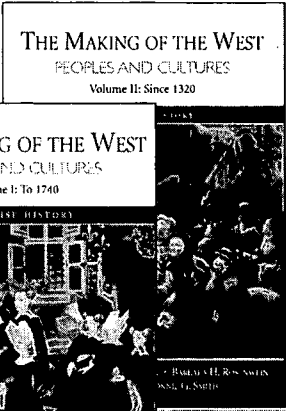
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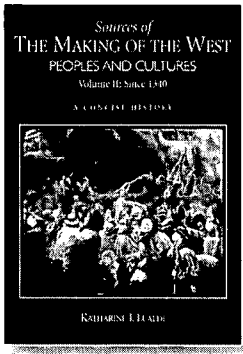
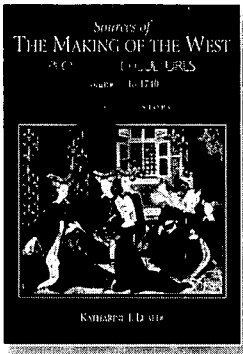
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